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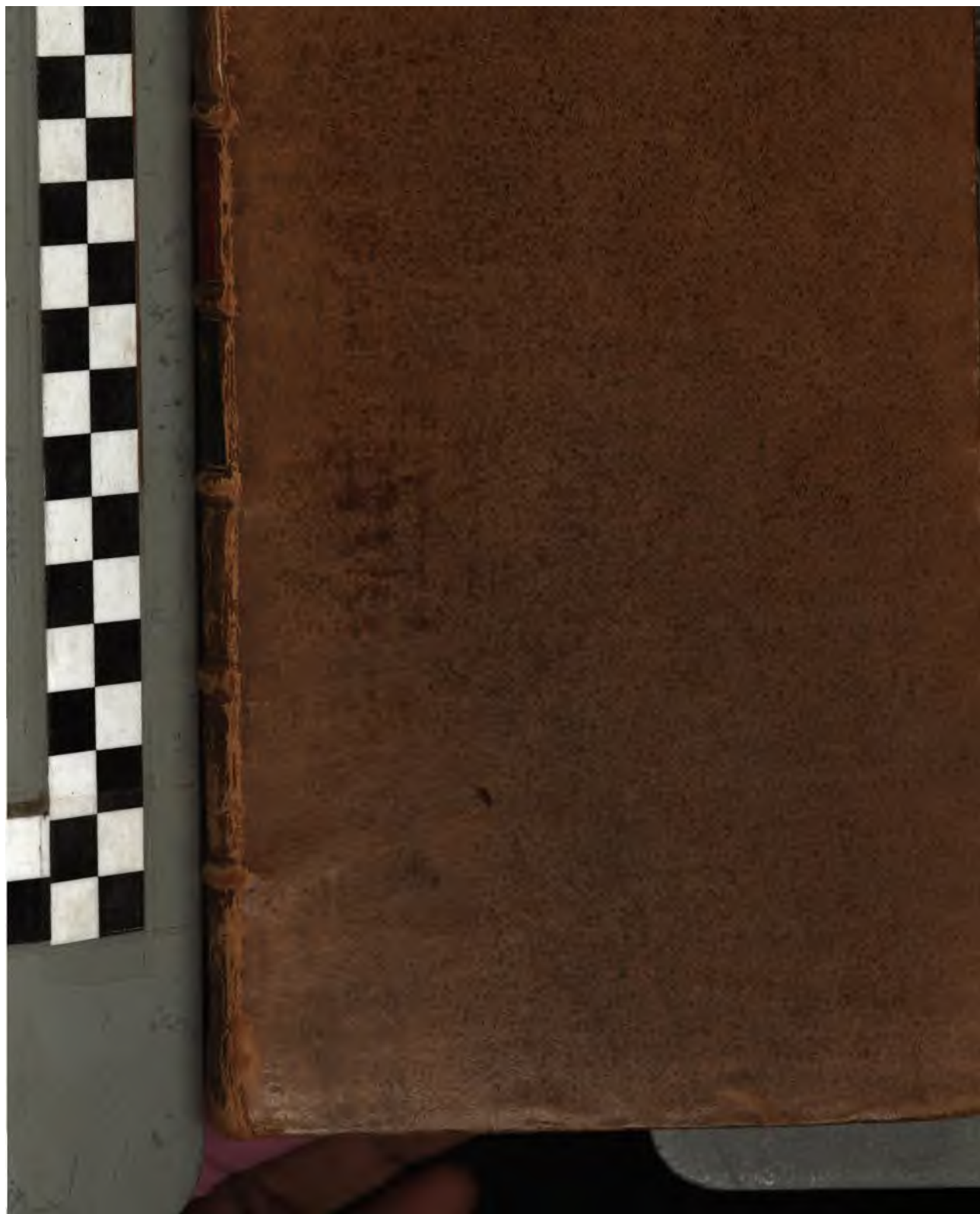
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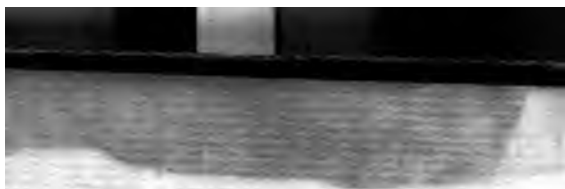
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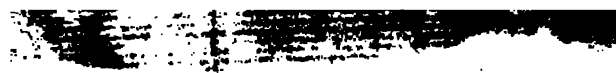
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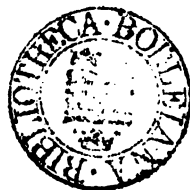
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# Modern History:

BEING A

## CONTINUATION

OF THE

# Universal History.

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The History of S W E D E N.

### S E C T. I.

*Of the etymology, geography, form of government, and present state of Sweden.*

**T**HE etymology of *Sweden*, like that of most other names, is disputed, and all the researches of the learned have only served to render it more doubtful. *Etymology of Sweden.* As the subject, indeed, is but of little importance to a reader who seeks for instruction, we shall avoid entering into the debate, contenting ourselves with one or two of the most natural and obvious etymons. Some derive *Sweden* from *Swen*<sup>a</sup>, which to this day signifies warlike, youthful, &c. in the *Swedish* language, and was, for that reason, bestowed on many of the kings and warriors of this country. Others again derive it from *Scyth* or *Scythia*<sup>b</sup>, by a transpo-

<sup>a</sup> LÖCCEN. Antiq. Suev. Goth. p. 8.

<sup>b</sup> OL. MAG. p. 156.

*The History of Sweden.*

sition of letters, and gradual change of sound ; which we think altogether forced. Lastly, *Grotius*<sup>c</sup> conjectures with great probability, that it may be derived from *Suedr*, sweat, intimating the hard labour the first colony from *Scythia*, settled here, underwent, in clearing the woods, and rendering the country fit for tillage. But the archbishop of *Upsal*, in his *Annals*, calls the ancient *Swedes*, *Swediodar* and *Suithiodar* (A) ; and *Fernandos* speaks of them by the appellation of *Suethiodi*, whence the archbishop deduces *Suedia*. Without insisting upon either of these derivations, it is sufficient that centuries back this kingdom has been known by the name of *Suedia*, which we have changed to *Sweden*, agreeable to the rules of the *English* language. It would be an useless, barren disquisition to lead the reader through the maze of conjecture hazarded by historians and antiquaries upon this subject : the former part of our history was loaded with too much of this kind of erudition, and we should think ourselves justly censurable, if, after the objections made upon that account, we should still retain a fault so easily avoided, where vanity does not wholly obscure understanding, and hurry us headlong against what we are sensible is a trespass on the laws of historical composition.

*Geography.* THE part of ancient *Scandinavia* known by the name of *Sweden*, is bounded by the *Baltic*, the *Sound*, and the *Schagirac* or *Categate*, on the south ; by *Norwegian Lapland* on the north ; on the east it has *Muscovy* ; and towards the west it is secured by the impervious mountains of *Norway*. *Sweden* comprehends a vast tract of continent, extending from fifty-five degrees twenty-two minutes, to sixty-nine degrees thirty-one minutes north latitude ; and from the eleventh to the thirty-second degree of longitude, east from *London*. Some geographers indeed reckon from the fifty-sixth to the sixty-ninth degree of west latitude, and from the sixteenth to the thirtieth of longitude ; but later observations have corrected their errors, and fixed it as we have laid down. It must be observed, that *Finland*, tho' part of it was ceded to *Muscovy* at the last peace, is included within these limits : but as the frontiers of bordering kingdoms fre-

<sup>c</sup> GROT. in *Procop.* p. 53.

(A) The archbishop's opinion is confirmed by almost all the ancient monuments with *Runic* inscriptions, as well as by the *Annals* of *S. Olaus*, the *Edda*, and other fragments of antiquity. In all of these the words *Suidioda*, *Swediodar*, or *Suithiodar*, frequently occur.

quently

quently vary, we chuse to adhere to such as were formerly deemed boundaries, and always called a part of Sweden.

THIS potent kingdom may be divided into seven grand *The great* provinces, each of which contains several lesser divisions, *divisions* which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. The great of Sweden are, 1. *Sweden Proper*, bounded on the north by *den*, *Lapland*, and on the south by *Gothland*, extending 710 miles from north to south, and near 225 from east to west. 2. *Gothland*, surrounded on the east, south, and west, by the *Baltic*, the *Sound*, and part of the northern ocean. 3. *Livonia*, or *Liesland*, as the natives term it, bounded by the gulph of *Finland* on the north, the duchy of *Courland* and *Lithuania* on the south, by *Muscovy* on the east, and on the west by the gulph of *Riga*. 4. *Ingermanland*, or *Ingria*, bounded on the north by the gulph of *Finland*, the river *Nieva*, and the great lake *Ladoga*; on the east by an imaginary line coming from the town of *Luba* to the river *Luga*. 5. *Finland*, or *Finingia*, extending from the polar circle, or *Kimi Lapland* on the north, to the gulph of *Finland* on the south. 6. *Swedish Lapland*, bounded on the north by *Danish Lapland*, on the south and south-east by *Fennoscandia*, *Angermania*, and *Bothnia*, on the west by the high ridge of mountains which separate it from *Norway*, extending in length from east to west about 360 miles, and in breadth from sixty-five degrees thirty minutes, to sixty-nine degrees of north latitude. 7. The islands of *Gothland*, *Oeland*, *Oesel*, *Dago*, *Aland*, *Hogland*, and *Rugen*, which last is at present disputed between the *Swedes* and *Prussians*, as indeed are almost all the *Swedish* dominions in *Germany*. On this side, as well as on its frontiers towards *Muscovy*, the limits of *Sweden* are precarious, depending wholly on the success of a war, and the ability of the ministry in the cabinet; it cannot therefore be expected we should be very accurate in this particular, with respect to the present possessions of the crown<sup>d</sup>.

THE capital of Sweden is *Stockholm*, the metropolis of *Of the city* the whole kingdom, situated in *Sweden Proper*, and built on the junction of several little islands, upon piles, taking its *of Stock-* name from two words expressive of that circumstance, *Stock*, timber, and *Holm*, island. About 340 years ago these islands were inhabited only by poor fishermen; but upon the building of a castle on one of them, to stop the incursions of the northern barbarians the *Muscovites*, the court was translated hither for security, houses were built, adjacent islands

<sup>d</sup> Geograph. Moderne, p. 726.



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joined to this, and the city in time enlarged to its present dimensions, reported to make one of the largest cities in *Europe*, with respect to the number of houses, though the number of inhabitants does not exceed 35,000. In general, the houses are of wood, though persons of fashion build with brick. When a fire breaks out, it generally carries all before it, notwithstanding the excellent *police* established in this respect. Most of the timber buildings are made in *Finland*, according to models sent, and transported by water to *Stockholm*, ready to put up; so that losses sustained by fire are soon repaired, and less pernicious to the public than in almost any other country. *Stockholm* is stronger by nature than by art. Towards the sea it is secured by a number of little islands, which render the harbour difficult of access; and on the opposite side it is defended by the lake *Mellern*, which falls into the sea, and by high, unpassable mountains, which form the strongest walls. The principal city stands in the island of *Stockholm*, about a mile and a half in circumference, the rest of the islands forming the suburbs, are connected by bridges with the city. Thus, says *Motraye*, it has all that is necessary to constitute, in the eyes of good judges, one of the finest cities of *Europe*. In the island of *Stockholm* stood the old citadel, long since destroyed by fire; at present it is embellished by the magnificent church of St. *Nicholas*, the senate-house, royal palace, the court of chancery, criminal college, a beautiful library, and a variety of other noble public and private edifices.

As to the government of *Stockholm*, it is in the hands of the great stadtholder, who is, in consequence of his office, a privy-counsellor. Once every week he sits in the town-house, to adjust the affairs of the city; and assisted by a sub-stadtholder and bailiff of the castle, presides in the college of criminals, by some called the college of execution. The next magistrates to him, in rank, are the four burgomasters, each of whom has his distinct department, and with them the counsellors of the city always vote, resolutions being taken by a majority of voices. Besides stated salaries, all these magistrates have certain perquisites, arising from taxes laid on the inhabitants for the support of government, so that they are not only honourable but lucrative places. Besides these salaries and perquisites, which are all issued from the city-treasury, *Stockholm* maintains a guard of three hundred soldiers. To support this expence, besides a duty on all goods imported and exported, which amounts to a considerable sum, this being the great mart of *Sweden*, a yearly tax is imposed on the burghers, adjusted by a common

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are involved in ruin. Conceit and self-sufficiency accompany their best qualities, destroy their effects, and give them a supercilious, disagreeable manner. Alert and ready enough in learning the elements of arts and science, they seldom make any great proficiency, on account of a certain impatience of temper and unsteadiness of mind; or, more probably, from that sufficiency taken notice of by our author, which persuades them that they are fully accomplished in their business, before they are half-instructed. To their little taste for mechanic employments is owing their slow progress in useful manufactures, especially such as require application and ingenuity. We may add to this description, that the severity of the climate seems to have influenced their minds as well as their bodies. Strength and solidity of judgment they often arrive at; but for vivacity and sprightliness of wit, these are qualities scarce understood in *Sweden*. Their natural genius disposes them for employments of fatigue and bodily labour, rather than of imagination; and even in the art of war, their favourite occupation, their generals have been famous for courage and enduring hardships, seldom for stratagem, intrigue, and those refined qualities of the head, that display great talents. However indefatigable some of them are in civil affairs, they seldom raise their speculations above what the necessity of their employments requires. Wherever they are distinguished for ability, it proceeds more from experience than study. This appears more remarkably in their learned exertions, where we seldom see an instance of original genius, all their erudition consisting in compilations from the writers of other nations. The *Swedish* gentry are too proud to follow trade, or even the liberal professions, necessity alone compelling them to exercise the functions of the pulpit, the bar, or of physic. As to the clergy, they affect gravity and long beards, which often supply the want of learning; however, as they affect hospitality, they are greatly beloved by the people. We may perhaps attribute their little skill in controversy, and theological erudition, to that despotism in the *Swedish* constitution, which admits not of liberty of conscience or disputes concerning religion. In the cities, pride and arrogance are less prejudicial than among the country gentlemen. Here they will condescend to engage in trade; but, if we may believe *Motraye*, they are better proficient in the art of cheating, and that species of little cunning, than of fair and honest traffic. The peasants, submissive, and even abject, to their superiors, when sober, are turbulent, insolent, and frantic, when drunk, to which they are much

much inclined, strong spirits being in the highest esteem; and perhaps with some degree of reason where the diet is poor, and the climate intensely cold. In general, the *Swedes* are religious in their way, constant at divine service, eminently loyal and affected to monarchy, but more so to liberty, or what they take for liberty; grave, even to formality; heavy, to the very borders of stupidity; suspicious, envious, and pilfering. Such at least is the portrait drawn by *Motraye*<sup>1</sup>, an author too much in conceit with his native country to allow its whole merit to any other. It is indeed ridiculous to attempt a general character of a people from the small circle of our own acquaintance; yet this seems to have been *Motraye*'s rule. What man in his senses would characterise *England*, or even *London*, from what he sees at *Wapping*, or *St. Giles's*? The manners of one province in *Sweden* differ as much from those of another, as the manners of a *Swede* and a *Dane*. Would we therefore enter fully into the character of nations, we must study their history, and explore their manners, by marking the effects of revolutions, the progress of laws, arts, and sciences, their conduct in war, and the sentiments of the people with respect to peace; which, with a few other characteristic marks, will give the whole outlines of the picture.

BEFORE we finish this exterior view of *Sweden*, it may be necessary to say something of its woods and mines, which form the most valuable of its merchantable commodities. As for the woods, they overspread the greater part of the whole kingdom, and are all of the resinous kind, peculiar to cold climates, *viz.* pines, fir, juniper, beech, and some oak. For some years the *Dutch* have carried on a considerable trade with *Sweden* for deal, which they find as good as that of *Norway*; the demand for pitch and tar rose with the sale of deal, and now this branch of trade begins to lessen the exports from *Norway* and *Denmark*.

IN *Sweden* there is one silver mine so considerable, that it produces yearly to the crown about 20,000 crowns of pure silver; we mean, that the king has the pre-emption of all silver dug in the mine, paying one-fourth less than the real value. This mine has been so long wrought, that it is more than 130 fathom deep, the roof being supported with strong arches of oak. Writers speak only of one coppermine that has been much wrought, and even that, it is believed, will be relinquished, the profits so little exceed the

<sup>1</sup> Pag. 27, et seq.

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expence ; but we are assured that of late years several other mines have been opened with great success.

IRON mines and forges are in great abundance, especially in mountainous parts, where there is the conveniency of falling streams, to turn their mills. It is computed that the exports in iron amount to near 400,000 pounds yearly ; notwithstanding the forges have of late years been so much encreased in number, and the price of iron fallen by the rivalry among the traders. It is not many years since the *Swedes* were so ignorant in mechanics, that they exported all their iron-ore to *Prussia* and *Dantzic*, where it was cast in bars, and sold by the name of *Dantzic* or *Spruce* iron ; however, some ingenious *Dutch* artists introduced the art of manufacturing it, and they are now extremely expert.

### *Trade.*

OF late years a variety of manufactures have been erected in *Sweden*, particularly silk and woollen, the latter of which begins to flourish ; yet still the imports in silks, stuffs, and woollen cloths, are very considerable, though by no means equal to the goods exported, as has been asserted by some writers ; the trade with *France* only being disadvantageous to *Sweden*. To regulate commerce there is a college of trade erected, under the conduct of a treasurer and four counsellors. The bank of *Stockholm* is of the utmost advantage to commerce, as it always assists the credit of the merchant, and prevents his ever being at a loss to make payments, or extend his stock. Bills are drawn upon each other, and stock transferred, without the trouble of transporting money from place to place, which would be an intolerable labour, particularly in *Sweden*, where the current money is copper, and payments are generally made in that metal. Indeed the greatest trade of this kingdom has been always conducted by foreigners, the natives wanting either genius, application, or sufficient capitals. Their iron-works are carried on upon credit : for instance, their merchants contract with the *English* ; they receive a certain portion of the payment before they have dug a bit of ore, and they are enabled to perform their articles sooner or later, just as the *English* merchant's money arrives. Their poverty and little disposition for commerce is of the utmost importance to the foreigners settled among them, who are permitted only because they are necessary. It is with envy they behold them flourish and grow rich ; and the *English*, who love shew and figure, are particularly disliked ; although the *Dutch*, from the plainness and parsimony of their living, make shift to glide down the tide of prosperity in quietness.

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THE *Swedes*, and indeed most maritime nations, have *Govern-* followed the example of *England*, in establishing an act of *ment of* navigation, prohibiting foreigners to bring to their markets *Sweden.* any goods, but what are the product of their own markets; an act that affects the *Dutch* chiefly, as they are the common carriers of *Europe*. But the just idea of a country is not to be acquired from such circumstances as these; we have therefore treated them with brevity, as they may be found in every modern traveller, in order that we may expatiate with more freedom on the constitution and laws of *Sweden*. From government it is, that all the blessings of society flow. Where statutes are wisely formed, and honestly executed, man may live happily among the barren frozen mountains of *Lapland*, or amidst the scorching sultry sands of *Libya*.

ACCORDING to *Tacitus*, the best political historian of an- *A view of* tiquity, all government among the northern nations appears *the ancient* to have been monarchical; unrestrained by contracts with *govern-* these people, the *Goths*, in particular, swayed the sceptre *ment of* with an absolute authority. We may judge of their consti- *Sweden.* tution, by the nature of the governments they established in countries over-run by their wars. From them feudal tenures had birth; a kind of reward bestowed on the valiant and faithful, which, at that juncture, shewed the absolute power of the monarch, but in time became the instrument of hurting his prerogatives. These tenures were mostly held by military men, who, from their possessions, constituted the nobility and gentry of the country, on condition of performing certain services to the crown. In course of time, they began to complain of the tyranny of the monarch, and to enter into associations and confederacies to oppose him. Battles were fought, and the prince, if worsted, compelled to submit to certain limitations of his power, to admit the nobility and gentry into a share of the government, and perhaps to surrender his hereditary right to the crown, putting the power of election in the hands of the subjects. Neither despotism nor hereditary right were indeed universal over all the northern nations; but it appears, on the best authorities, to have been the most ancient form of government among the *Swedes*.

ON the first planting of Christianity, another powerful *Changes* body, who from their influence over the minds of the people, *in the con-* and that slavish implicit obedience paid to the papal autho- *situation* rity, obtained great wealth and credit, claimed a share in *upon the* the administration, and controlled the power of the civil *first intro-* *duction of* *the christi-* *an religion.*

*DE MOR. GERMAN, p. 256.*

magistrate in proportion as the ecclesiastical gained strength. To ballance the ecclesiastical power, as well as to restrain the pride of the nobility, the sovereign granted certain privileges to the burgeses and common people, entitling them to some influence in the legislature ; but these being the vassals and tenants of the nobility, and greatly under the dominion of the clergy, were of little service to the crown, until a new regulation was made, whereby the commons were represented by a few leading wealthy persons among them, who were most independent of the barons. History, it is true, is not very clear, with respect to the manner in which the commons were first introduced into the great council of the nation ; but we have documents sufficient to prove, that they were intended by the sovereign as a counterpoise to the nobility and clergy. They, again, in their turn, trespassed on the political line which separates the legislature, and keeps within certain boundaries the different departments that compose the constitution, of which we shall meet with some extraordinary instances, in the course of the ensuing history. Be this as it will, neither department so far incroached on the other, as absolutely to abolish any part of the constitution. The kingdom, for some centuries, has been governed by four estates, subordinate to the sovereign : 1. The nobility. 2. The clergy. 3. The burgeses. 4. The commons, or the peasants. Various attempts have been made by each to gain the ascendant, either by uniting itself with some other of the states, or throwing itself into the scale of the sovereign ; but whatever temporary advantages might be gained, were soon again lost, and the equal poise of government restored.

*The limitations of the ancient royal prerogative.*

WE shall begin with the sovereign, as the head of the kingdom, and describe the prerogatives of the different states in their natural order. From a very early period of the monarchy, until the accession of *Gustavus Ericson* in 1523, the crown of *Sweden* was elective, and the royal prerogatives extremely limited. Vested with little more than the ensigns of sovereignty, the king could not declare war or effect peace, impose taxes, or levy troops, without the consent of the states, or, during their recess, of the senate. His revenues were scanty, as his power was circumscribed. They arose from a trifling poll-tax on the peasants, fines and forfeitures in criminal cases, and certain small demesnes about *Upsal*. Even this revenue was reduced by the encroachments of the nobility and clergy : at last, it was brought so low, that the king could scarce maintain two hundred horses ; and was, in short, considered as little more than the chief officer

officer in the field, and the president in the high council of the nation. The senate engrossed to itself almost the whole executive power; and though the right of filling up vacancies belonged to the sovereign, by which means he retained some weight; yet the new senators no sooner tasted the sweets of independency, than they forgot their obligations to their benefactor, and struck into the measures of their colleagues, to extend their own power, and retrench that of the sovereign. The government of castles, fiefs, or manors, granted by the king during life only, were gradually altered to hereditary possessions, claimed as such by right, and held by no other title than force. The rents were stopped by the nobility, and the tythes by the clergy, under pretence that church-lands were exempted from all taxes and impositions. The archbishop of *Upsal*, both as primate of *Sweden* and head of the senate, became the chief man in power, and often contended with his sovereign about prerogatives, which indisputably were inherent in the crown; and the other officers of state, and governors of provinces, in time, claimed a like independency on that very authority they were first instituted to support. Not only the barons, but the clergy fortified castles, by which they maintained a despotic sway within certain jurisdictions; arming their vassals, they waged war with each other, like so many petty tyrants, and often against their king, whose weakness they despised and insulted. Too proud to seek redress at his courts, each obtained justice for himself by dint of arms; the people were slaves, the nobility and clergy absolute sovereigns, and the prince, originally destined to govern the whole, reduced to a mere cypher.

THE valour, prudence, popularity of *Gustavus*, first restored its pristine splendor to the crown. The *Danes* become insupportably insolent, *Gustavus* stood up in defence of liberty, and by his generous efforts broke the yoke of usurpation. Gratitude took possession of every breast, and the states thought they could never sufficiently express their sense of the obligations they owed their deliverer. A solemn decree was passed, enabling *Gustavus* to take any measures he thought proper for the preservation of his dignity; his enemies were declared the enemies of the state; the right of peace and war vested in him, with a variety of other prerogatives expressly specified in the decree.

*Gustavus Ericson resumes the prerogatives of the crown, and makes the government despotic.*

A FORTUNATE incident occurred at this time, which greatly assisted the designs of the artful monarch. Taking advantage of the *Lutheran* religion, now first introduced into *Sweden*, he recovered the royal castles and demesnes, which



which had been long alienated from the crown, and looked upon as church-property, under pretence of promoting the doctrine of *Luther*. The people oppressed with ecclesiastical tyranny, rejoiced to see the clergy humbled, and the power and revenues of their favourite monarch enlarged. An act was passed by the states, ordaining, that all the privileges of the clergy should be at his majesty's disposal; that all grants of estates to the church, since the edict published by *Canatzen* in 1447, should be repealed, and the lands so bequeathed, reunited to the crown; that the bishops should immediately surrender their strong holds, castles, and fortresses, to the king, and disband all their troops; that their pretended rights to fines and forfeitures should be restored to the royal prerogative, to which it originally belonged; that the superfluous plate and church-bells should be sold to pay the public debts; and that two-thirds of the tithes, usually possessed by the bishops and abbots, should be sequestered for the support of the army in time of war, and for erecting and endowing public schools in time of peace.

IN consequence of an order from the diet, this decree was presented to the king by the chancellor and *Olaus Petri*, the great promoter of the protestant religion in *Sweden*, with an assurance, that the assembly would never, in the smallest instance, oppose his will\*. It was after thus humbling the haughty ecclesiastics, that *Gustavus* made a progress through *Sweden*, accompanied by a military force, to see the act put in execution. The clergy's tithes and grants were scrupulously examined, and many of them set aside, agreeable to the intention of the decree; whence the crown-revenues were augmented near two-thirds; besides 13,000 farms, which the church had appropriated to itself, were now annexed to the civil list, for the support of the royal dignity and of government. After concluding matters to his wish with the clergy, *Gustavus* then attacked the usurped rights of the nobility, in the same manner, and met with equal success. His next attempt was, to make the crown hereditary in his own family; to accomplish which he assembled the states, and proposed in the most artful manner the abolition of that ancient custom of electing their monarchs, which had been attended with such a variety of calamities. After recapitulating his own services, and the happy effects which would necessarily flow from his proposal, he assumed an air of sovereignty, and enforced his rhetoric with certain intimations, which the assembly well understood, that he would

\* *Loccen. Hist. lib. vi.*

have his will punctually obeyed. There appeared not one man, who had the courage to stand up in defence of this greatest of national liberties. The respective departments of the state consented with the most servile submission, to surrender their rights, abrogate their power of election, and to settle the crown on his eldest son, to descend according to birth-right to their heirs. Thus, from a limited, Sweden became an absolute government; from the crown's being elective, it became hereditary. The latter still remains; but the former has received such alterations, as have reduced it within a narrower prerogative than ever, only that the senate, instead of the barons and clergy, have usurped the chief sway. As this is an event extremely memorable in the *Swedish* annals, it may be worth while to trace it to its source.

In the year 1672, when *Charles XI.* took the reins of authority into his own hands, he found the kingdom involved in a dangerous and unfortunate war; the odium of which was thrown upon the queen regent, and those ministers who governed during the king's minority. A resolution therefore was taken in the diet of the states, that the power assumed by the senate, was a principal cause of the misfortunes which befel the public; and that as no such mediators were wanted between the states and his majesty, so the king was henceforward absolved from the oath he had taken, to be governed in all his measures by the senate. Upon this the senate was abolished, and a few of the members of most court-interest retained in a shadow of honours, under the appellation of his majesty's counsellors. Now it was that the king was raised above the peers, an act of the states declaring, that though regents, during a minority, might be called to account for their conduct; yet the king, receiving his crown, and deriving his authority from God, was responsible only to the supreme Being. Still, however, we find this clause of limitation, that he was tied down by no other engagement than those implied or expressed in his coronation-oath, to govern the realm agreeable to law. In a word, several alterations in the government were made, all tending to enlarge the royal prerogative, and render *Charles* as absolute as any monarch in *Europe*. We are not told by what means his predecessors lost that despotic sway first regained by *Gustavus Ericson*, and now restored to *Charles XI.* but that it was considerably diminished, appears by the ascendant the senate acquired during his minority, and the solemn renunciation of their power made by the diet, soon after the king's marriage<sup>a</sup>.

*The senate  
abolished  
by Charles  
XI.*

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. tom. vii. ad fin.

**CHARLES XII.** maintained his prerogatives in their full power, till the unhappy defeat at *Pultowa*, and exile in the *Turkish* dominions, when the senate began to resume its ancient authority. On his return, however, to his *German* dominions, he soon convinced both the diet and senate, that they must not expect back those rights which they had timidly surrendered to his father. He told the states in particular, to remember they were only the king's counsellors, who derived the little power they had from him, and held it at his pleasure. He moreover ordered his chancellor to acquaint them, that he would send one of his old boots to govern them, which he required they would obey implicitly. In a word, he deprived them, on his return to *Sweden*, of the shadow of authority they seemed still to retain.

*The  
Swedes  
recover  
their liber-  
ties at the  
death of  
Charles  
XII.*

**CHARLES** being killed at *Frederickshall*, the crown, by right, devolved on the duke of *Holstein*, son of the elder daughter of *Charles XI.* But the promises, caresses, and intrigues of *Ulrica Eleonora*, the youngest daughter, at that time residing at *Stockholm*, induced the states to elect her queen, and give the supreme command of the army to her husband, the prince of *Hesse Cassel*. The prince was at that time with his army in *Norway*. Immediately on the king's death, all the chief officers assembled at his quarters, to assure him of their services, in case any opposition was made to the prince's succeeding to the crown. No sooner was the prince assured of the army, than he sent a courier to *Stockholm*; where matters were so well conducted by the prince's, that on the following *Sunday* she was publicly prayed for as queen, in all the churches. Next day she published a declaration, renouncing all arbitrary power, and at the same time inviting the states to assemble at *Stockholm*, to confirm the public voice by their election. They met at the time specified by the prince's, but as if voluntarily, and without regard to her summons. She, however, opened the assembly with a politic speech, declaring, that she formed no pretensions to the crown, but by their true election; that, sensible of the miseries consequent on the exorbitant power of their monarchs, she cheerfully renounced every prerogative inconsistent with national liberty, and submitted to such restrictions and limitations as they should judge necessary to secure their freedom. The prince's having thus acceded to all they proposed, was unanimously elected queen, notification of which was sent by a deputation, who at the same time assured her majesty of the constant loyalty and unalterable zeal of her diet. Some days afterwards were spent in settling the form of administration, agreeable

agreeable to the old constitution of the kingdom. A bill, consisting of a variety of articles, was drawn up for this purpose, but interrupted by a motion which some of the members made, and supported with great warmth, to join the prince of *Hesse* with her majesty in the regency. It is doubtful where these debates would have ended, had not the prince entered the assembly, and assured the states, that he pretended to no share in the government, but would willingly and cheerfully discharge any part in the public service they would think fit to assign him. A declaration so moderate and prudent, terminated their debates, and the articles for re-establishing the old constitution passed into an act. Here it was expressly provided, that the queen should forfeit the crown upon any the least attempt, direct or indirect, to restore arbitrary power; and that whoever should advise her, or any of her successors, to arbitrary measures, should be declared an enemy to the state, and banished as a traitor to his country: that persons admitted into employments, should first swear themselves of the *Lutheran* religion, natives of *Sweden*, and enemies to arbitrary power: that her majesty should profess the *Lutheran* religion, the only one which should be tolerated in *Sweden*, except in the houses of foreign ambassadors: that her majesty should have no power to alienate the crown-dominions in favour of her younger children: that her heirs succeed not to the crown, till they have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and solemnly signed the conditions of her majesty's accession, renouncing despotism, acknowledging that they hold the crown of the people, and submit their education to the states. By the fourth article, all laws which had not received the sanction of the states were declared of no force. The fifth prohibited the increasing the public taxes without the concurrence of the diet. The sixth, restrained the monarch from declaring war or making peace, without the consent of the states, or of the senate, during a recess. By the tenth, the queen was restrained from going out of the kingdom without the consent of her people. By the twelfth, the senate was to consist of 29 members, chosen by a committee of the nobility, clergy, and burghers. By the twenty-fifth, the queen was to take no sum, exceeding twelve pounds, out of the treasury, without the consent of the diet or senate. Other articles stipulated, that all civil employments should be disposed of by the queen, with the consent of the senate; and military employments, above the rank of lieutenant-colonel, by the states or senate. The diet was to be called every three years, or oftener, if the public affairs should require it. The *senators*

*Present form of government.*

nators were to assist the queen with their advice, and to be responsible to the diet for their conduct. All officers and soldiers were to be sworn to allegiance to the queen, the diet, and the kingdom. The senate were to take upon them the administration, when the queen was absent, or indisposed, until the meeting of the states. Upon the absence, dangerous illness, or death of the queen; in a word, upon any sudden or alarming occasion, the senate might summon the states, and if there should be no heir-male in whose name they could be summoned, they were to assemble themselves, the 30th day after the queen's decease. Such are the principal articles of that act of limitation, signed by the marshal, or speaker of the nobility, by the archbishop of *Upsal* for the clergy, by the first burgomaster of *Stockholm* for the burghers, and by the body of the peasants; afterwards signed and ratified by the queen.

AT the next meeting of the states, which happened on the 27th of *February* 1720, her majesty wrote a letter with her own hand, acquainting them of her extreme desire, that his royal highness might be joined with her in the administration; both on account of the tender affection she bore her royal consort, and the nice and difficult conjuncture of affairs. Upon receipt of this letter, a conference of the four states was held; and it was resolved, after warm debates, that raising his royal highness to a participation of the supreme authority, would be attended with great inconveniences. The queen was no sooner acquainted with the sentiments of the diet, than she wrote a second letter, offering to resign the diadem, provided they would place it on the head of her consort, to revert to her, in case she should happen to survive him. The prince also sent a declaration, importing, that if the diet thought proper to confer the supreme dignity on him, he would confirm the limitation-act, and ratify such other stipulations, in favour of liberty, as they should believe necessary; for that, as he was the person who advised the queen to surrender arbitrary power, so they might depend on his conforming, in all respects, to the act of regency established in the last sessions.

ALL being readily granted, on the side of the queen and her royal consort, that the states could require for the security of their liberties, it was unanimously resolved to grant her majesty's request, that she might be permitted to resign, and transfer the exercise of the royal prerogative to her consort. The resolution was notified on the 22d of *March* to the queen and prince, by a select committee, of each order of the states. On this occasion, his highness signed an instrument

instrument, containing an assurance of his preserving inviolably the conditions upon which he received the crown. In this instrument were contained certain restrictions and limitations, not mentioned in the former act of limitation. Among others it was expressly specified, that the King should not have power of drawing the smallest sum out of the treasury, without the consent of the states or senate; and that the number of senators should be reduced to sixteen. Thus the *Swedes*, not only recovered, but enlarged their liberties; the states regained a kind of sovereignty, and the king's prerogative was so limited, that he became wholly dependent on the will of the people. Since that time, the poise between the nobility and commons has been destroyed; the latter having lost a great number of their ancient privileges, and among others, that important one of assisting at the secret committee, in which all affairs of moment are transacted. Several memorials have been presented on this head, insurrections have appeared in different provinces, but to no effect; the nobility have got the power in their hands, and will probably keep it, until some very extraordinary revolution shall wrest it from them. Upon the whole we may safely affirm, that the commons of *Sweden*, with all their boasted freedom, are as great slaves as the peasants of *France*, with this difference, that they are exempted from the tyranny of an arbitrary government, though that is in a great measure counterbalanced by the oppression of their potent nobility (A).

WITH respect to the states, they consist of deputies sent from the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants, assembled of course once in three years, but oftener, if the exigencies of affairs render it necessary. Each family sends a deputy, the whole number of nobility amounting to a thousand; and with them the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and senior captain, of each regiment, sit and vote. It may appear surprising, that military officers should, in quality of their commissions, have a seat in the high council of the nation; but in *Sweden*, the army form a part of the constitution. The officers are for life, and have estates in land, which pay rents equivalent to their pay, so that they may be reputed a part of the landed interest, independent of the

*An account  
of the  
states of  
Sweden.*

(A) The author of the present *late of Europe* remarks, that the peasants may be considered as the landed interest of *Sweden*, for which they have great regard paid to them; but it is no great instance of respect, that they are wholly excluded the secret committee.

crown. Besides, as they are generally persons of family, and have all property of their own, there is little to be feared from their attachment to the king.

THE clergy are represented by the bishops and superintendants; also by one deputy, chosen out of each rural deanry or district, containing ten parishes, whose expences are supported by the electors. These form a body of two hundred.

THE representatives of the burghers are chosen by the magistrates and common council of each corporation; *Stockholm* sending four, other corporations two, and some one; making in the whole about an hundred and fifty.

LASTLY, the peasants of each district choose one of their own quality to represent them, whose charges they pay, giving him instructions about such matters as are thought necessary to the good of their body. Those deputies are, generally speaking, about two hundred and fifty.

AT the first meeting of the states, the king attends with the senate, and the president of the chancery opens the diet with a speech on the part of his majesty, briefly remarking all the critical occurrences since their last meeting, and the principal reasons for their being now convoked. He is answered by each of the speakers of the four orders, and then the states repair to the different Chambers appointed them; where each elects a certain number of members out of its own body, to compose the secret committee, appointed to prepare and digest matters for the consideration of the states. This committee may indeed be deemed the legislative power of *Sweden*, as matters generally go in the assembly according to the bias given in the committee; so that the peasants being excluded this privilege, have really lost all weight in the legislative state. Each of the several orders has a negative vote; but, in their respective houses, a majority of voices absolutely decides the business (B). It is customary for

<p>(B) That the form of government established at the accession of the prince of <i>Hesse</i> remains still without variation, appears by the following act, signed by the present king before his coronation. "Whereas as the united states of the kingdom of <i>Sweden</i>, of their own motion, and by a free and voluntary choice, elect-</p>	<p>" ed me successor to the crown          " of <i>Sweden</i>, of the <i>Goths</i> and          " of the <i>Vandals</i>; I should be          " wanting in a suitable return          " to the confidence they reposed          " in me on my advancement          " to the throne, which is          " devolved to me by the disposal          " of the Almighty, and by          " their free election, if I did          " not in the most solemn manner</p>
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for the orders to defer representing their grievances, until they have dismissed the business proposed by his majesty: then they give in their remonstrances, to which the king makes such answers as are thought advisable; and at the breaking up of the diet, an extract of the whole proceedings, and the king's answer to their grievances, is given to every member of each order, which he carries home to his constituents.

NEXT to the states, the senate forms the most considerable branch of the government. They underwent various revolutions, sometimes rising to an exorbitance of power, at other times descending to the mere shadow of authority. At present, they are restored to the ancient constitution, having not only authority to advise and admonish the sovereign, but even to over-rule him, when he presumes to attempt any thing contrary to law: indeed, without the concurrence of the senate, he can undertake nothing. They are chosen, it is true, by the king, but they take an oath of fidelity to the kingdom, and are responsible for their behaviour to the states, who have the power to remove them, should they find cause to disapprove their conduct: but an exertion of this power seldom happens, either because the senate studiously avoid giving offence, or the diet is scrupulous about hurting the delicacy of the king's prerogative, or giving umbrage to persons in so great power as the senators:

*The Senate*

"ner confirm the assurance  
"there given, to support them  
"at the expence of my life and  
"blood in the exercise of the  
"pure doctrine and religion  
"they profess, and to preserve  
"and defend the liberties and  
"privileges they have acquired.  
"And as my desires are  
"from every thing which might  
"have the least shadow of constraint,  
"I declare by this public act,  
"which I swear to observe upon my royal word  
"and faith, that I intend, not  
"only to govern my kingdom  
"according to the laws of  
"Sweden, and the forms of  
"regency established in 1720,  
"as well as in conformity with  
"the assurance I gave the states  
"of the kingdom in the year

"1742 (where he was declared  
"successor to the crown), but  
"also that I shall regard as the  
"most dangerous enemies to  
"me and the kingdom, and  
"treat as traitors to their country,  
"all such as shall, either  
"in public, or under any pretence  
"whatsoever, undertake,  
"or endeavour to introduce into  
"this kingdom, despotic  
"power, or arbitrary government;  
"wherein God assist me.  
"Signed, *Adolphus Frederick.*  
*Stockholm, April 6, 1751.*

With such restraints on the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the commons, the Swedish government may well be reputed an aristocracy, the whole power being engrossed by the nobility.



the matter in agitation. This forms a part of the king's revenue, and of consequence becomes more useful to the public, than those enormous fees given to pettyfoggers, for perplexing and obscuring the light of reason and understanding. In *Sweden*, especially in criminal cases, the parties plead in person; hence the practice of the law is but little sought after by gentlemen, and is rather the refuge, than the choice of persons of liberal education.

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the *Swedes* have perfectly secured their freedom against the encroachments of the crown, yet one of the greatest liberties of the subject is fallen into disuse; we mean juries consisting of twelve men, a custom so ancient in *Sweden*, that their writers pretend it was originally derived by other nations from them. At present juries are only known in the lower courts, and there they have salaries, and remain in office for life. They have this in common with juries of other countries, that their verdict must be unanimous, whereas in all the other courts judgment is given by a majority of voices.

THE laws of this country have wisely provided against disputes concerning property, by ordering registers to be kept in every province, of all sales and alienations, as well as engagements respecting property. Should a purchaser fail of registering the particulars of a purchase, an after-contract will take place, which is all the penalty annexed. In *Sweden* alone of all *European* countries, criminals are allowed to purge themselves by oath, where the evidence is not very clear against them. Duelling is punished with the survivor's death, and stigmas affixed on the memory of both parties; but if neither die, both are closely confined for two years upon bread and water. So rigid a punishment makes this barbarous practice less frequent in *Sweden*, and persons of the most scrupulous punctilio think it no breach of honour to apply for reparation to the respective provincial court, where the aggressor is made to give public satisfaction.

#### *Revenue.*

THE revenues of the crown, or rather the kingdom of *Sweden* have been much impaired by the repeated misfortunes sustained during the long war in the reign of *Charles XII.* and that with *Russia* in the late king's reign: Still, however, as the expences of the government have been proportionably reduced, there remains a competent provision for the civil and military lists, and whatever else the public service requires. Those revenues arise from the demefne lands of the farms, the customs, the copper and silver

silver mines, tythes, poll-money, fines, stamped or sealed paper, and other duties payable for proceedings at law. In all they are computed at near one million sterling, of which the customs produce about a fourth, and the demesne lands a third. Thus, while the *Swedish* finances are regularly and frugally managed, they will always be able to maintain the government in such a condition as not to stand in need of subsidies from foreign courts, or in any degree to apprehend invasions and insults from their neighbours.

THE poll-tax was levied only upon the peasants, until the reign of *Charles XII.* when the distresses of the kingdom obliged the ministry to raise money by every possible means, and extend the tax to persons of superior condition. This has been since abolished; and we have been told, that before the *Swedes* engaged in the confederacy against his *Prussian* majesty, the deficiency of the revenue, by the removal of this oppressive impost, was compensated by a subsidy from *France*; a circumstance which made the common people at first extremely eager to enter upon the war.

It has been already observed, that military tenures are supposed to have been first established in *Sweden*; certain it is that the nobility and gentry held their lands of the crown by knight's service. They brought into the field a body of horse proportioned to the value of their tenures, a custom which seems to have prevailed universally among nations whose dominion was founded in conquest. It was indeed the greatest security of lands obtained by force, to parcel them out among the officers of their victorious armies, who would for their own interest defend them, and upon all occasions attend the call of the government with a body of troops, maintained without expence to the public. Such, originally, was the constitution of every northern kingdom, a politic measure, which in succession of time was attended with great inconveniencies to the sovereign. Forgetting their primitive obligations, the nobility formed confederacies against the sovereign, made him totter on his throne, and sometimes dethroning him, rendered the crown elective, curtailed the regal authority, or clogged it with such restrictions as reduced it to a mere shadow. Hence proceed the various forms of government in *Europe*, all springing from the same source. The militia of *Sweden* indeed has undergone but few changes. The officers, who have lands parcelled out to them, are obliged to bring the same men and horses into the field, while they are fit for service; and hence the militia of *Sweden* are equal to the best regular forces. *Charles XI.* put the army upon the best footing it ever stood, and his

regulations continue to this day. Formerly no levies could be made without the consent of the commons or fourth state, in obtaining which there was usually found much difficulty. But this prince appointed commissioners, who were to assign to each province their quota of soldiers, according to the number of farms it contained. Every farm of sixty or seventy pounds was charged with one soldier, who received his diet, cloaths, and about twenty shillings yearly from the farmer. The married soldier has a wooden house built for him by the farmer, who allows him hay and pasturage sufficient for a milch cow, and furnishes land enough to supply him with bread, which he prefers to quartering. Once enlisted in the king's service, no soldier can quit it on pain of death. But as the farmers are obliged to find recruits in the room of persons killed or disabled, they complain grievously of the oppression, while the government congratulates itself on thus having a strong military force, with little or no expence to the sovereign.

ALL the officers of horse and foot are maintained out of lands lately resumed, and united to the crown. Each has a convenient house and competent portion of land assigned him, as near as possible to the quarters of his regiment, with which he is better satisfied than soliciting for the pay at the treasury. The laws for maintaining this constitution are exact and particular. They provide with great caution, that neither the peasants shall be oppressed nor insulted by the licentiousness of the soldiers, nor the lands or houses ruined; to prevent which they are visited at certain periods, and the possessor compelled to make such repairs as are found needful. As every officer, on entering upon an estate, subscribes to an inventory, so, on his promotion, he puts the estate in good repair before he receives the benefit of his new employment; and in case of his death his heir cannot inherit before this is done to the satisfaction of the officer who succeeds.

NOR are invalids neglected in *Sweden*, the king having annexed to each regiment about twenty supernumerary farms, as a provision for those officers who are past service; while the common soldiers, whom age, wounds, and infirmities, have disabled, are received in a large, well-endowed hospital, supported by a sort of tax on military preferment.

*Naviga-  
tion.*

THE trade and navigation of *Sweden* have been greatly augmented by the progress of the *English* commerce in the *Baltic*, which has reduced within bounds the commerce carried on in these seas by the *United Provinces*. In pacific times

times *Sweden* seems to reap the chief advantage of this commerce, in point of navigation ; but whenever that kingdom is engaged in war, then our merchants carry on the whole trade in *English* bottoms. But as these are particulars which may be collected in every political writer, we shall drop the subject, in order to proceed to our history.

## S E C T. II.

*Containing the public transactions, and reigns of the several Swedish monarchs to Biorno III.*

THE ancient history of *Sweden* is so involved in fable, absurdity, and anachronism, as foils all the attempts of criticism to unravel. However, as the general laws of history, deduced from the example of the best writers, and particularly our plan, require that we should trace every nation as near its origin as circumstances will admit, we should be inexcusable if we did not gratify the reader with a view of the first monarchs of *Sweden*, and such a succession of kings as the documents now existing will afford. *Jo. Magnus*, *Joh. Gothus*, *Loccenius*, *Sueningius*, *Jacob Gislén*, *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Puffendorf*, and a variety of other writers, have exhibited regular catalogues of the princes that reigned in the more obscure period ; but as they differ greatly among themselves, and found their authority upon ancient legends and monuments, which each has interpreted in his own way, they are to be read with caution, and trusted with considerable allowances. One, for instance, places *Eric* at the head of the monarchy<sup>a</sup> ; another goes four kings higher, making *Eric* the fifth *Swedish* prince<sup>b</sup> ; a third flounces some centuries deeper into obscurity, beginning his series with *Magog* the son of *Japhet*, and grandson of *Noah*<sup>c</sup> ; in a word, they vary not only with respect to the origin of the monarchy, but of the succession of the princes. Assured that it would now be impossible to reconcile their differences, we shall follow, in general, the most approved historians, confronting them, however, with others, as often as we find occasion, and endeavouring from this collision of sentiments to strike out the truth.

ALL historians agree that ancient *Scandinavia* was first governed by judges, elected, for a certain time, by the

<sup>a</sup> LOCCEŒ. Chron. Dan. p. 2.

<sup>b</sup> RUPBECK. Atlant. tom. ii.

<sup>c</sup> SUENING.

voice of the people. This in particular was the form of government in *Sweden*, the country being divided among a number of these temporary princes, until *Eric*, if we believe *Loccenius* and *Johannes Gothus*; or *Suenon*, if we rather credit *Puffendorf* and *Johannes Magnus*, was raised to the supreme power, A. M. 2014, or 1951, just as we follow one or other of these authorities. In either case, the inconveniencies attending the form of government, and the merit and popularity of these princes, are said to have determined the people to elevate them to the sovereignty of the whole country, uniting the prerogatives of all their temporary magistrates in the person of one king for life, or until his conduct required he should be stripped of his authority (A).

Eric.

*ERIC* governed his people with applause; he preserved peace, and augmented his dominions, by sending colonies to *Schonen*, as well as several of the *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*; a fact, however, which is contested by *Grammaticus* and the *Danish* writers.

AFTER *Eric*'s death the *Goths*, or, as some writers call them before this time, the *Swedes* (B) were divided into factions, and harrassed with civil wars for the space of 400 years, during which period we have no account of their form of government. Some writers alledge they reverted to their ancient custom of electing judges; others again affirm that a monarchical form was maintained, and to prove their assertion, instance *Udda*, *Alo*, *Othen*, *Charles*, *Biorno*, and several other persons who held the sovereign power, but of whom they transmit nothing besides the names. To them succeeded *Gylfo*, mentioned in several ancient *Swedish* and *Norwegian* monuments to have reigned about this time.

Gylfo.

IMMEDIATELY after *Gylfo*, *Messenius* places *Humulf* (C), *Humble*, father to *Dan*, the first king of *Denmark* (a circumstance very discordant with their chronology), *Thor*, *Urber*, and *Osten*. But the first prince of whom we have any kind

(A) *Messenius* advances strong arguments against *Suenon*'s being the first prince; and as we have nothing to oppose to them, we have chosen to begin with *Eric*, according to *Loccenius*'s chronology.

(B) It is remarkable, that although most *Swedish* historians deduce the *Swedish* nation from the *Goths*, yet they frequently speak of them as distinct

nations, and the titles of the *Swedish* kings at this day distinguish them.

(C) According to *Puffendorf* and *Messenius*, *Humulf* lived about 400 years before the nativity; and yet his grandson *Humble* is affirmed by *Suaningius*, and the *Danish* writers, to have flourished 1048 years before *Christ*.

of

### The History of Sweden.

of history, is *Othen* or *Odin*, said to have passed from *Asia* to *Odin*, or *Scandinavia*, where he was raised to the throne of *Sweden*. *Othen*. Great skill in magic is attributed to him; and *Puffendorf* makes him the greatest warrior of his age. Driven out of *Asia* by *Pompey*, he opened a way with his sword into *Scandinavia*, conquered the *Saxons*, frequently defeated the *Danish* king *Lother*, and performed a variety of exploits, concerning which the *Danish* historians and *Loccenius* are entirely silent<sup>d</sup>. There would indeed appear to be a considerable error in chronology here, which we should vainly attempt to rectify. For some time he kept his court at *Upsal*, afterwards he built a palace near lake *Lagen*, called from his own name *Odenfala*. He framed several wholesome laws for the good order of society, promoting religion, and the decent performance of funeral obsequies, the last act of gratitude which could be done to persons meriting well of the public. He rewarded bravery, by setting a certain price on the heads of his enemies. After his death he was enrolled among the gods, and worshipped as a deity on a day set apart every week<sup>e</sup>. According to *Puffendorf*, *Oden* instituted a nonennial feast at *Upsal*, to which were invited all the kings of *Scandinavia*. Here it was that an ancient custom so glorious, if true, to *Sweden*, had its origin. His *Swedish* majesty mounting his horse was attended by two kings, the *Danish* monarch holding his bridle, and his *Norwegian* majesty the stirrup<sup>f</sup>. The same author adds, that, notwithstanding his many excellent qualities, his rebellious subjects drove him for ten years into exile, from which he was recalled a little before his death.

*TORFÆUS* alleges, that *Freyer*, *Friwo*, or *Frotho*, *Niord*. succeeded *Othen*; but *Loccenius* places *Niord* immediately after that monarch. He was one of the high-priests of *Upsal*, equally famous for sorcery as his predecessor, to which, and the credulity of the people, he owed his elevation. By some historians he is represented as a pacific and religious prince; but *Puffendorf* speaks of his warlike qualities, in which, however, he was unfortunate. Attacked by the sovereign of *Muscovy*, on account of some injury that prince had received from *Othen*, he defended himself with courage; but at last, oppressed with numbers, he lost a battle, and fled to *Denmark*. *Sweden* was the reward of the conqueror, and transmitted by him to his successor, who governed with such tyranny, that the people revolted and recalled *Niord*. In some ancient records he is called *Nearchus*, and said to be

<sup>d</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 12.    <sup>e</sup> LOCCEN. lib. i.    <sup>f</sup> PUFFEND. p. 14.

brother

brother to *Frode* or *Frithu*, whom *Luzzanne* makes his successor.

**Frotha.** In *Frothe's* reign, says *Puffendorf*, the northern kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquility. He was a religious and magnificent prince, sparing no expense in ornamenting the temples of the gods. It is said he adorned a large temple at *Upsal* with a rich gold chain, each ring weighing several pounds, and the whole enclosing the building &c.

HISTORIANS are divided about the successors of this monarch. *Puffendorf*, and a few others, mention *Sigurg*, *Saibdager*, and *Osmond*; but *Messenius* and *Luzzanne* place no less than nine kings before *Sigurg*. All, however, agree that *Sigurg* did succeed to the crown, though they differ with respect to the time.

**Sigurg.** NOT long after *Sigurg* ascended the throne, *Gram* king of *Denmark* demanded his daughter in marriage; but his majesty desiring to bestow her in marriage on *Harald*, brother to the king of *Friland*, sent back the ambassadors with a polite denial. The *Dane* found means to gain the princess's consent, by his liberal presents; upon which he set out in disguise to *Sweden*, came to court, and carried her off. This occasioned a war between the two kingdoms, which ended fatally for the *Swedish* monarch; and the *Danish* historians allege, that *Gram* united the dominions of the vanquished to his own; nor is this positively denied by the most approved *Swedish* writers. *Gram's* understanding was intoxicated with prosperity. He grew insolent, cruel, and oppressive. His new subjects rebelled, he was driven out of the kingdom, or, as others relate, slain in battle by *Suindager*, who succeeded to his crown<sup>1</sup>.

**Suindager.** THIS prince, who was king of *Norway*, now united the three northern crowns, and became the most potent monarch of his time. After a short reign he was dethroned at sea, and slain by *Harald*, the son of *Gram*.

**Limund.** NO sooner was the death of *Suindager* known, than his son *Limund* was raised to the throne, with the title of king of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Gottland*. Desirous of revenging his father's death, he made war on *Harald*, and was slain, after an obstinate battle, in which he killed *Harald's* son, and wounded the king himself in the leg<sup>2</sup>.

**Uffa.** UFFA succeeded to the crown and quarrel of his father and grandfather. At his accession, his dominions

<sup>1</sup> JOHAN. MAGN. p. 4. 7.      <sup>2</sup> LOCCKE. Lib. i. METR. p. 3.      <sup>3</sup> STANING. CHRON. p. 26. LOCCKE.

were ravaged by the troops of the victorious *Dane*, which he retaliated, by making a descent on *Denmark*. This obliged *Hading* to return to the defence of his own kingdom; upon which *Uffo* embarked his army for *Sweden*, not chusing to venture a battle. The conquest, however, of *Sweden* was the utmost ambition of the *Danish* monarch, and the ultimate aim of his politicks. He assembled a more numerous army than before, and invaded *Sweden* once more; but found *Uffo* encamped so advantageously, that it was impossible to advance, and as unsafe as disgraceful to retreat. He was reduced to the greatest extremities, his soldiers perishing with cold and hunger, when necessity obliged him to attempt opening a way through the midst of the *Swedish* camp. Despair rendered the *Danes* irresistible, they fought with fury, pushed their way through, and saved the remainder of the army in *Gothland*, from whence *Hading* with great danger escaped to *Norway*, and thence into *Denmark*.

*U F F O*, in despair that his greatest enemy should have escaped out of his hands, set a price on his head, publishing, that whoever should put *Hading* to death, would be assuredly recompensed with his daughter in marriage. *Hunding*, one of the heroes of the age, animated with the greatness of the reward, attacked *Hading* with a troop of desperadoes, but failed in the attempt. In his turn, *Hading* contrived the death of his enemy. Pretending that he sought the means of reconciliation, he desired a passport to the court of *Uffo* at *Upsal*, in order to perform a certain vow he had made. His request was granted, he arrived at the *Swedish* capital, was invited to a grand entertainment which *Uffo* prepared, with a view to countermine his designs; but some of the assassins discovering the plot, *Hading* left the court privately, and traversing almost impervious woods and mountains, arrived in *Denmark*. Some time after, he returned secretly to *Upsal*, accomplished his design, assassinated *Uffo*, and buried his body magnificently, in order to win the affections of the *Swedes*. This account differs, in many particulars, from what we have already related in *Hading's* life; but it must be remembered, that we deduce the history of each nation from its own historians, only comparing them in material points with foreigners.

THE schemes of the deepest politician are not always successful. The *Swedes* and *Goths*, detesting the murderer of their prince, elected *Hunding*, *Uffo's* brother, for their king. Upon this the war rekindled with fresh vigour; both made extraordinary exertions for victory; but tired  
with



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with fruitless battles, and the profusion of blood and treasure spent to no purpose, they resolved upon a peace as cordial and sincere as ever their animosity was bitter. They swore a perpetual alliance, and entered into a very extraordinary agreement, that as soon as the one should be informed of the other's death, the survivor should immediately lay violent hands on himself. After reigning with great felicity for some years, the news came to *Upsal*, that *Hading* was no more: it was false, but *Hunding* had not patience to wait for a confirmation; he resolved to die, and immediately prepared a magnificent entertainment, assembled all his officers round him, plied them with wine, and at the close of the feast flung himself into a vessel full of hydromel, where he perished. The *Danish* monarch received the news with the utmost grief, and that he might equal his friend in generosity, hanged himself in sight of the whole court.

**Regner.**

THE death of *Hunding* naturally paved the way for his nephew, the son of *Uffe*; but the young king's step-mother, an ambitious woman, resolved to keep the government in her own hands. *Regner* could not oppose her, as his first success was owing to her policy; however, *Suanvita*, daughter to *Hading* late king of *Denmark*, interposed. She made a voyage to *Sweden*, gained access to the young king *Regner*, and found him eloquent, liberal in his sentiments, and politic beyond his years. After exhorting him to rescue the kingdom out of the hands of a woman altogether unworthy of sovereignty, she made him several handsome presents, received the promise of his hand, and returned to *Denmark*. On her departure, *Regner* assembled all his father's friends and adherents; he attacked his mother-in-law, made her prisoner, and put her to death; and after being publicly proclaimed king of *Sweden*, married *Suanvita*.

*FROTHO*, brother to this princess, reigned then in *Denmark*. His ambition hurried him into a war with *Sweden*, while king *Regner* was absent. Besides a powerful army of *Danes*, he was strongly reinforced by some nations inhabiting the eastern side of *Sweden*. *Suanvita*, however, was not intimidated by her brother's formidable strength, nor her husband's absence. She boldly embarked her forces, set sail, joined battle, defeated, and took almost the whole prisoners; but, from natural affection to her country, released them on such conditions as secured the peace of *Sweden*. Unmindful of her generosity, *Frotho* attacked her a second time, and received the just punishment of his ingratitude. He was defeated, and left dead on the field.

From this time *Regner* and *Suanvita* lived in peace and harmony the remainder of their days. He died first, and she was so much affected with her loss, that she soon followed him.

**HOLWARD**, surnamed *Hotebrad*, no sooner ascended *Holward* the throne than he resolved to revenge the injuries done to his father, making war at the same time on the *Russians*, *Esthonians*, *Finlanders*, *Suabians*, and *Courlanders*. His design was to reduce all these nations under his obedience, and he succeeded. After finishing these expeditions, he married *Gyrita* of *Norway*, by whom he had two sons, *Attilus* and *Hother*. Next he turned his arms against *Denmark*, and after two undecisive battles, left king *Roe* dead on the field, in the third. *Helgon*, *Roe*'s brother, resumed the quarrel, he equipped a fleet, gave battle to the *Swedes*, and defeated them, after having mortally wounded *Holward*. Profiting by his victory, he reduced the whole kingdom, and annexed it to his own crown; but, intoxicated with prosperity, his insolence destroyed what his bravery had won. The *Swedes* rebelled in every province; but still *Attilus* could never ascend the throne until he married *Ursilla*, daughter of *Helgon*, with whom he received the crown of *Sweden*, on paying a certain yearly tribute. *Attilus* was remarkable only for his avarice; he heaped up treasures without any other view than the gratification afforded by the quest of money. His queen, who formed a design on the treasure, persuaded him to invite her son *Rokvo*, by a former marriage, now king of *Denmark*, to his court. On his arrival a plan was laid for carrying off the treasure, and flying out of the kingdom. On the day of their departure, *Rokvo* amused his father-in-law with frivolous discourses, while his mother was shipping the money; then he followed her, and both got safe out of the kingdom, notwithstanding they were diligently pursued by *Attilus*.

**HOTHER** succeeded his father *Attilus*, unlike him *Hother*. in the qualities of mind and person. He was liberal, polite, and handsome, the most elegant courtier and fine gentleman of the *North*. His accomplishments won the heart of *Nanna*, daughter to *Givar* king of *Norway*; but *Hacho*, king of *Denmark*, who formed pretensions to the princess, obstructed the marriage by every possible means. A war ensued, *Hother* invaded *Denmark* with a fleet and army, and was repulsed, escaping with great difficulty to *Jutland*, where he wintered. He was not discouraged, however, by his disgrace; labouring to recruit his army and refit his fleet, he a second time gave battle to the *Danes*; but the combatants were

were separated, by the darkness of the night, before victory was decided. Next day both armies resumed the engagement with redoubled fury, *Hacho* was slain, his army defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the crown of *Sweden*. *Denmark* indeed did not long remain in a state of servitude; for *Hother* was no sooner departed for *Sweden*, than *Fridlef* took possession of the throne. *Hother* marched against him without delay, and defeating him, deprived him of his kingdom and life. Afterwards he reigned peaceably for some years over *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but the nobility of the latter rebelling, he raised an army, gave them battle, and lost his life.

**Roderick.** *RORIC*, or *Roderic*, who next ascended the throne, did not suffer his father's death to remain unpunished (D). He raised a powerful army of *Swedes* and *Danes*, and conquered the *Russians*, *Esthonians*, *Finlanders*, and other northern nations. All acknowledged the superiority of his arms, and bent their neck to the yoke; yet, moderate enough to content himself with his lawful dominions, he gave up all his conquests, and even governed *Denmark* by a viceroy.

**Attilus II.** To his crown succeeded *Attilus* his brother, and the second *Swedish* monarch of that name. This prince, engaged in a war with *Denmark*, was murdered by the treachery of his enemies. *Rito* and *Vigo*, half-brothers to the *Danish* monarch, came to the court of *Attilus*, and took an opportunity of assassinating the king; a base action, for which they were rewarded liberally by the dastardly prince who employed them.

**Hogmor and Hogrin.** *HOGMOR* and *Hogrin* succeeded to the throne. All we know of these princes is, that they reigned long, carried on a war against the king of *Denmark*, and both perished in a battle fought at sea with that monarch.

**Alaric.** NEXT the *Swedes* elected *Alaric*, whose son was prince of *Wermland*. He began his reign with vigorously attacking *Gestiblund* king of the *Goths*, with design to annex his dominions to *Sweden*; but he found the business more difficult than he apprehended. *Gestiblund* applied to *Frotho* (E), king

(D) This prince, surnamed *Denmark* for his dominions. *Vid. Slingabond*, is reckoned by *Meurf. lib. i.*

(E) More probably *Rokvo*; for *Frotho* I. reigned several years before *Alaric*, and the second of that name some ages after,

of

of *Denmark*, for assistance, who gave him *Godescale* with a body of *Slavonians*, and *Eric* with a numerous army of *Norwegians*. These auxiliaries first defeated *Ganto*, son of *Alaric*, and reduced his province. Some say he was left dead on the field, and all agree, that, after his defeat, the conquerors joined the *Goths*, and marched against king *Alaric*. The *Swedish* monarch, after vainly endeavouring to detach *Eric* from the interest of *Gestiblund*, challenged the latter to single combat ; but *Eric* would not permit the issue of the war to depend on the arm of a prince worn out with age and infirmity. He offered himself; was accepted, a battle was fought, and *Alaric* left dead upon the spot.

*ERIC* procured the crown of *Sweden* in reward of his victory, and he annexed the kingdom of the *Goths* to his own, at the death of *Gestiblund*. Descended from one of the most considerable families in *Norway*, he acquired great reputation by his valour and eloquence, as well as consummate wisdom. The king of *Denmark* performed nothing without his advice, and besides the crown of *Sweden*, which *Eric* procured by his interest, was constantly making him presents, in testimony of his esteem. In a word, he carried his regard to such a length, that he resolved to connect the families by marriage, and raise *Eric*'s brother to the throne of *Norway*. It is added, that the *Norwegians* revolting, the new king demanded assistance of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. *Frotho* and *Eric* marched with all possible dispatch to succour their ally : *Frotho* came up first with the enemy, and must have been defeated; had not the *Swedish* monarch's arrival changed the fortune of the day, saved his brother's crown, and the *Danish* army.

*HALDEN* succeeded *Eric* in the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gothland*. The crown had scarce adorned his temples when he entered upon a furious war against the *Norwegians*, who, at the death of *Eric* and *Frotho*, claimed independency, and even endeavoured to revenge the insults offered them by those two powerful monarchs. His arms had but little success ; one defeat followed another, and he found himself in a little time on the brink of perdition, when he applied for succour to the *Russians*, and obtained powerful reinforcements, under the conduct of *Fridlef* the son of *Frotho*, king of *Denmark*. *Fridlef* had served long in *Muscovy*, and was in high credit on account of his exploits. It was no difficult matter for him to raise an army, every one ran to his standard, and he was ready a few days after it was erected, to begin his march at the head of 30,000 able-bodied men, with whom he proposed, first to subdue the *Norwegians*, and

then to rescue *Denmark* out of the hands of one *Hiarn*, who had usurped the sovereignty. On his arrival on the frontiers of *Sweden*, he was joined by *Halden* with a body of *Swedes*. Both princes made an irruption into *Norway*, and obtained a signal victory. After this repulse the *Norwegians* durst not hazard a battle; they shut themselves up in a strong fortress on the borders, from whence they greatly incommoded the allied princes with repeated sallies. At length, however, *Fridlef* carried the place by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and secured peace to *Halden*. A few years after *Fridlef*, now king of *Denmark*, experienced *Halden's* gratitude. Falling deeply in love with the princess of *Norway*, her father refused to give her to him in marriage, upon which he began a second cruel war against that people, in which he was powerfully assisted by *Halden*. The *Norwegians* were defeated in a pitched battle, their king slain, and his daughter carried off, the prize of victory. For a number of years the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* lived together in the strictest ties of friendship. At last *Halden* was assassinated by some malecontents, who, not satisfied with murdering the father, contrived the death of his son *Siward*, and, failing in that attempt, endeavoured at least to prevent his ascending the throne.

*Siward.*

IN spite of all opposition *Siward* at length obtained the crown, by means of one *Stercather*, a man of extraordinary personal qualities and great influence. The *Goths*, however, dismembered themselves from *Sweden*, and gave their sovereignty to one *Charles*, a person of very ancient family and great popularity. *Charles* knowing that the *Swedes* would not patiently support this act of independency, took the most vigorous measures to support his authority, and formed several powerful alliances. He married his daughter to *Harold*, son of *Olaus* king of *Denmark*; and *Siward*, to destroy the intention of this match, gave his daughter *Uvilda* in marriage to *Frotho*, *Harold's* brother, by this means preserving *Denmark* a neutral power between both. It fell out otherwise, for *Harold* declared for *Charles*, and *Siward* was powerfully assisted by *Frotho*. Several bloody battles were fought, *Harold* was murdered by his brother, and *Frotho* raised to the throne of *Denmark*: but he enjoyed the fruits of his villainy no longer than till his nephews, the sons of *Harold*, came of age. They thirsted after revenge, and obtained a most signal one, having burnt their uncle in his palace, and stoned to death his queen *Uvilda*. Afterwards they made an irruption into *Sweden*, and killed king *Siward*, after having defeated him in battle.

As *Siward* left no male children, the son of his daughter *Eric*. *Ulvilda* was raised to the throne of *Sweden*, at the death of *Frotho*; but he did not long enjoy his crown in peace. His cousin *Halden*, not contented with having murdered the father, mother, and grandfather of *Eric*, was now plotting against his life, as the only impediment to his obtaining the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. First, he made himself master of *Denmark*, the government of which he gave to his brother *Harold*, and then went to *Gothland*, where he raised a powerful army, with which he marched against *Eric*, attacked him, and was defeated, saving with difficulty the remains of his army in *Helsingia*. Not discouraged with this repulse, he recruited his army with all expedition, and attacked *Eric* a second time with redoubled vigour, but similar fortune. He was again beaten, and forced to seek shelter with the shattered remains of his army in the inaccessible mountains of *Gothland*, from which it was not possible for *Eric* to dislodge him. He fell, however, upon a stratagem that answered his purpose. He invaded *Denmark*, defeated *Harold* in four battles, and obliged him to recal his brother *Halden* out of *Sweden*, for the defence of his own dominions.

It was just on *Halden's* arrival that *Harold* was a fourth time defeated, almost his whole army destroyed, and himself slain, as he was endeavouring to carry off the remains of his forces. Upon this victory *Eric* set out for *Sweden*, whither *Halden* pursued him with a numerous fleet, determined to revenge all his losses by one decisive engagement. Both fleets met on the coast of *Sweden*, and *Eric*, who was led into an ambuscade, received a total overthrow, in which he lost his life (F).

THIS victory paved the way to the throne of *Sweden*, *Halden* which *Halden* annexed to that of *Denmark* and *Gothland*, *Bergram*, signalising the beginning of his reign by a vigorous war he waged against the pirates and corsairs, who had greatly molested the navigation of the *Baltic*. While he was thus engaged, a rebellion was excited in *Sweden* by one *Siward*, who represented to the people how shameful it was to acknowledge for king the person who had burnt their king *Siward*, stoned his queen *Ulvilda*, slain their late king *Eric*, and was himself a foreigner. He admonished them to elect

(F) The *Danish* historians alledge, that *Eric* was made prisoner, and might have obtained advantageous conditions, if his pride would have suffer-

ed him to have held his crown of *Halden*. This he refused, and the conqueror ordered him to be exposed to wild beasts. *Meurf. lib. i.*

a prince of their own nation, whose interest and inclination would equally attach him to the country. His reproaches and exhortations made an impression; the people revolted, and offered the crown to *Siwald*; descended of the blood-royal. *Halden* flew immediately to quell the sedition, and his presence soon intimidated those who had declared for *Siwald*. They abandoned him, and left that hero alone to oppose the whole force of one of the most powerful monarchs in *Europe*. *Siwald* was not discouraged; he sent a herald to *Halden*, declaring that with his seven sons he would fight him; but *Halden* answered, that the match was unequal, as he alone would then be opposed to eight enemies. *Siwald*, however, replying, that his sons and himself were one blood, the challenge was accepted, and the eight combatants were left dead on the field. A proof of valour and prowess so astonishing ought naturally to have deterred others from declaring themselves the enemies of *Halden*. One *Hasþen*, however, sent him a challenge, depending on his enormous stature, and the good-fortune which had hitherto attended him in all his encounters. His cartel was accepted. *Halden* fought him and six associates, all of whom he left prostrate on the field. In a word, after gaining the merited reputation of the greatest warrior of his times, *Halden* died, and was, agreeable to the custom of that age, enrolled in the calendar of heroes (G).

**Unguin.** *HALDEN* bequeathed by will his dominions to his kinsman *Unguin*; whence their opinion who report that his son *Asmund* died before him, seems confirmed. Yet is it questioned, upon good foundation, whether *Unguin* stood in any degree of affinity or relationship to the king. This prince annexed the crown of *Gothland* to that of *Sweden*, and died after a short but prosperous reign<sup>b</sup>. Others alledge, with more probability, that he lost his life in a battle against *Regnald* king of *Gothland*, who, in right of conquest, succeeded to the crown of *Sweden*<sup>c</sup>.

**Regnald.** To render his victory still more extensive in its consequences, he invaded *Denmark*, with a view to annex that kingdom to his crown. Here he fought a battle which,

<sup>b</sup> SUANING. p. 27.

<sup>c</sup> LOCCEN. lib. i. p. 25.

(G) It is supposed, and not without reason, by some historians, that *Halden's* reign is composed of events which happened under several different

kings; however, as we could not now separate them upon any authority, we have transmitted them in the usual form

after

after continuing for three days with unremitting fury, at last ended with his life. *Regnald's* fate determined the fortune of the day ; a panic seized his troops, and they suffered the enemy to snatch victory out of their arms, retiring with precipitation to the fleet. Afterwards a great part of the army entered into the service of *Hacho*, a famous pirate of *Norway*.

HISTORIANS are greatly divided about the successor. *Asmund*, *Loccenius* and *Suaningius* assert, without hesitation, that *As-* or *Hamund*, the son of *Regnald*, was raised by the universal voice of the people to the throne of *Sweden* ; while *Puffendorf*, and *Johannes Magnus*, from whom he deduces his authority, are no less positive that the crown fell into the hands of *Siwald*, the victorious monarch of *Denmark*. *Asmund* had four sons, the most formidable pirates of the age, who became the terror of the *Baltic*, and the scourge of honest industry and fair commerce. At sea they met with the four princes of *Denmark*, who likewise led piratical lives ; a fierce combat ensued ; both sides exerted their utmost endeavours for victory, and with such equal fortune, that they struck up peace, and entered into the most cordial amity. The *Swedish* princes accompanied their new friends to the court of *Denmark*, where *Hagbord*, the third brother, fell deeply enamoured of *Segris*, the king's daughter, a young lady possessed of every accomplishment of mind and person. She had, before his arrival, been betrothed to *Hildegislaus*, a noble *German*, of great merit ; but changing her inclinations at the first interview with the *Swedish* prince, such an emulation arose between the lovers as could only be appeased by blood. *Hildegislaus* would have had recourse for redress to his own courage, but he was dissuaded from challenging his rival, by the insinuating arts of the cunning *Bolvigius*, a nobleman grown grey in court-intrigues. He undertook to sow the seeds of jealousy between the *Swedish* and *Danish* princes, and thence to oblige the former to quit the court. His wiles succeeded ; the *Danes* were soon convinced, that the children of *Asmund* had secret designs, which they pushed under the mask of friendship and esteem. They contrived the murder of the four princes, and actually assassinated *Helvinus* and *Armud*, the second and youngest. But their death did not remain long unrevenged. *Hagbord* fell sword-in-hand upon the *Danish* princes, and made them suffer the just punishment of their credulity and treachery ; but imagining that all his endeavours to obtain the king's consent to marry the princess, would now be vain, he got access to the palace, disguised like a woman, penetrated to



the princess's chamber, and carried her off. *Loccenius*, indeed, says, that in a female disguise he entered into the princess's service, found admittance to her bed, ravished her, was discovered, and put to death. He adds, that the princess, distracted with love and despair, set fire to her part of the palace, and consumed it, herself, wealth, and attendants. *Hacquin* now alone remained of all the sons of *Asmund*. Immediately on his return to *Sweden* he levied an army to revenge the murder of his brothers. No sooner had he landed his troops in *Zeland*, than he ordered them to cut down large boughs of trees, which they held in their left hands, as they marched towards the capital. The centinels round the city were struck with fear at the sight of so unusual a phenomenon as a moving wood; they abandoned their posts, and communicated their panic to the whole court. The king doubted not but it foreboded ruin to him; however, he determined to fall gloriously, and after he had achieved every thing for the preservation of his people, collecting a tumultuous army, he sallied out of the city, began a fierce engagement, and fell by the hands of the enemy. *Hacquin* used his good-fortune in a manner that shewed how little he deserved it; his cruelty spared neither age nor sex; all, without distinction, were hewn down in cold blood, and *Denmark* was struggling in the arms of expiring freedom, when advice arrived of the death of *Asmund*. *Hacquin*, upon this, repaired with all expedition to *Sweden*, to take upon him the sovereignty, leaving the command of the army with one of his generals, surnamed *the Proud*, who was soon driven out of the country after his master's departure. The king was not long repairing the losses sustained by his general. He over-ran *Denmark* with a powerful army, and, to subject the conquered to every possible ignominy, set a woman to rule over them; a fact omitted by all the *Danish* historians. The remaining years of this prince's reign were pacific and happy; *Denmark* paid him tribute, and *Sweden* and *Gotland* acknowledged him as immediate sovereign. The equity, moderation, and prudence of the latter part of his reign fully effaced the errors committed in the beginning. For ten years before his death he lost the use of all his faculties, and was suckled like an infant, through a horn. Still, however, he preserved the affection and esteem of his subjects, and died highly regretted (H).

*Hacquin.*

ACCORDING

(H) About this period the most confusion prevails among all the northern historians. Some mention *Hacquin* the

ACCORDING to most writers, *Hacquin* was succeeded by *Egil Auniff*, who was near being deprived of his crown, by the intrigues of *Thunno*, the treasurer in the late reign. This person had converted to his own use great sums of the public money, and his wealth enabled him to aspire at sovereignty. To avoid being called to an account by the young king, he openly revolted, and assembled a numerous army of desperadoes. The little success he met with in his first encounters with the royal forces did not discourage him. Too far advanced in treason to retract with safety, he now plundered on in mere despair, and fought eight successive battles, in all which he was worsted, according to *Loccenius*; though *Gothus* alledges, that *Egil* was so hard pressed as obliged him to apply for succour to *Asmund* king of *Denmark*. It was then, says this last historian, that he fairly turned the tables upon *Thunno*, destroyed his army, drove him into banishment, and passed the rest of his life in perfect tranquillity. *Egil* ended his days unfortunately. One day, as he returned from the chace, he was set upon by a mad bull, and so miserably gored that he expired on the spot.

*E G I L*'s sceptre was put into the hands of his son *Gothar*, called by some writers *Ottar*. His majesty's first care was, to strengthen himself by powerful alliances, and to secure the tranquillity of his people by entering into friendly connections with the neighbouring states. With this view he cast his eyes on the daughter of *Asmund* king of *Denmark*, and demanded the princess in marriage. An ambassador was sent, with a splendid train, to the court of *Denmark*; but in his passage through the province of *Halland*, he was set upon and murdered by robbers, supposed to have acted agreeable to orders from his *Danish* majesty. *Siwald* had now mounted the throne of that kingdom, and seemed but little disposed to comply with the inclinations of his father and sister, to avoid which *Gothar* was persuaded he fell upon this pitiful stratagem. To avenge himself, he immediately declared war, and obtained a considerable victory over the *Danes* in *Halland*. Next he conquered *Sebonen*, and ravaged all the enemies provinces, until he obtained his mistress and carried her off in triumph. In his absence, one of his

the successor of *Asmund*, and *quin* the son of *Germundar*, of succeeded in his turn by *Offen*, a character totally different *Alaric*, and *Ingo* (1); while from the former (2). others relate the life of *Hac-*

(1) *Loccen. lib. 1. p. 32.*

(2) *Johan. Gotb. lib. 2. Puffend. p. 54.*

vassals had carried on an intrigue with the princess his sister; and the king, on his return, condemned him to death; a sentence that was executed without mitigation. The friends of the deceased, determined upon revenge, invited the usurper of *Denmark* into *Sweden*, promising to assist him, in the conquest of the kingdom, with powerful forces. Ravished with so fair an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, *Farmeric*, for that was the usurper's name, joyfully received the proposals made by the malecontents, raised an army, and began a cruel war against *Sweden*. *Gothar* was not terrified with the approaching storm; but, assembling his forces, marched with a good countenance, and gave battle to the *Danes*. Fortune, however, was not propitious; he was defeated with great slaughter, and left dead on the field, amidst the horrible carnage. *Farmeric* made a brutal use of his victory; no sooner was the king's body recognised, than, denying it burial, he ordered it to be exposed, on the top of a mountain, to wild beasts and birds of prey. He was even insolent enough to send into *Sweden* a wooden image of a raven, with an inscription, importing, "That king *Gothar* was now of no more consequence than the raven." Hence it was that this unfortunate prince obtained, after his death, the surname of *Wandelkroka* or *Raven*<sup>d</sup>.

Adel.

*ADEL* succeeded to his father's crown, and was preparing to revenge his death, when advice was received of a complete victory *Farmeric* had obtained over the *Sclavonians* and *Livonians*. This obliged the young king to suppress his resentment, it being hazardous to declare war so early in his reign, against a prince flushed, and greatly strengthened by repeated conquests. Not long after, he yielded to his impatience of vengeance, engaged the enemy by sea, and after a warm contest, that continued for three days, concluded a peace, on condition that *Farmeric* should marry his sister, and thenceforward live in perfect harmony with *Sweden*. This good intelligence between the two crowns was but of short duration. *Swavilda*, sister to the *Swedish* monarch, was unjustly accused by her husband of holding criminal conversation with his son-in-law *Broder*, and accordingly put to death, being torn asunder by wild horses. All *Adel's* caution could not restrain him from breaking out into bitter invectives against *Farmeric*, on receiving this melancholy news. He solemnly vowed revenge, and instantly set about the means of accomplishing it. Entering *Denmark* in a hostile manner, he laid waste all before him, without once

<sup>d</sup> *GOTH. lib. i. PUFFEND. p. 57.*

encountering the enemy, who were immersed in civil wars, *Farmeric's* cruelty having incurred the hatred of his subjects. At length, the *Danish* monarch was forced to seek shelter in a strong fortress he had built, where he was besieged by the *Swedes*, taken prisoner, broke upon the wheel, and his treasures rifled. *Adel* finished his expedition with the conquest of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Blcking*, annexing these provinces to the crown of *Gothland*. As for *Denmark*, he gave it to *Brader*, the son of *Farmeric*, on condition that he paid him a certain yearly tribute. On his return, the king offered sacrifice at *Upsal* to his false gods; and as he was surrounding the temple, on horseback, in procession, he was thrown off, and his neck was dislocated, at the age of fifty-five, and after a reign of forty-five years\*.

*OSTAN* immediately ascended the throne of his father, and was hardly established in the sovereignty, when one of the most considerable families in *Sweden* revolted, and drew into their faction a great number of adherents. To crush this sedition in its bud, the young monarch began his march at the head of an army into *Gothland*. Here the rebels found an opportunity of destroying him. They surrounded the house where he lodged, in the night, and set it on fire, consuming the king and all his attendants. This prince died at the age of fifty-five, after a reign of twenty-six years†; leaving a son and successor near of age.

*INGUAR* inherited his father's crown and the warlike spirit of his ancestors. At a very early period of life, he distinguished himself as one of the first warriors of the times. *Snio* was in possession of the throne of *Denmark*, and aspired at the conquest of *Schonen*. The latter, to accomplish his designs, had endeavoured to secure the friendship of the king of *Gothland*, by paying his addresses to his daughter. The young lady shewed no aversion to the match; but, in the mean time, his *Swedish* majesty made overtures more agreeable to her father, and was accepted in preference to his rival. This was an affront which *Snio* determined to revenge. He flew to arms, invaded *Schonen*, and conquered the province. Not satisfied with his success, he laboured to gain the affection of the young queen of *Sweden*, and establish a clandestine correspondence, injurious to the honour of her husband. *Inguar* was not of a disposition tamely to bear so gross an insult. He raised forces, re-conquered *Schonen*, subdued *Denmark*, and annexed it to his own crown. At

\* LOCCEN. lib. i. p. 38. SUAN. Chron. p. 35.

† TORF. in ser. reg. Dan. LOCCEN. 38.

the death of his father-in-law, he succeeded to the crown of *Gotland*; and not contented with this fresh accession to his power, his ambition aspired at the conquest of several nations lying eastward of his dominions. His designs succeeded; his arms were every where victorious: but he was taken off by the hands of an assassin, in the prime of life, and full bloom of glory (A).

*Asmund.* *ASMUND* inherited the three crowns and extensive conquests of his father. He ascended the throne at twenty years of age, and entered upon the government with a full resolution to avenge *Inguar's* murder. Accordingly he entered the territories of that people supposed to have contrived the assassination, and, after ravaging the whole country, returned with great booty. Next, he turned his thoughts to the arts of peace; and to give his people a higher relish of the blessings of tranquillity, he offered great encouragement to husbandry, by cutting down vast forests, and parcelling out the lands among the industrious, without incumbring them with rents. Thus he increased population, established plenty among his subjects, and reigned in the hearts of his people. He cut out roads and high-ways at the public expence, for the convenience of commerce, and set on foot a thousand useful and public-spirited projects; notwithstanding which, his brother, who formed designs on the crown, drew a powerful faction to espouse his pretensions. A civil war ensued, a battle was fought, *Asmund* lost his life and crown, and the *Swedes* the best monarch that had ever wielded their sceptre: a prince glorious in war, wise in peace, the father and the friend of his subjects.

*Siward.* AFTER a reign of twenty years, *Asmund* was succeeded by his brother *Siward*, whose victory cleared the way to the throne. The ambition of this prince was not gratified with the possession of three crowns; he must extend his dominions by the conquest of *Norway*. Fortune smiled on his endeavours; he conquered, and slew in battle *Siwald* king of *Norway*, and succeeded to his crown. Intoxicated with prosperity, he exercised the most barbarous and wanton cruelties, scourging his new subjects with a rod of iron, and governing with such severity, as soon became intolerable to the *Norwegians*. They revolted, and called to their assist-

(A) Here follows a chapter in the *Swedish* history, which writers have supplied by various and contradictory relations, just as humour and caprice would seem to direct. We shall follow *Puffendorf*, who comes the nearest, in our opinion, to probability.

ance the *Danes*, who expressed the same inclination to throw off the yoke. They had proclaimed *Regner*, a prince of *Norwegian* extraction, sovereign of *Denmark*, flocked to his standard, and exhorted him with such eagerness to march to the relief of the *Norwegians*, as admitted of no refusal. He met *Siward* in the field, vanquished and slew him, and then disposed of the kingdom of *Norway* in favour of his own son, likewise named *Siward*.

*HIROT* was next raised to the throne of *Sweden*; *Hiro*. but it is disputed whether he was the son of *Asmund* or of *Siward*, or the younger brother of both. It is acknowledged on all hands, that, during the last reign, he obtained the crown of *Gothland*; and that, in his time, great crouds of *Goths* and *Danes* settled in the country of the *Vandals*, at the mouth of the river *Odger*, building the city of *Vineta*, so famous in after ages for its flourishing commerce<sup>s</sup>. Just as *Hiro* ascended the *Swedish* throne, it happened that his *Danish* majesty, having repudiated his own queen, demanded in marriage *Thera*, princess of *Sweden*. According to the custom of the age, *Hiro* refused to grant his daughter's hand, before the suitor had distinguished himself by some achievement to deserve her. This the gallant performed, having killed several wild beasts let loose in the chamber of his mistress. By this lady the king of *Denmark* had several sons, all of them famous for their cruelty.

At *Hiro*'s death, *Ingel*, the son of *Asmund*, was at length *Ingel*, raised to the throne, from which he had been unjustly excluded for two reigns. Of him it is reported, that being in his youth of an extremely mild disposition, his tutor *Suibdager*, in order to alter his temper, obliged him to eat wolves hearts; a regimen which, we are told, soon produced the desired effect. On the day of his accession to the crown, he assembled all the petty kings governing the different provinces in *Sweden*, and sat in their presence on a footstool placed before the throne. Here was presented to him, according to ancient custom, a horn filled with wine, which he drank off, swearing, either to extend the frontiers of *Sweden*, or to perish in the attempt. The very night following he shewed he would stickle at nothing to perform his vow; for he set fire to the house where seven of the petty kings were lodged, and destroyed them in the flames. These were violences to which the *Swedes* were not accustomed. Determined to punish such perfidy, they revolted, gave battle to *Ingel*, and defeated him, but the victory was not decisive, and served only to produce an accommodation. Here *Ingel* acted with his usual insincerity; feigning a hearty re-

Chron. Slavon. lib. i.

conciliation,

conciliation, he pretended to do them every kind of good offices, invited them to an entertainment, and when he had them all assembled, set fire to the house, and burnt them alive. In this manner he got rid of twelve petty tyrants, who had usurped the supreme government of as many *Swedish* provinces. *Ingel* had a daughter named *Asa*, of the same bloody disposition with her father. She was married to the prince of *Schonen*, whom she murdered, together with his brother-in-law, delivering their dominions into the hands of their enemies. To escape the punishment due to so horrible an action, she fled to her father's court; but *Iwar* of *Denmark* resolved to take vengeance. He posted with an army to *Sweden*, and laying all waste with fire and sword, so terrified *Ingel*, that, to avoid falling into his hands, he set fire, at the persuasion of his daughter, to his palace, and perished with it. The single action of this prince's reign that is reported to his honour, is his reducing into one volume the *Swedish* law, in which work he employed a person of great learning for those times, *Vigar Spache*, celebrated to this day in *Sweden*.

*Olaus Trætzelga.* *INGEL*'s son, *Olaus*, escaped the fire which destroyed the rest of the royal family. This prince is numbered among the *Swedish* king's, though for what reason we know not; as it does not appear that he ever possessed the sovereign power. We find nothing more related of him, than that retiring to *Wermeland*, he cut down large forests, employed his time in husbandry, and obtained the surname of *Trætzelga*, from the vast quantity of wood he had hewn down.<sup>a</sup>

*Charles.* THE king's death, the flight of the presumptive heir, and the inroads of a powerful enemy, all contributed to raise *Charles*, a *Swedish* lord of distinction, to the throne, an honour he enjoyed but a very short time. *Regner*, king of *Denmark*, could not support the thought of losing so valuable a kingdom. He challenged *Charles* to single combat, and slew him; rendering himself, by his victory, master of the crown of *Sweden*, which he placed on the temples of his son *Bero* or *Biorno*, called by *Loccenius* the third of that name, and the first christian prince of *Sweden* (A).

## S E C T.

<sup>a</sup> *TORFÆUS* in ser. reg. Dan. lib. i.

(A) It is true, that *Loccenius* does not make this *Biorno* the son of *Regner*; on the contrary, he expressly says, that his parentage is doubtful, though we have ventured, on the authority of *Torfæus* and *Puffendorf*, to mention him as of *Danish* extraction.

S E C T. III.

In which the history is deduced to the reign of Eric of Pomerania. A. 1415.

ALL historians, German, Swedish, and French, agree, <sup>Bero, or Biorno II</sup> that in *Biorno's* reign the gospel was first preached in Sweden, by *Anscharius*, a pious monk, sent thither by *Lewis le Debonaire*; or, as *Loccenius* will have it, by *Charlemagne*. According to *Puffendorf*, the saint's first mission proved unsuccessful; the king denying him audience, or leave to preach christianity in his dominions: an assertion very contradictory to the relation of the learned abbe *de Fluery*, who expressly affirms, that ambassadors came from *Biorno* to *Lewis Debonaire*, beseeching him to send proper ministers to teach the gospel in Sweden, where numbers of people were prepared to receive it<sup>a</sup>, and the king disposed to encourage it. After relating the dangers which *Anscharius* and *Vitmar* encountered in their passage, he adds, that *Biorno*, hearing the missionaries were arrived, sent them a welcome, and the affair being canvassed in council, it was unanimously resolved, they should have leave to remain and preach the gospel in Sweden; a work on which they immediately entered with the utmost success. Several Swedish nobility were baptized, and among others, *Herigar*, governor of *Birca*, a lord possessed of the king's friendship, the founder of a cathedral, and the great instrument of the propagation of the faith. It was not long after the arrival of the missionaries, that *Biorno* fell into trouble, was dethroned, and reduced to extreme misery. *Eßern*, a man of high quality, whose daughter had been violated by *Regner*, levied an army, and waged furious war against *Biorno* and his father. He was slain, indeed, with most of his adherents, in one battle; but the Swedes, who were tired of the Danish yoke, resumed the war with redoubled vigour, and drove both *Regner* and *Biorno* out of the kingdom<sup>b</sup> (A).

ASMUND

<sup>a</sup> FLEUR. Hist. Eccles, Ann. 829. <sup>b</sup> GOTH. lib. i. LOCCE. lib. ii.

tradition. The year of his accession is no less dubious; but *Torsæus* places it in 831. Vid. lib. ser reg. Dan.

(A) *Loccenius* and *Puffendorf* certainly mean two different persons by this *Biorno*, whom they both call the first christian prince.



Asmund.

ASMUND was then raised to the throne, but he did not maintain his possession long. Under him the christians suffered terrible persecutions, and in this reign it was, that St. *Hitard*, probably the monk *Vitard*, suffered martyrdom. His people revolted, and he was deposed, and forced, out of necessity, to have recourse to piracy; which he exercised with unparalleled cruelty, against the *Vandals*, *Angles*, and other commercial nations.

Olaus the  
Tree Cut-  
ter, or  
Trætélga.

IT was now that *Olaus*, surnamed *Trætélga*, was raised to the throne of *Sweden*, being re-called by the voice of the people to succeed *Asmund*. To prevent any disturbances from *Denmark*, he demanded in marriage for his son *Ingo*, the daughter of king *Regner*. It was granted, without hesitation, and thus he continued to reign peaceably over *Sweden* and *Gothland*. About the year 853, *Ansgarius* returned to *Sweden*, and presented himself before *Olaus* at *Birca*, the largest city, at that time, in the kingdom; and so populous, that it could, in a few days, arm 12,000 men, without prejudice to any public manufacture. The progress *Ansgarius* made among such a multitude was prodigious; hundreds were baptized in a day, and the king not only embraced the faith, but propagated it with all his influence. He may indeed be said to have died a martyr to the christian religion; for, after he had established his son king of *Denmark*, a famine happened in *Sweden*, which was attributed by the pagans to the increase of christianity. They endeavoured to persuade the king to sacrifice to the heathen gods; but on his absolute refusal, they immediately offered him up a sacrifice<sup>c</sup> (B).

<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. p. 71.

prince. Yet the prince, of whom the former speaks, flourished, according to him, in the days of *Charlemagne*; and the other, mentioned by *Puffendorf*, in the reign of his son *Lewis*. *Loccenius* indeed speaks of two *Biornos*, that answer to both these periods. *Vid. p. 39, 45. Loccen. p. 49. lib. ii.*

(B) It is confidently asserted by the *Swedish* historians, that *Olaus* conquered *Denmark*, governed there in person for five years, and then resigned the

crown to his son *Emignus*, whom the *Danish* writers call *Emignus*, denying that he was son to the king of *Sweden*. Indeed *Olaus* is entirely omitted by *Torfæus* in his catalogue of *Swedish* princes; and, possibly, because he was not acknowledged sovereign of the whole kingdom. *Sweden*, as well as *Denmark*, was in these days often governed by several kings; tho' that prince who had the greatest power usually claimed the title of king of *Sweden*. *Goth. lib. i.*

AT

AT the death of *Olaus* his son *Ingo* was placed on the throne; a prince of a pacific disposition, who dreaded nothing so much as disturbing the tranquillity of his people. The neighbour from whom he apprehended the most danger was the king of *Denmark*; and to prevent annoyance from that quarter, he married the princess his daughter. However, lest long repose might emasculate the minds of the youth, he permitted them to make incursions into the frontiers of *Russia*; and some writers alledge, that he led an army thither in person, and perished in the field sword-in-hand<sup>d</sup>.

His son *Eric*, surnamed *Waderhead*, or *Weatherhead*, succeeded him. All that is recorded of this prince favours strongly of the fabulous. He was a great magician, and took his name from the astonishing influence he had over the weather, from the mere turning of his hat<sup>e</sup>.

To *Waderhead* succeeded his son *Eric*, surnamed *Segherfell*, or the *Victorious*, from the constant series of good fortune that attended him. He conquered the provinces of *Finland*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Courland*, and kept possession to the end of his reign. The war he carried on against *Sven* king of *Denmark*, terminated with equal success. First he deprived him of *Halland* and *Schonen*, and at last of the whole kingdom of *Denmark*; *Sven* saving himself, with great hazard, in *Norway*. Thence, say the *Swedish* writers, he passed over to *Britain*, and spent seven years in *Scotia*, (a term used extremely vaguely by all the historians of the north) returning at length to his own dominions at the death of *Eric Segherfell*, about the year 940<sup>f</sup>.

*ERIC*, surnamed *Stenchil Milde*, or *Happy-born*, was raised to the throne at his father's death. *Stenchil* not only embraced, but pushed with zeal, the christian religion. After his accession, he demanded teachers from the bishop of *Hamburgh*, and had two sent, *Adelwart* and *Stephen*, who were strongly patronized by his majesty, and successful in their mission. They publicly baptized the king at *Stigtuna*, and his example was followed by the most considerable personages in *Sweden*. To distinguish his zeal for christianity, he caused the fine heathen temple at *Upsal* to be demolished, the idols to be broken, and prohibited sacrifices to be made under the severest corporal penalties. In a word, such was his ardor to propagate the true religion, that, neglecting his own safety, he fell a sacrifice to heathen superstition, and

<sup>d</sup> LOCCEB. p. 49. lib. ii. PUFFEND. p. 73.

<sup>e</sup> J. MAG. p. 34. <sup>f</sup> STAN. Chron. p. 66.

Olaus  
Scotko-  
nung.

was murdered in a tumult of the people, occasioned by the demolition of the temples.

OLAUS, surnamed *Scotkonung* (A), who succeeded to the crown, was not discouraged from publicly professing christianity, by the unfortunate example of his father, or, as other writers imagine; of his brother<sup>h</sup>: on the contrary, he dispatched ambassadors to *Ethelred*, then reigning in *England*, requesting him to send missionaries to *Sweden* to preach the gospel. In compliance with his earnest desire, three ecclesiastics, of exemplary piety and profound learning, were detached (B). On their arrival in *West Gothland*, they preached before the king, and baptized him. Either the force, or novelty of their doctrine, induced numbers of the nobility to become converts. Charity was reckoned the first of virtues, and this might be called the harvest of churchmen, when offerings were so considerable, that at one mass, upwards of 600 marks in silver coin were taken<sup>i</sup>.

WHILE the light of christianity, or rather the power of the clergy, was thus spreading itself in *Sweden*, *Olaus Truggeson*, king of *Norway*, was endeavouring to wrest *Denmark* from *Swen*, who had lately recovered his crown. As he found the enterprize clogged with unexpected difficulties, he laboured to engage *Olaus* of *Sweden* in his interest. The method which appeared most effectual, was, to demand his *Swedish* majesty's sister in marriage; and such proposals were made, as it was not thought advisable to decline. Her highness was sent to *Norway*, and both kingdoms united in the closest ties of friendship. *Swen* prognosticated ruin to himself from such an alliance; he used every expedient to break it, and at last succeeded so far, as to wean *Oluf's* affections from his queen, and prevail on him to send her back to *Sweden*, by the indirect offers he made of his daughter, the most celebrated beauty of the age. *Olaus* had no sooner got rid of his queen, than he demanded the *Norwegian* princess; but *Swen*, having now gained his purpose, kept his

\* SUAN. Chron. p. 67. NUTTF. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii.

<sup>h</sup> LOCCEN. lib. ii. p. 51,

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

(A) *Olaus* was likewise surnamed the *Tributary*, on account of a certain annual tax he paid to the pope to carry on the war against the Infidels, called *Rem-scot* in *Sweden*. *Loccen. lib. ii.*

(B) *Loccenius* gives their names, calling them *Sifroy*, *Efcheld*, and *David*; a fountain in *Gotland*, at which the king was baptized, still bearing the name of the former.

daughter's

daughter's marriage in treaty, and demanded for himself the mother-in-law of *Olaus* king of *Sweden*. In a word, his intrigues brought on a war between *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Olaus* equipped a fleet to revenge the injury done to his sister, came up with the *Norwegians*, gave battle, and defeated them. To avoid being taken prisoner in the pursuit, the king of *Norway* threw himself over-board, and perished in the sea. His death made *Norway* an easy conquest. *Olaus* invaded, subdued, and annexed it to his own crown: after which he married his mother-in-law to *Swen*, and gave him for a portion half the kingdom of *Norway*. But this country soon after reverted to the lawful heirs. *Oluf*, the son of *Harold Grandshoe*, who had been excluded his right by *Triggeson*, now claimed the crown, and supported his demands with a powerful fleet, that not only annoyed the coasts of *Sweden* and *Norway*, disturbed the commerce of the *Baltic*, but forced the *Sound*, and seized the kingdom of *Gothland*. In progress of time peace was concluded, and the crown of *Sweden* quietly resigned to *Oluf*.

THIS prince's severity in punishing all his subjects who refused to embrace christianity, occasioned a rebellion in his kingdom, and obliged the *Norwegians* to offer the crown to *Canute* king of *Denmark*. The king of *Norway* made such overtures to his *Swedish* majesty, that he engaged in the quarrel between *Canute* and *Oluf*, and sent strong reinforcements to the latter against his own subjects and the *Danes*. At last *Oluf* was defeated, and forced to fly *Norway*. Afterwards he recovered his dominions by the assistance of his *Swedish* majesty; but at last perished in a battle, fought against his own subjects, on the frontiers of *Norway*<sup>\*</sup>.

UPON his death it was that *Olaus* unalienably annexed *Gothland* to the crown of *Sweden*, with a view to prevent the wars consequent on a partition of the kingdoms; and this is the reason assigned by historians, why the descendants of *Olaus* neglected, for many ages, to assume the title of king of the *Goths*<sup>1</sup>.

WE have it on the best authority, that *Olaus* was succeeded by his son *Asmund Kolbrenner*, which *Loccenius* translates *Carbonarius*, so called from a law passed in his reign, that if any of his subjects injured another, a part of his house should be thrown down and burnt, proportioned to the injury given. However absurd this law may appear, *Asmund* is said to have been a sensible, pious, and upright prince, a strenuous advocate for christianity, and enforcer of the laws. *Loccenius*

*Asmund.*

<sup>\*</sup> PUFFEND. Hist. p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

relates a war in which he was engaged against *Norway*, and the *Anglo Saxons* of *Britain*; but we do not chuse to trouble our readers with the recital of events <sup>m</sup> so doubtful, that it is even disputed who were the powers engaged (A).

Afmund  
Slemme.

*AS MUND* Kolbrenner was succeeded in the throne by *Afmund Slemme*, likewise furnamed *Gomneel*, on account of his great age <sup>n</sup>. Very different in disposition from his father, he gave himself little trouble about the progress of christianity, and regarded religion only as it affected policy and the laws. He had the name of *Slemme* from his having, in concert with the *Danes*, marked out a certain frontier between *Schonen* and *Sweden*, in order to cut off the continual controversies about the limits of that province. The *Swedes* claimed a right to the whole, as far as *Oresund*; and they bestowed this opprobrious name on their king for surrendering their right. Finding the contempt into which he had fallen, he endeavoured to wipe it off, by reducing *Schonen*; for this purpose he raised an army, met *Canute* the rich, was defeated and slain.

Stenchil.

AT *Afmund's* death, *Hacquin Rufus* was elected king of the *Goths*, while the *Swedes*, who pretended to a superior right of election, chose *Stenchil* their sovereign. These two princes came to an accommodation, and terminated their differences amicably; stipulating, that *Hacquin* should retain the crown for life, he being now in an advanced period of life; and that at his death *Gothland* should revert inseparably to *Sweden*. Agreeable to this treaty *Hacquin* reigned peaceably for thirteen years, and was then succeeded by *Stenchil*, grandson to *Olaus* the *Tributary*, a wise prince, who reflected dignity upon both diadems. His principal care was to protect religion and the laws; but he was no less a warrior than politician. The *Swedish* writers expatiate on his prodigious strength, dexterity, and courage; instancing, as proofs of his warlike genius, three signal victories, which he obtained over *Swen Estrith*, king of *Denmark*. Yet the *Danish* biographers of this prince affirm, that instead of carrying on a war with *Sweden*, *Swen* had always drawn large succours from it <sup>o</sup>. Notwithstanding these contradictory as-

<sup>m</sup> Loccen. lib. ii. p. 67. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> *Maurusi* lib. ii.

(A) It may be proper to add, that according to *J. Gothus* and *Loccenius*, *Afmund Kolbrenner* was killed anno 1035, in a battle fought with *Canute*, the rich

king of *Denmark* and *England*. Upon what authority they have founded this assertion, it would be difficult for us at this distance of time to enquire.

ferious, we think it our duty to mention, that the *Swedes* push their notion so far as to affirm, that both king's perished in battle <sup>a</sup>.

*INGO*, a person of noble, but not royal blood, was raised *Ingo*. to the throne at the death of *Stenchil*. His qualities were truly princely, and merited a crown; they now shone with brighter lustre. Possible it is, that he carried his piety beyond the measures of true policy. He forbid sacrifices and worship to idols, and propagated the christian religion with such zeal, as incurred the resentment of his subjects, and brought on a premature death, having been murdered in his bed <sup>o</sup>.

*HALSTAN*, his brother, inherited his crown and *Halstan*. virtues. No sovereign ever more strongly possessed the affections of his subjects. His address, rather than the sweetness of his disposition, gained him the reputation of the best natured of men. He died in 1064, after a short, but happy reign, being succeeded in his throne by his son *Philip*, a prince who trod closely in the footsteps of his excellent father.

FOR many ages the memory of *Philip* was dear to the *Swedes*, so gentle, so mild, so affable were his manners and conversation. As to the particulars of his reign, they are not transmitted to posterity <sup>p</sup>.

IN the year 1082, *Ingo*, the fourth of that name, ascended the throne. According to some writers, he was the son, while others call him the brother of *Philip*; but what was of more consequence, that he resembled him in manners, is agreed upon by all hands. The piety of his life, and the zeal he professed for christianity, obtained him the surname of *Good*; not was his queen *Raguild* less celebrated for her virtues. After her death, she was in a manner deified, and her urn visited by religious from every quarter of the kingdom. By this princess *Ingo* had two daughters; one he married to *Eric* the holy king of *Denmark*; the other to *Magnus* of *Norway*, and thereby united in ties of the strictest friendship the three northern crowns. *Ingo*'s whole life was a series of worthy and pious labours. He administered justice with rigour, except where circumstances required the interposition of his clemency. The good he rewarded, but waged unremitting war on robbers, plunderers, and pirates, with whom *Sweden* was at that time grievously infested by sea and land. The scrupulous attention he paid to the execution of

<sup>a</sup> Loccen. lib. ii. p. 69.

<sup>o</sup> PUFFEND. p. 83. tom. i.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

the laws, raised him enemies. The *Ostro-Goths* meditated a revolt, and contrived means to poison *Ingo*, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their licentious projects <sup>1</sup>.

Ragwald  
Knap-  
hœfde.

IN fact they had no sooner removed him, than they elected *Ragwald*, a lord of considerable possessions, and a very ancient family. His stature was gigantic, and his strength prodigious, and he possessed a ferocity and cruelty of disposition perfectly suited to his brutal aspect. Jealous of his royal prerogative, he carried it to a degree of despotism, trampling on the laws and liberties of the people. The violence and fierceness of his disposition gained him the surname of *Knap-hœfde*, and gave birth to a conspiracy, that put 'an end to his life.

Magnus.

AT the death of *Ragwald*, the *Ostro-Goths* elected *Magnus*, son of *Nicholas* king of *Denmark*; but the *Swedes*, jealous of their rights, disputed this election, by chusing another king, who was slain soon after his accession in a battle fought against the *Ostro-Goths*. For some time *Magnus* remained in peaceable possession of the crown; but becoming odious to the people by his crimes, the *Swedes*, in concert with the *Ostro-Goths*, presented the crown to *Suercher*, a man of a character the very reverse of the former.

Suercher.

THIS prince ascended the throne in 1148, and from the station of a private man, acquired the reputation of the most amiable and accomplished monarch of his times. His reign would have been truly happy, had he given less way to parental tenderness, and acted with the authority of a father and sovereign to subdue the enormous vices of his son; a prince, who indulged himself in every excess that the most wanton imagination could suggest, or utmost profligacy, caprice, and libertinism invent. At the head of a band of young libertines, devoted to their passions, he made an incursion into *Halland*, violated virgins and matrons, and ravished the sister and wife of the governor. The *Swedes* exclaimed loudly against this action, and the *Danes* determined to revenge it. For this purpose they took arms, and some writers affirm, that *Suercher* had the misfortune to see his son fall under the blows of his enemies; while others alledge, that charged by his father with the conduct of the *Danish war*, prince *John* assembled the people to raise the taxes necessary to support it, and was murdered in a tumult of the populace, incensed to the highest degree at an expence incurred by his profligacy <sup>2</sup>. As for the king himself, he was assassinated in

<sup>1</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> ANN. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. ii. PUFFEND. p. 87, 88.

his sledge, by a party of male-contents ; and it was supposed the fatal blow was given by one of his own domestics, who had yielded to the force of gold, and committed a barbarous murder on a master he loved and esteemed, merely to gratify his avarice (A).

Now a difference arose between the *Swedes* and *Goths*, *Charles*, the latter preferring *Charles*, the son of *Suercher*, to the throne, and *Eric* the former declaring *Eric*, the son of *Jeswar*, king. *the Holy*. This prince had chiefly gained the affections of the *Swedish* nation by marrying *Christina*, daughter to *Ingo the Good* ; a prince whose memory they held in veneration. As it was now an established principle with both nations, that the crowns should be united, to prevent the consequences of a rupture, they compromised the dispute. *Eric*, by this agreement, was to remain in possession of both crowns during his life, and they were then to devolve to *Charles*, their descendants to reign alternately, still reserving the rights of the people. This treaty continued in force for the space of a century, and became the fruitful source of numberless calamities to the sovereign and subjects.

In the year 1154 *Eric* made a successful expedition against the *Finlanders*, a people hitherto buried in the grossest idolatry, and refusing submission to the *Swedish* government. After totally subduing and breaking their refractory disposition, he obliged them to receive the gospel. He then returned to *Sweden*, and performed every duty of an excellent king. He administered justice with the most scrupulous delicacy ; he promoted religion with zeal ; he founded monasteries, and endowed them liberally ; he compiled an admirable body of laws, called in the vernacular language *St. Eric's Lag*, and he saw them executed with punctuality. The more discerning about his court were of opinion, his zeal carried him to an imprudent excess, in denying pagans and idolaters the benefit of these laws. It was said, that his religion degenerated to superstition and bigotry, and his justice to rigour and even cruelty. Certain it is, that the severity with which he punished all offences against society, drew on him the displeasure of those who lived on rapine and the spoils of the public. They conspired against their sovereign, formed a

(A) It is worth remarking, that, though *Magnus* and *Suercher* were stiled kings of the *Ostro-Goths*, they were in fact sovereigns of all that country now called *Sweden*. Whence it would

seem, that *Ostrogothia* and *Suecia* were frequently used by the *Latin* writers as synonymous terms ; notwithstanding the former comprehends only a part of the latter.



powerful faction, and invited a son of the king of *Denmark* to join the league (B). With this succour they expected soon to become masters of the kingdom. The king of *Denmark* and his son passed with a powerful army into *Sweden*, and joined the robbers. *Eric* marched with a handful of forces to oppose the enemy; he came up with them in the plains of *Upsal*, fought like a warrior, and died with the reputation of a hero, after having singly withstood the utmost efforts of ten *Danish* officers.

CUTTING off *Eric's* head, the enemy carried it in triumph to *Upsal*, pillaged the royal palace, and proclaimed *Magnus* king of *Sweden*. But the reign of this prince was of short duration. The *Swedes* denounced vengeance for the death of their monarch, and flew to arms to make good their menaces. Assisted by the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Charles*, they cut the enemy in pieces, leaving dead on the field the king and prince of *Denmark* (C).

Charles  
Suercher-  
son,

By this victory *Charles* became, according to agreement, king of *Sweden* and *Gothland*; but as he was supposed to have been an accomplice in the murder of *Eric*, the *Swedes* at first refused to acknowledge him. They would willingly have bestowed the crown on *Canute* son of *Eric*; but that prince had withdrawn to *Norway*, on discovering that *Charles* had conspired against his life<sup>b</sup>. At last, however, *Charles* obtained his ultimate wish. He found himself seated firmly on the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, and he determined to merit his prosperity, by complying strictly with his engagements. With this view he recalled *Canute* from *Norway*, settled the succession agreeable to the treaty between

<sup>b</sup> LÖCCEN. lib. iii.

(B) M. Puffendorf falls into a variety of mistakes about the name of this *Danish* prince, whom he calls *Magnus*, the son of *Henry Scatteler* king of *Denmark*. But no *Danish* historian mentions a king of that name; and as to *Henry Scatteler*, son of *Ubbo*, nephew of king *Nicholas*, he had no son called *Magnus*. Possibly the learned author mistook *Magnus* the son of king *Nicholas*, for the son of *Henry Scatteler*; but even there he is

guilty of a double blunder, in the person and in the chronology.

(C) The conquerors employed their booty in building a church on the field of battle, at a little distance from *Upsal*. This church they called *Danemarc*, endowing it with many privileges, settling a handsome revenue upon it, and adorning it with plate and a variety of rich ornaments. LÖCCEN. lib. iii.

him

him and *Eric*, and declared the son of that prince presumptive heir to the crowns. Whatever means he took to acquire dominion, his conduct shewed, that he knew how to use it. His reign was pacific, his government unexceptionable. He was generous to the clergy, without superstition or bigotry, and protected the church, without being a dupe to priestcraft. He erected several monasteries, and obtained from pope *Alexander III.* the dignity of an archbishop, and the *pallium* for the bishop of *Upsal*. It somewhat impeaches the character we have drawn of this prince, that some writers confidently affirm, he burthened the people with an unsupportable complaisance for the see of *Rome*, granting his holiness the inheritance of all who died without issue, and a certain proportion of the effects of those who had children<sup>i</sup>; a heavy tribute that continued to the papacy of *Gregory X.*

*CANUTE ERICSON* did not chuse to wait the *Canute* death of *Charles*, by whom he was appointed successor. Refusing that prince's invitation to return to *Sweden*, he began levying forces in *Norway*; and entering *Sweden* all of a sudden, he surprised *Charles*, took him prisoner, and beheaded him, under pretence of his having been accessory to his father's death. Immediately, on advice of his death, the widow of *Charles* fled out of *Sweden* with her children, and found an asylum in the court of *Waldemar I.* of *Denmark*, who promised her all manner of succour against king *Canute*. In effect, his troops took the field at the same time that the *Goths* were in arms to revenge their king's death, for whom they expressed a singular attachment. Both armies being joined, they marched against *Canute*, under the conduct of *Kol*, brother to the late king *Charles*. A battle was fought; but *Kol* being slain just as victory was ready to declare for him, the combined army was seized with a panic, routed, and cut to pieces<sup>k</sup>.

THIS success turned the scale wholly in favour of *Canute*; it rendered him absolute master of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, which he governed peaceably for twenty-three years. During this whole space of time his tranquillity was but once disturbed, and that by a slight incursion the *Esthonians* and *Courlanders* made into *Sweden*, killing the archbishop of *Steca*, and pillaging the rich city *Sigtuna*. He died at *Erickberg*, in *West-Gothland*, in the year 1192, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the cloister of *Warnheim*. His character may be described in a few words. He was

<sup>i</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 92.

<sup>k</sup> Auct. citat. ibid.

equally ambitious and capable of reigning. To gratify his lust of power, he stuck at no means, and yet he exerted it with such superior capacity and moderation, that no *Swede* had reason to lament his success<sup>1</sup>.

*Suercher.* THE cruelties exercised by the late king on the family of king *Charles* did not prevent the *Swedes* from raising his son to the throne. True, *Eric* the son of *Canute* shewed some inclination to dispute the crown with him; but as the face of affairs promised but little success, he reconciled himself by treaty with *Suercher*, stipulating that he should succeed at the death of that prince. What gave *Suercher* the greatest advantage over his competitor was, his marrying a princess of *Denmark*, whence he was enabled to draw powerful succours from that kingdom. He at the same time possessed excellent qualities, and governed for some years with great wisdom. In the end, however, he became suspicious and a tyrant. To secure himself in the throne, he believed it necessary to massacre all the friends and relations of *Canute*; but, in spite of his utmost vigilance, *Eric*, the only male child of that prince, escaped him, saving himself in *Norway*, where he lived for several years. At last the inhabitants of *Uplandia*, shocked with the cruelty of *Suercher*, and moved with compassion for the young prince, rose in arms against the government, and recalled *Eric*, promising to open his way to the throne, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. He accepted their invitation, and appeared in *Sweden* at the head of a few troops, furnished by king *Ingo*. On his arrival almost all the *Swedish* nobility declared for him. He marched against the king, defeated, and forced him to save himself in *West Gothland*, where he expected succours from *Denmark*. *Waldemar* II. dispatched the bishop of *Roschild* with 6000 men to his assistance; but scarce had this reinforcement joined the remains of *Suercher's* army, when *Eric* came up, and obtained a second complete victory, all the allied forces being cut in pieces, and the *Danish* generals left dead on the field<sup>m</sup>. *Suercher* took refuge in *Denmark*, where he lived for two years, during which time he assembled a very formidable army, and marched towards the frontiers of *Sweden*. A third time he gave battle to *Eric*, but with the same fortune as before; his troops were cut to pieces, and himself left among the carnage on the field. Thus *Eric* came at length into the peaceable possession of the crowns of *Sweden* and *Gothland*<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LOCCEŒ. p. 80.      <sup>m</sup> MEURS. Hist. Dan. lib. v. LOC-  
CEN. lib. iii,      <sup>n</sup> PUFFEND. p. 95.

To remove every difficulty, and avoid every obstacle to Eric the peace and happiness of his kingdom, *Eric* renewed the Cautson. treaty of alternate succession with the children of the late king; giving the strongest testimonies of his sincerity, by appointing *John*, the son of *Suercher*, his successor in the throne. His policy extended farther. To reconcile himself to *Denmark*, he espoused the princess *Reckot*, sister to *Waldemar*. From this time he reigned with the utmost felicity, died regretted, and was buried at *Warnheim*.

AGREEABLE to the late treaty, *John* ascended the throne *John I.* as soon as vacant, governing for the short term of three years with admirable wisdom and policy. Some military operations he set on foot met with less success than the justice of his cause and prudence of his measures merited; but he died highly esteemed, and lamented by all who were friends to their country, and lovers of integrity, moderation, piety, and prudence, in a monarch.

THE treaty of succession still continued in force. *Eric* *Eric the the Stammerer*, son of *Eric Cnutson*, wore, in his turn, the Stambadges of sovereignty. This prince had a paralytic disorder merer. that affected his tongue, and deprived him of the use of the left arm and leg. It gave him a most ungraceful appearance, and a look of simplicity that conveyed a very unfavourable first impression; but these ideas soon gave way to a real esteem, inspired by his bravery, wisdom, and virtue. There was in his reign a family of the name of *Falkunger*, so powerful and ambitious as to form designs on the crown. To gain over the lords of this house to his interest, *Eric* married his sister *Helena* to one of them, whose name was *Canute*, a person highly respected for his eloquence. To a cousin of this nobleman's he gave his second sister, and he himself espoused the daughter of *Swen Falkunger*. All these ties, strong as they might appear, could not stay the ambition of the *Falkungers*. *Birger Jerl*, of the whole family, remained faithful to the king. All the rest revolted, and obtained a victory over the king, which obliged him to fly to *Denmark*. In his absence, *Canute Falkunger* was proclaimed king of *Sweden* by his adherents; but the usurper's reign was of short duration. *Eric* raised an army in *Denmark*, and marched against the usurper, who advanced to meet him with a good countenance. His majesty was victorious, his competitor wounded, his son *Holinger* taken, and, though the king's own nephew, beheaded by his order. Thus the public tranquillity was at length restored, and those treacherous allies of his majesty punished in the manner they deserved,

IN *Eric's* reign a nuncio from his holiness arrived in *Sweden*, prohibiting ecclesiastics to marry, as before that time they were permitted °.

THIS monarch's chief military operations were against the *Tawastians*, a people of *Finland*, immersed in the most absurd idolatry. The king sent *Birger Jerl*, his brother-in-law, with an army into that country. *Birger* carried all before him, defeated the enemy, pardoned all who embraced christianity, and put the rest to the sword; a strange method of convincing the reason, too frequently employed in those days, in points of religion. Before *Birger's* return from this expedition, king *Eric* yielded up his last breath, leaving the reputation of a consummate politician, and skilful, intrepid general †.

Walde-  
mar.

AFTER the king's death *Ivar Bla*, one of the chief nobility of *Sweden*, convoked the states for the election of a new sovereign; and so successful were his intrigues, that their suffrages raised *Waldemar*, eldest son of *Birger Jerl*, and nephew of the late king, to the throne. Thus the treaty of alternate succession was broke through, but *Birger Jerl* was not satisfied. He hastened to *Sweden*, called the diet, and declared they had taken a wrong step in raising his son to the sovereignty, insinuating, that he was too young to support the weight of government, and indicating plainly enough, that it would have been more conducive to the public good to have bestowed the crown on himself. But the diet answered, they were under no necessity of choosing either him or his son, and that if he disliked the election, they would cast their eyes elsewhere. *Birger* found the diet resolute, and thought it advisable to dissemble. He pretended to be highly pleased with the honour conferred on his family, and protested that only his concern for the public good could ever make him appear ungrateful for so signal a demonstration of their esteem and regard. Thus *Waldemar* was crowned at *Jenscoping*, and the administration put into *Birger's* hands, during his son's minority †.

*Birger Jerl dis-  
pleased  
with his  
son's elec-  
tion.*

A. D.  
1251.

*Birger Jerl re-  
gent of  
Sweden.*

MANY excellent institutions took place under the administration of *Birger*, who laboured to give his regency all the lustre which the crown ever reflected under the most powerful and prudent princes. He built and fortified the city of *Stockholm*; he revised the *lands lag*, or that system of law, which contained all the statutes of the kingdom; he gave new regulations to the *Swedish* cities, deduced from

° Ibid. † GOTH. p. 56. LOCCEN. p. 82. PUFFEND.  
p. 92. † LOCCEN. lib. iii. JON. GOTH. lib. ii.

the old laws of the city *Birca*. In a word, he put in practice whatever could raise the reputation of his country, secure its felicity, and encrease his own reputation. In acknowledgment of his services, the king, his son, at the request of the nation, granted to *Birger Jern* the title and dignity of a duke, instead of that of earl, which he before enjoyed (C).

THE house of *Flockenger*, one of the most powerful family long their rivals in ambition. They used their utmost endeavours to ruin the duke, and he exerted himself to surprise *Charles*, who was the principal person among his enemies. At last their animosity rose to such a height, that a civil war seemed unavoidable. Both parties armed, and took the field. They met near *Helwards-broo*, and began an engagement, which would undoubtedly have proved decisive, had not the combatants been separated, in the heat of the battle, by the breaking down of a bridge. After this accident, they contented themselves with discharging their arrows and javelins at a distance.

In the mean time several noblemen, more moderate in their sentiments, who foresaw the ruinous consequences of a civil war, interposed, offering their mediation, to accommodate matters amicably. A truce, and passports, in order to begin a negotiation, were settled; in consequence of which several of the *Flockengers* came to the duke's camp, where they were seized, by his order, and beheaded, without regard to the most solemn oaths and engagements; an action so base and perfidious as cannot in the least be palliated, and tarnishes the glory of his regency. *Birger* was not the only person who had pledged his faith for their security. The bishop of *Lincoping* did the same; and was so much shocked at the breach of it, that, by way of atonement, he resigned his see, and began a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, in which he died.

*CHARLES FLOCKENGER*, having escaped this massacre, breathed nothing but vengeance; but his menaces were impotent, as he had lost his most powerful and trusty adherents. After several vain attempts to renew

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. p. 300.

(C) The word *Jern*, in the all probability, of northern extraction, and possibly derived from the *Swedish*. *Vid. Loccen.* which we call *earl*; a word, in p. 540,

the

the war, and rejecting all the overtures made by *Birger*, he retired for security to the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, in which service he died, after having performed acts of so astonishing valour, as signalised his memory for many future ages<sup>a</sup>.

*Waldemar marries.*

A. D.  
1266.

*Jealousies between the king and his brothers.*

*DUKE Birger* being now secure from all attempts, and rid of the most formidable of his enemies, celebrated, with great pomp, his son's marriage with the princess *Sophia*, daughter of *Eric*. But though *Waldemar* was now of age, the old duke, almost oppressed with years, could not prevail on himself to surrender his power. At last he died, and the reins of government were taken by the young king into his own hands (D). Each of the three princes his brothers kept a separate court, and *Magnus* especially lived with all the taste and magnificence of a king. This prince possessed many great qualities. He was munificent, learned, affable, and accomplished in all the arts that constitute the fine gentleman. The nobility flocked to him, and the *Swedish* nation was so captivated with his generosity, that the king began to express uneasiness at his popularity. He persuaded himself that his brother aspired at the crown; and queen *Sophia*, who hated *Magnus*, confirmed these sentiments. It is a little extraordinary, however, that amidst these suspicions, *Waldemar* should make a pilgrimage to *Rome*, and afterwards to *Jerusalem*, entrusting the administration to *Magnus*, in his absence; and that immediately on his return he should accuse his brother of endeavouring to fix the crown on his own head, notwithstanding the proofs of his fidelity he had given. To prevent the consequences of the king's jealousy, a diet of the *Swedes* was held at *Striggen*; the differences between *Waldemar* and *Magnus* were canvassed, and all possible means employed to terminate their disputes amicably. *Benvit*, the youngest brother, gave a most extraordinary instance of moderation. He, far from embroiling the kingdom with any new claims, surrendered *Finland*

<sup>a</sup> Auct. citat. ibid.

(D) *Birger* left four sons; *Waldemar* king of *Sweden*, *Magnus* duke of *Sudermania*, *Eric* prince of *Smaland*, and *Benvit* duke of *Finland*; which dukedoms and principality were all appenages that duke *Birger* had prevailed on his son the king to confer on his brothers. The event shewed, that *Waldemar* had made them too powerful for his own tranquillity. The troubles they excited were truly melancholy, and baneful to *Sweden*.

to his brothers, in order to put an end to their differences about their several patrimonies<sup>t</sup>.

THIS cession of *Benvit's*, and the representations of the diet, could not effect the much-desired reconciliation. Both sides were now so much enflamed, that it was not possible to bring matters to an accommodation; but as *Magnus*, and *Eric* his brother, were not in condition to make head against *Waldemar* in the field, who was strongly supported by the alliance of *Norway*, they passed over to *Denmark*, and entered into a strict confederacy with king *Eric*, the treaty between them bearing date A. D. 1276. At the head of a considerable army they returned to *Sweden*, where they were joined by their friends and adherents. On the first notice of their march, king *Waldemar* put his army in motion, and, being greatly superior in numbers, he was so confident of success, that he gave himself up to feasting and diversions, being satisfied with sending out a detachment to look for the enemy. *Magnus* and *Eric* improved the misconduct to their own advantage. Defeating the detachment, they attempted to surprise *Waldemar* at *Ronlabada*, but he got notice of their intentions, by some persons who had escaped out of the late battle. Instead, however, of making any resistance, he deserted his army, and fled to *Wermeland*, whither he was pursued, and made prisoner by a body of light horse, detached by *Magnus*<sup>u</sup>.

The two brothers, Magnus and Eric, retire to Denmark.

They re-turn, and give the king battle.

THE victorious *Magnus* now assembled a diet, in order to restore the public tranquillity, by removing every possible cause of contention. He knew that by this he risked nothing, being perfectly secure of the affections of the nobility and people. Accordingly the states decreed, that *Waldemar* should, for his share, possess *East* and *West Gothland*, with the province of *Smaland*, renouncing all pretensions to the rest of the kingdom, which was assigned to *Magnus*<sup>v</sup>.

A partition-treaty concluded.

THIS treaty being concluded, *Magnus* sent back the *Danish* auxiliaries; but these troops, dissatisfied at having no arrears paid them, committed horrible ravages in their march. When the king of *Denmark* afterwards demanded payment of the subsidy, stipulated in the treaty with *Magnus*, that prince answered, that he would deduct an indemnification from the devastation made in his dominions by the *Danish* forces. This aggravated the *Danes* still more; they redoubled their licentiousness, and *Magnus* resolved to make

The Danes lay Sweden waste.

<sup>t</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iii. p. 85. p. 105.

<sup>u</sup> Idem. lib. iii. PUFFEND. LOCCEN. ubi supra.



reprisals. He entered the provinces of *Schonen* and *Halland*, committed horrid cruelties, laid the country waste, burnt and destroyed all before him; but was forced to retreat precipitately, on the approach of the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers, and his own troops fatigued, and loaded with booty.

**Waldemar renews the war against his brothers.** *ERIC* of *Denmark* sought his revenge, by intriguing with *Waldemar*, to join him against his own brother, promising, as an inducement, to reinstate him in all his dominions. These were motives sufficiently powerful to engage *Waldemar*; he agreed to every thing proposed, and immediately the *Danish* army took the field, but not till *Waldemar* and his family had arrived in *Denmark*. They met the *Swedish* army, commanded by *Uffe Carlson*, at *Vexio*, came to blows, and were defeated with great loss, and forced to retire with precipitation \*.

*ERIC* of *Denmark* seemed to be animated with his losses, which he firmly determined to revenge. Next year he levied a prodigious army, took the field in person, attended by *Waldemar*, entered *Gothland*, and committed dreadful devastations, but was at length slain by a *Swedish* soldier, according to *Puffendorf*, and the *Swedish* writers (E).

Treaty  
struck up.

ALL this while *Magnus* beheld the ravages of the *Danes* with great composure. He was strong enough to offer battle; but he declined it, contenting himself with shutting the enemy up in *Gothland*, knowing well that the winter would oblige them to retire, without drawing a single advantage from their expedition. However, a treaty was set on foot by certain noblemen of each nation, who lamented the expence of blood and treasure to both kingdoms, for so trifling a difference as the subsidy in dispute, which did not exceed six thousand silver marks. The difference was at length compromised, and a treaty signed, whereby *Magnus* agreed to pay four thousand marks, and to give the city *Ledsa* in security of payment. As to *Waldemar*, his interest was entirely forgot by the *Danish* monarch, and he found himself

\* PUFFEND. p. 106.

(E) This account differs, in all its circumstances, from the relations of the *Danish* writers. In the first place, the expedition into *Gothland* happened in 1277, and *Eric* was not slain before the year 1286. Next, he was

not slain in *Gothland*, or by the hand of a *Swedish* soldier, but by his own courtiers, at *Findarup*, a village near *Wiburgh*, in *Jutland*. Yet *Puffendorf* and others expressly affirm, that his death happened at *Axelwold*.

under

under the necessity of renouncing the whole kingdom of Sweden, of which, it must be acknowledged, his pusillanimous conduct proved him unworthy. After thus abdicating the crown, by treaty, *Waldemar* retired to *Denmark*.

*MAGNUS* had scarce ascended the throne, before an accident occurred, which might have cost him his liberty. The king of *Denmark* had borrowed a sum of money from one *Peter Portze*, mortgaging to him for payment the sum due by *Magnus*, agreeable to the subsidy-treaty with that prince. *Peter Portze* had repeatedly demanded payment of *Magnus*; and at length his importunity obliged the king to cede a certain castle, by way of security. *Portze*, however, knew that the castle was not an equivalent for the money, and contrived a stratagem for obtaining justice. Under some specious pretence which he devised, the king made him a visit, and was entertained sumptuously; but when he was preparing to go away, *Portze* reminded his majesty of the money due to him, demonstrating that the castle he received in security was by no means an equivalent, and giving him to understand, in a resolute tone, that he expected full compensation before he suffered him to depart. As the king had but few attendants, all resistance he found would be in vain; he paid the money, swore that he never would revenge the affront, and was suffered to depart. It is related, to his honour, that he not only kept his oath, but embraced every opportunity of loading *Portze* with favours, saying, That he was a brave man, who could not but be faithful to his king; as he dared to be just to himself, at the hazard of incurring his sovereign's resentment.

The bravery and resolution of *Peter Portze*.

Soon after his coronation, *Magnus* married *Hidwig*, daughter of the duke of *Holstein*, a lady of extraordinary beauty. This marriage, and the countenance which his majesty gave to men of merit, drew great numbers of the *Holstein* nobility to court. They were raised, by the queen's interest, to high posts and preferments, which soon raised the jealousy of the *Swedish* nobility, particularly of the house of *Flockenger*, the old rivals of *Birger Jerl's* family. The discontented nobility remonstrated to the king, that he had broken his coronation-oath, which forbid him to prefer foreigners to posts of trust and profit in the realm. *Magnus* answered, that to govern with glory to himself, and benefit to his people, prudence required he should promote men of honour and ability, of whatever country, who offered their

The king disoblige the people by raising foreigners to high posts.

An insurrection, and several of the king's favourites massacred.

services. As to the rest, he said, that when natives shewed themselves equally deserving of his countenance as the foreigners he had raised, they should not fail of having the preference in his favour. Incensed at this answer, which reflected on their understanding and ability, they leagued against *Magnus* and the foreigners; while *Waldemar* privately fomented the quarrel, hoping to find an opportunity amidst the civil war of regaining his crown. The *Flockengers* were at the head of this confederacy. For the execution of their design, they embraced the opportunity of the queen's going to *Scara*, in *Gothland*, to meet her father. In this journey she was attended by *Ingemar*, and other *Holsteiners*, the most obnoxious to the *Flockengers*. On her majesty's arrival in *Gothland*, the malecontents met *Ingemar*, and demanded to know by what right he thrust himself into the chief offices of the realm, in contempt of the *Swedish* nobility. His reply was spirited, but unfortunate; for the *Swedes* immediately seized, and put him to death; after which they massacred all the other *Holsteiners*, except the duke, whom they imprisoned in *Jernsburgh* citadel. The queen fortunately made her escape, and secreted herself in a monastery<sup>z</sup>.

The king's policy.

*MAGNUS* was sensibly afflicted with the news of these violences offered to the queen and his favourites; but the power of his enemies within and without the kingdom made him dissemble, and try to effect by policy what he apprehended would exceed his ability to execute by force. He soothed, by the most artful letters and expressions, the more resolute and powerful among the disaffected, and at last persuaded them, that they had fully regained his majesty's affection: but some time after, assembling the diet at *Scara*, he accused the *Flockengers* of high treason; and no person appearing in their behalf, or no arguments being urged in their defence, he ordered them to be seized, conveyed to *Stockholm*, and beheaded all, besides *Philip de Rundi*, who saved his life by a large sum of money. From that time the *Flockengers* could never recover their ancient splendor, and *Magnus* possessed his crown in perfect tranquillity. He entered into the strictest alliance with *Denmark*, uniting the two royal families by several intermarriages. Justice was distributed with the utmost precision in every part of the kingdom; a variety of salutary laws, for the relief and ease of the subject, were passed; yet did *Magnus* govern with so tight a rein, that it was believed he would have made the

<sup>z</sup> LOCCKEN. lib. iii. p. 91.

crown absolute, and fixed it invariably in his own family, *His death* had not death interposed, and removed one of the greatest, *and* *chawisest*, and best of the *Swedish* monarchs, who, from the excellency of his laws, and equity of his government, obtained the surname of *Ladislas*. A. D. 1290.

At the death of this great prince his son *Birger* was but *Birger* eleven years of age; *Magnus* had therefore by his will appointed *Torkel Cnutson* regent of the kingdom, and tutor to the young prince (F). *Cnutson* began his regency with subduing some provinces towards the frontiers of *Sweden*, and arresting the late king *Waldemar's* sons, from whom some attempts to recover the crown were apprehended. He next sent a powerful army to *Finland*, against the *Carelians*, who, jointly with the *Russians*, had ravaged the frontiers of the kingdom. After an obstinate war, the *Carelians* were conquered, their country made a province of *Sweden*, and themselves obliged to receive the lights of christianity. In order to check the *Russians*, the fortress of *Wibourg* was built, and the city *Hexholm* taken from that barbarous people.

THE young king *Birger* being now of age, he celebrated his marriage with the princess of *Denmark*, who had been contracted to him in his father's life-time, and had ever since lived at the *Swedish* court. At *Birger's* accession to the crown, he was molested by fresh incursions made by the *Russians*; to prevent which he built, at the persuasion of *Cnutson*, the strong fortress of *Landskroon*, a scheme well designed, tho' it never answered the intention. Sicknes prevailing in the garrison, it was attacked, taken, and levelled to the ground by the *Russians* <sup>A. D. 1299.</sup>

*BIRGER*, in fact, had but the name of king, every thing being done by the direction of *Cnutson*, who was undoubtedly one of the first politicians of the age. This great minister did not confine himself to warlike expeditions; it was no less necessary, he said, to render the people happy than powerful. For this purpose he collected the laws into a smaller compass, rendered them as perspicuous as concise, and enforced them with the strictest impartiality and rigour. He passed a law, which afterwards was called king *Birger's* law, prohibiting the sale of slaves, <sup>*A law*</sup> saying, "That it was unjust christians should sell each <sup>*prohibiting the sale of prisoners.*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Loccen. p. 95.

(F) Besides *Birger*, king *Magnus* left two other sons, *Eric* and *Waldemar*. Vid. Loccen. lib. iii. p. 90.

“other, when *Christ* had made them all free, at the price  
“of his blood.”

It was about the year 1302 that *Birger* and his queen were solemnly crowned, upon which *Cnutson* resigned all his offices, but had them restored to him by the king, with additional power. Prince *Waldemar* had married the princess of *Norway*, with a view of being powerfully supported against the king his brother. Both he and *Eric* complained of *Cnutson*, as if he had shewn a partiality for the king's interest, although he was the common guardian of all the children; but the true reason of *Waldemar*'s resentment was, that *Birger* had declared his son *Magnus*, then but three years of age, his successor in the throne. For these, and other reasons, they chose another guardian, and demanded their patrimonies, which they put into the hands of *Ambior*, great bailiff of Sweden<sup>b</sup>.

Contenti-  
ons were  
between  
the king  
and his  
brothers.

ON the other hand, the king was dissatisfied with the conduct of his brothers, and suspicious of their power and fidelity. In these sentiments he was confirmed by his queen, an ambitious woman, and by *Cnutson*, who highly resented the affront put upon him by the princes, in chusing another guardian. The king of *Denmark* likewise, for reasons of state and of private pique, helped to light up the fire of contention. In the end, the very same causes which had thrown *Sweden* in confusion in *Waldemar*'s reign, disturbed the reign of his nephew *Birger*. *Puffendorf* alledges, that *Cnutson* had persuaded the king to load his subjects with very oppressive taxes, in order to maintain a brilliant and magnificent court; yet nothing can be more inconsistent with the character of this minister, than any measure which could prove burdensome to the people. According to the same author, it was *Cnutson* that persuaded him to seize on the revenues of the duchies appropriated by his father's will, for the portions of the younger children, which money he applied for the space of six years to his own use. He committed other violences, particularly the seizing upon certain lands destined for the maintenance of the poor, unjustly charged upon his minister. Another arbitrary action of the king's is expressly said to have been committed at *Cnutson*'s house, who invited his majesty and the two dukes, his brothers, to an entertainment. As the guests were preparing to go away, the king called his brothers to him, and selling them, that he had advice of their intention to quit the kingdom, he desired to know the causes of their pro-

<sup>b</sup> Idem. *ibid.* <sup>c</sup> *Puffend.* p. 118.

ceedings; adding, that if they would clear themselves of the *They are* suspicions he harboured of their fidelity, they must sign a *forced to* writing which he produced. Such a proposition, so *make con-* unexp-  
ected, could not but alarm the dukes. If they refused, *cessions to*  
they foresaw that the consequence would at least be impris- *the king.*  
onment; they signed therefore the paper without hesitation,  
promising by this act, never to withdraw out of the king-  
dom, or approach the king's person, without leave; to keep  
only such a retinue and household as his majesty should pre-  
scribe; to attempt nothing, either openly or clandestinely,  
against his person and government; and to pay an implicit  
obedience to his will, and fidelity to himself, his queen, and  
his children.

HAVING finished this affair to his satisfaction, he returned *The king*  
to *Wiesinger*, pleasing himself with the notion of having *grows a*  
executed a very extraordinary stroke of policy. His joy, *second time*  
however, was but of short duration. Suspicion again lay-  
ing hold of his mind, he summoned the dukes his brothers *jealous of*  
to appear before him. Duke *Eric* alone obeyed the order, *the conduct*  
and was accused of carrying contraband merchandize out *of his*  
of the kingdom, of travelling in a hostile manner with arms, *brothers*  
and of committing several violences against the peasants;  
to which the king added, that one of *Eric's* domestics had  
struck his porter, because he had not opened the door im-  
mediately on his knocking; and that both the dukes main-  
tained courts so brilliant as could not but give umbrage.

*ALL Eric's* endeavours to vindicate himself availed no- *The two*  
thing. The king indeed for that time dismissed him, but *brothers*  
he watched every opportunity of seizing the two brothers. *take re-*  
They had advice of his designs, and saved themselves in *suge in*  
*Denmark*, where they implored king *Eric* to use his in- *Den-*  
fluence in procuring them the peaceable possession of their *mark.*  
openages. Immediately on their departure, their estates  
were confiscated, and *Birger* had an interview on the  
frontiers with the *Danish* monarch, whom he found means  
to engage wholly in his interest. This obliged the dukes to  
quit *Denmark*, and seek shelter in *Norway*, where they were  
favourably received, treated with great hospitality, and pro-  
vided with all the assistance in king *Hacquin's* power. Two  
cities, *Nydeburgh* and *Kundel*, with all their dependencies,  
were assigned them for their support. From hence they  
made excursions into *Gothland*, which they ravaged with-  
out mercy, laid in ashes the city *Liedsa*, and built the for-  
tress called *Daleburgh*, for their security, in which they con-

finied a number of *Swedish* gentlemen they had taken prisoners.

*Eric defeats the king's army.*

*They come to an accommodation.*

*Cnutson falls a sacrifice to the enmity of the princes.*

*Birger surprised, and taken prisoner by his brothers.*

To put a stop to these disorders, *Birger* sent an army to *Gothland*; but his troops were surprised and defeated by *Eric*. He next took the field in person, with a powerful army (G) and the duke received in the mean time a strong reinforcement from *Norway*. Both princes were in full march to come to a decisive action, when certain senators, offering their mediation, terminated their differences, and prevailed on the king to restore his brothers into favour.

No sooner were the princes reconciled than they came to an explanation concerning the cause of their quarrel; and agreeing that *Cnutson* had acted the part of an incendiary that old minister was dismissed from his employments, and imprisoned. Soon after he was charged with several big crimes and misdemeanors of which he had never been guilty and, in consequence, beheaded publicly at *Stockholm*, to the great grief of the people, and joy of the two dukes, some of the nobility, and all the clergy, whose overweening insolence and oppressive privileges he had boldly curbed and entrenched. Duke *Waldemar* repudiated his daughter *Christina*, whom he had married: such was the recompence that three ungrateful princes bestowed on their most faithful and able guardian and minister<sup>f</sup>.

BUT the innocent blood of the honest *Cnutson* did not cement their union; on the contrary, their jealousies daily increased, and they now, when too late, perceived that *Cnutson* had acted an upright and prudent part; that he had prevented their coming to extremities, and shewed an equal affection for them all. The king endeavoured to keep the princes in absolute subjection; while they, on the other hand, aspired at his crown. They privately assembled a number of their friends, surprised *Birger* in his palace, made him prisoner, and obliged him to resign the crown in favour of duke *Eric*, and deliver up *Stockholm*. However, the citizens looked upon this as a violence, and refused to obey the king's orders; upon which the dukes began a regular siege, while a part of their army over-ran several provinces of the kingdom<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Loccen. lib. iii. p. 99.

<sup>g</sup> Idem. ibid.

(G) *Puffendorf* mentions only two thousand, which must either be a blunder of the author, or, more probably, of the printer. *Tom. i. p. 121.*

THE king, queen, and the royal family, were imprisoned, except *Magnus*, the eldest, who escaped out of his uncle's hands, and took refuge in *Denmark*. Touched with compassion at the miserable condition of his brother-in-law, the king of *Denmark* raised a powerful army to restore *Birger*. Upon his entering *Sweden*, the dukes advanced with a good countenance and well-disciplined army, to give him battle, which the *Dane* chose to decline, thinking it more prudent to have recourse to treaty. During the negotiation the dukes were taking the most vigorous measures to reduce the rest of the kingdom, to attach the people to their interest, and to engage *Hacquin* of *Norway* to declare war against *Denmark*; but his *Danish* majesty counteracted their intrigues at the court of *Norway*, and not only prevailed on that monarch to decline the proffered alliance with the dukes, but to refuse his daughter to *Eric*, who sought her in marriage, except upon such conditions as could not be complied with (H).

A. D.  
1306.

THIS year duke *Waldemar*, with a body of *German* horse, made an incursion into *Schonen*, but was obliged to retire at the approach of winter. His troops were quartered in *West Gubland*, and behaved so insolently to the peasants, that an insurrection ensued, and several of the *German* soldiers were massacred. To revenge the death of their comrades, the remaining *Germans* fell upon the peasants, and made great slaughter of them. These misfortunes were increased by a sudden incursion of the *Danes*, when happily a treaty was set on foot by the more moderate on both sides. It proved, however, little more than a preliminary, whereby *Birger* and his family were set at liberty, and the final decision of the quarrel referred to a congress appointed at *Marckery* in *Smaland*.

A. D.  
1307.

In consequence of the treaty concluded on this occasion, *Birger* was restored to a part of his dominions, and the dukes received an oath of fidelity, not as kings, but sovereigns, of the remainder. The first use *Birger* made of his liberty was, to attempt the recovery of his crown and kingdom. Passing over to *Denmark*, he met with a hearty reception from his brother, and received assurances of powerful succours. At the same time a dispute arose between *Hacquin* of *Norway* and duke *Eric*, which greatly forwarded *Birger's* affairs. The king of *Denmark* seized this opportunity,

*Birger is restored to a part of his dominions.*

*Birger resolves to recover the rest of his dominions.*

(H) The *Danish* writers, however, alledge, that *Hacquin* equipped a fleet, made a descent on *Zeland*, and carried off considerable booty. *Mours. lib. iv. Pontan. et Grammat. sub reg.*



tunity to persuade *Hacquin* wholly to break with the duke, and marry his daughter *Ingiburgha* to *Magnus*, *Birger's* son. In a word, *Hacquin* agreed to bestow his daughter, with six thousand marks in silver, on *Magnus*, appointing him besides his successor to the crown of *Norway*, provided he died without male issue. At the same time a peace was concluded between the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*; upon which *Eric* of *Denmark* assembled a powerful army, composed of *Danes* and *Germans*, to assist *Birger*, who joined him with a body of *Swedes*. The dukes advanced against the two monarchs; but not caring to hazard a battle, they contented themselves with blocking up the roads, and cutting off their convoys of forage and provisions. All their endeavours could not prevent *Jenekoping* from falling into the hands of the royal army, which immediately afterwards penetrated, through vast forests, to *East Gothland*; which the dukes were forced to evacuate, *Eric* retiring to *Calmar*, and *Waldemar* to *Stockholm*, to cover the province of *Up-land*<sup>b</sup>.

*Birger  
besieges  
Nico-  
ping, and  
the nobili-  
ty desert  
him and  
Eric.*

DURING these transactions, the king of *Norway* was laying siege to *Kongel*, and the two kings, *Birger* and *Eric*, after over-running the country, had sat down before *Nicoping*. The garrison made a vigorous resistance, and the kings were obstinate in their resolution to carry the place. At last the nobility represented the imprudence of neglecting greater advantages they might gain in the time spent before this town; the little benefit that would accrue from the conquest, the difficulties of the undertaking, the scarcity of provision in the camp, and the ill-humour of the army on account of the approaching severe season: but all their remonstrances could not oblige the princes to alter their resolution; upon which the *Danish* nobility took the shameful resolution of abandoning their king, and returning to *Denmark*, leaving him to try his fortune as he could, and fight his own battles; a desertion that would have greatly endangered his person, had not the duke of *Mecklenburgh* remained firm with the cavalry.

THE duke had in the mean time retaken *Jenekoping*, and gained some other advantages; however, he chose to try what a negotiation might produce in the present circumstances of the allied monarchs. With this view he demanded a conference with the king of *Denmark*, and offered to end all disputes sincerely and amicably with *Birger*. He moreover exhorted his *Danish* majesty to use his influence

<sup>b</sup> SUAN. lib. iii. PURFEND, p. 122.

with *Birger*, to pay more respect to the treaties he concluded, as he might be assured he could never profit any thing by using force. In consequence of this request an interview was held at *Helsingbourg*, and a peace concluded between the dukes and *Birger*, on much the same conditions as the former; a partition being made of the kingdom, but with this addition, that the dukes should do homage to *Birger*, as vassals of his crown<sup>1</sup>.

Peace concluded.

A. D.

1310.

THE reconciliation of the brothers proved no less destructive to the people than the war which ensued from their enmity. They now rivalled each other in pomp, splendour, and magnificence. Each held his court, and strove to render it the most brilliant. Such an expence required extraordinary funds; the people were loaded with taxes which they could no longer support. In *Smaland* a rebellion appeared, headed by one *Bagge*; and another, of a more dangerous nature, soon after in *Gothland*, which obliged the king to quit the province, upon having several of his attendants murdered. Both these insurrections, however, were quelled by the assassination of *Bagge*, and his majesty's promise to lower the taxes<sup>m</sup>.

A. D.

1317.

As the kingdom had now enjoyed profound tranquillity for the space of seven years, the dukes had reason to persuade themselves, that the king their brother's reconciliation was perfectly sincere; but they little penetrated the true sentiments of *Birger*. *Waldemar*, in his way to *Calmar*, made him a visit at *Nicoping*, and was received with all the appearances of the utmost cordiality and affection. Such professions of regard were made by *Birger* as entirely deceived the duke; who was so much convinced of his sincerity, that he requested duke *Eric* to come to *Nicoping*, in order to put the last hand to their reconciliation so happily effected. Notwithstanding he still suspected *Birger*, yet he yielded to the arguments and intreaties of *Waldemar*; but was no sooner arrived at *Nicoping*, then he received some hints of the king's design, and would have immediately put back, had not *Waldemar* used the most pressing instances to the contrary. At night *Birger*'s perfidy broke out; for after treating them with magnificence, and loading them with favours and civilities, he ordered his people to break in to their apartments while they were asleep, to seize and confine them: thus retaliating on them the same base action by which he came into their power some years before. *Eric* endeavoured to defend himself, but was over-powered, after being first covered with

*Birger*  
perfidiously  
seizes the  
dukes,  
throws  
them in a  
dungeon,  
where one  
perished  
of his  
wounds,  
and the  
other of  
hunger.

<sup>1</sup> PONT. lib. ix.

<sup>m</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iii.

wounds. *Birger* was present at this cruel scene ; and having satiated his revenge with the most cutting taunts and opprobrious language, ordered them to be stripped half-naked, and tied neck and heels with iron chains. They were then thrown into a dungeon ; and the king set out, with intention, to surprize *Stockholm*. In this he was disappointed, the garrison made a brisk sally, defeated him, and sent a body of forces to lay siege to *Nicoping*, where the princes were confined ; but before it was taken, both died, *Eric* of his wounds, and *Waldemar* of hunger ; the former three, and the latter eleven days after his imprisonment.

*MATHEW KETTLEMUNSON*, who directed the siege, ordered, as soon as he got possession of the place, their bodies to be exposed to the people, to stir them up the more against *Birger*, whose unnatural cruelty made him now the detestation of mankind, and induce them to support the children of duke *Eric*. *Birger*, on the other hand, recalled his son *Magnus* from *Denmark*, obtained a body of auxiliaries from king *Eric*, and was taking vigorous steps for maintaining his rights, recovered at the expence of the blackest perfidy and cruelty. Nevertheless he was defeated by *Kettlemunson*, and forced to retire to *East Gothland*, which country he found all in arms against him ; but these tumultuous peasants he soon defeated and dispersed. Proud of his success, he put his troops in quarters, imagining the enemy would not again presume to make head against him ; but he was deceived, *Canute Portze* and *Kettlemunson* first defeated, and then kept his son *Magnus* besieged in *Steckenburgh*, till he was obliged to surrender for want of provision. With the prince were made prisoners several noblemen and officers of the court, who had been the greatest fomenters of the divisions between *Birger* and the dukes.

IMMEDIATELY upon this success *Kettlemunson* was declared protector of the kingdom, and empowered to carry on the war against the king. His first step was to settle the affairs of the nation, and establish peace in those provinces which for a series of years had scarce tasted the blessings of repose. Then he entered *Schonen* with a strong body of forces, and laid all waste before him, without pity or remorse, carrying off crowds of prisoners, and among them persons of the highest distinction in the province. The pretext for this invasion, was the assistance lent to *Birger* by his *Danish* majesty, who had been the chief instrument of the late massacre of the *Gothland* peasants.

THE invasion of *Schonen* produced a peace between the two nations, both obliging themselves to live upon terms of friendship for three years; but the death of his Danish majesty prevented its taking effect. The *Swedes* began with an infraction of one material article of the treaty; namely, the free pardon stipulated for *Magnus* and his adherents taken in *Stackenburgh*. They first put *Bruneme* to death, and some other noblemen, ordering their bodies to be exposed to the populace of *Stockholm*. Then the protector made preparations for attacking *Birger*, who had retired to the isle of *Gothland*; but the king prevented him, by retreating to *Denmark*; where he was but coldly received by the then reigning prince *Christopher*.

On *Birger's* recess, *Kettlemunson* convoked a diet at *Upsal* for the election of a king. He had so managed affairs, that the crown was assigned to *Magnus*, son of duke *Eric*, then a child of three years old; who soon after succeeded likewise to the crown of *Norway*, by *Hacquin's* will.

NEXT year a diet was held at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on the manner they should treat *Magnus*, the son of *Birger*, at that time kept in close confinement. The father was so odious to the people, that they resolved to punish his crimes in the person of his son; notwithstanding the capitulation of *Stackenburgh* expressly declared, that his life should not be touched. A few years before he had been declared successor to the throne; yet now, without any fault of his own, he was, by a sad reverse of fortune, condemned to die by the very same diet; a sentence that was executed without respite.

THE *Swedes* flattered themselves, they had at last got a prince to their wish in *Magnus*, the son of *Eric*; but they soon perceived, that he was weak, effeminate, and open to flattery, whence was laid the foundation of all those misfortunes that beset the kingdom, and afflicted the *Swedes* for the space of two hundred years after. Nevertheless, the kingdom enjoyed perfect tranquillity for the space of twenty-eight years after his accession. *Kettlemunson*, the regent during the king's minority, fomented so artfully the troubles in *Denmark*, as to enlarge the limits of *Sweden* by the addition of some valuable provinces. *Schonen* took an oath of allegiance to king *Magnus*, who promised to defend the nobility, clergy, and people, in the full exertion of all their liberties.

A. D.  
1336.  
*King  
Magnus  
takes upon  
him the  
admini-  
stration.*

ABOUT the year 1336, *Magnus* was married to *Blanche*, daughter of the duke of *Namure*; and *Ketlemunson* dying, he took into his own hands the reigns of government. The change became immediately sensible to the people. Before, the administration was steady, wise, and politic; now every thing was actuated by caprice, and dictated by wild young favourites, while the counsels of the aged and experienced were disregarded. By his hot-headed youthful counsellors it was, that *Magnus* was persuaded to attempt the conquest of *Denmark*, not contented with *Schonen*, and the other provinces, obtained without shedding a drop of blood.

A. D.  
1338.  
*He de-  
mands the  
investiture  
of Den-  
mark from  
his holiness*

TO give some colour of justice to his ambitious designs, he sent an embassy to *Rome*, to favour a confirmation of the possession of *Schonen*; intimating at the same time, that *Denmark* being a fief of the holy see, the pope had a power to dispose of it to whom he pleased. It was moreover insinuated, that *Denmark* having for some years refused to pay the usual tribute to his holiness, now was the time for recovering *St. Peter's* rights, by granting this kingdom to his *Swedish* majesty, who would receive it on those conditions, and pay whatever tribute should be required. But this embassy met with no success, his holiness declaring, that he would neither confirm *Magnus* in the possession of *Schonen*, nor grant him the investiture of *Denmark*, without hearing both parties concerned. Indeed all the politics of the *Swedish* king were sapped by the superior abilities of *Waldemar*, then king of *Denmark*; yet he obtained from that prince what he never would have granted, but for the distracted condition of his kingdom. *Waldemar* signed an act, whereby he ceded to *Sweden* the provinces of *Schonen* and *Bleking*, with the isles of *Lyster* and *Haen*. He also ceded, for the sum of 8000 marks of silver, the province of *Halland*, and this treaty was solemnly ratified and sworn to by both parties. On his part *Magnus* promised all manner of assistance to the *Danish* monarch against his enemies, and the privilege to his subjects of trading to all his ports in *Sweden* and *Norway* <sup>p</sup>.

*Peace be-  
tween the  
two king-  
doms.*

A. D.  
1343.

A. D.  
1348.  
*Magnus  
undertakes  
an expedi-  
tion a-  
gainst the  
Russians.*

FOR twelve years after the death of his guardian *Ketlemunson*, the king of *Sweden* lived in peace with all his neighbours, and acted in a great measure agreeable to the plan laid down by that able minister; but now the whim of signalizing his valour unhappily seized him, and he meditated an expedition against the *Russians*. To support the expences of this very unnecessary war, he was constrained to oppress

his subjects with heavy taxes ; to render them miserable, to shew that they were powerful. A great body of *German* cavalry was levied, under the conduct of *Henry* earl of *Holstein*. As soon as the necessary preparations were made, *Magnus* begun his march, and took the castle of *Noteburgh*, with the whole surrounding country : but these successes were checked in the very bud. *Magnus* agreed to a truce for two months ; the enemy, in the mean time, assembled, fell unexpectedly on the *Swedes*, and forced them to retire with shameful precipitation. Then *Noteburgh* was attacked, and the king's garrison put to the sword ; and all *Finland* would have felt the resentment of those barbarians, had not *Magnus* appeased the *Russians*, by yielding up part of *Carelia*.

THIS unfortunate expedition involved *Sweden* in many difficulties. If *Magnus* was forced to increase the taxes, in order to carry on the war, it became no less necessary to lay new impositions, to enable the king to pay the debts contracted by this feeble endeavour to prove his valour, and enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom. Besides, some of the crown-lands were mortgaged, and among others the city of *Calmar*, which was pledged to the earl of *Holstein* for a sum of money. Nor was this all, the pope's revenues had been expended on this romantic expedition ; and now the king, unable to reimburse his holiness, fell under his censure, and was excommunicated. The people, at the same time, began heartily to despise and hate their king, for the mixture of weakness and tyranny they perceived in his disposition. They saw him lavish the public money on a young worthless favourite, whom he had created duke of *Halland*, while the queen was bestowing favours upon him of a different nature, which equally disgraced herself and the king.

AT length the senate resolved to terminate the grievances of the people. They advised *Magnus* to resign the crowns he was unable to support, to his children, that of *Sweden* to his eldest son *Eric*, and of *Norway* to his second son *Hacquin*. *Pontanus* indeed alledges, that the crown of *Norway* was ceded in 1334. On the king's refusal to comply with the intreaties of the senate, the nobility revolted, and placed the crown on *Eric*'s head.

*MAGNUS* retiring to *Schonen*, demanded succours from *Waldemar* ; but the *Danish* monarch gave him to understand, that the full restitution of *Schonen*, and all the other provinces

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> PONT. Hist. lib. viii.

<sup>3</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iii. p. 104.

*Magnus retires to Schonen, which he surrenders to Waldemar.*

vinces wrested from *Denmark*, must be the necessary condition of his aid. Some time after he consented to a negotiation, as well to establish peace between *Magnus* and his subjects, as between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; however, the difficulties about *Schonen* rendered all endeavours fruitless.

*Civil war in Sweden* IN the mean time *Magnus* and his son, each supported by a powerful faction, waged cruel war. *Eric*, in the first place, defeated, took, and put to death, the duke of *Halland*, his father's favourite, and the great object of the people's hatred. This action gained him the affection of the *Swedes*, as the conduct of *Magnus* alienated them daily more and more from the attachment they owed him. At length the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and earl of *Holstein* offered their mediation, by which, after much altercation, affairs were accommodated. A treaty was concluded, whereby *Magnus* resigned a part of his dominions to his son *Eric*, and shared with him the title of king of *Sweden*. He reserved to himself *Upland*, *Gothland*, *Wermland*, *Dalccarlia*, the northern parts of *Halland*, *West Gothland*, and the isle of *Oeland*. *Schonen*, *Smaland*, *Finland*, and the south of *Halland*, were given to *Eric*. *Magnus* was likewise obliged to promise, that he would surrender into *Eric's* hands, all the letters, papers, and titles, respecting *Schonen*; as it was not doubted but *Waldemar* would regain that province by any means in his power.

*Treaty concluded, and the kingdom divided between Magnus and Eric.*

THIS agreement did not prevent the nobility and people from shewing extraordinary marks of regard for *Eric*, and of equal dislike to his father. Queen *Blanche* was alarmed on hearing of *Eric's* intention to marry, and give her a rival queen, who would necessarily diminish the respect paid to her, as the only sovereign princess in the kingdom. To secure her power, she persuaded *Magnus* to give *Eric* an invitation to his palace, under pretence of some extraordinary business he had to communicate to him. *Eric* came without suspicion, and had a cup of poison administered to him by the hands of his unnatural mother, whose ambition had suppressed every dictate of humanity, honour, and maternal affection. The young prince expired with these words, "The same person who gave me life, has now robbed me of it," about twenty days after drinking the poison (A).<sup>1</sup>

*The queen administers poison to Eric.*

(A) *Pontanus*, and almost all queen *Blanche's* character than the *Danish* writers, place this *Loccenius* and the historians of event in the year 1354. They her own nation. *Pont. lib. viii.* are likewise more tender of *Meurs. lib. v.*

MAGNUS

**MAGNUS** now regained possession of all his dominions, taking the most solemn oaths at his restoration, that he would correct the errors of his former reign, and govern the state in the most irreproachable manner. Far, however, from observing his promises, he sought every opportunity of revenging himself on the senate, and those persons who had favoured *Eric*. With this view he entered into a close alliance with his *Danish* majesty, carried his queen and young son *Hacquin*, king of *Norway*, to visit him at *Copenhagen*, and engaged *Hacquin* in marriage with the princess *Margaret* of *Denmark*, then seven years of age. On this occasion it was, that he yielded up *Schonen*, *Bleking*, and all the *Danish* provinces, which had for some years been the cause of contention between the two kingdoms<sup>1</sup>. The pretext for ceding them was, a maintenance for the princess *Margaret*, now betrothed to *Hacquin*; but the *Danish* historians alledge, that *Magnus* was mean enough to make over *Sweden* to *Waldemar*, provided he would maintain him in full possession for his life. Certain it is, that all the deeds and papers regarding *Schonen* were delivered to *Waldemar*, without laying the proceeding before either the senate or the states; who were extremely incensed at a measure so pernicious and disgraceful to the kingdom (A).

**WALDEMAR** no sooner found himself in possession of the proper documents, than he took the field with a powerful army, and marching to *Schonen*, seized upon the whole country. To stop the clamours of his subjects, *Magnus* made a shew of resistance. He appeared at the head of a body of troops, but declined giving battle, under pretence of the great superiority of the enemy; a poor disguise, that served only to render him more odious and ridiculous. This suggestion received full confirmation from the treaty that was struck up between them immediately after, by which he ceded *Schonen* a second time in the strongest manner, and promised to regard *Waldemar* henceforward as his brother.

**MAGNUS** gave *Waldemar* to understand, that he should be glad to see his subjects of the isle of *Gothland*, who had refused to pay his oppressive taxes, punished. *Waldemar* embraced the hint, and to oblige his ally, or rather to serve his own purposes, made a sudden descent on the island, kill-

*Magnus recovers his dominions, and enters into a close alliance with Denmark.*

*Schonen and the other Danish provinces ceded to Waldemar.*

A. D.  
1360.

*The nation incensed at the king's conduct.*

*Waldemar invades the isle of Gothland at the desire of Magnus.*

<sup>1</sup> PONT. *ibid.* PUFFEND. *ibid.*

(A) *Magnus* obtained the surname of *Smeek* on this occasion, from his being duped by the specious promises of *Waldemar*.  
*Loecen. p. 185.*



ed 1800 peasants, who stood in their own defence, in *Wisby* the capital of the island, and richest city of the island, pillaged the inhabitants, and loaded his fleet with immen-  
 booty. But this iniquitous measure ended unhappily both princes. *Waldemar's* fleet was shipwrecked on its return to *Denmark*, his garrison left in *Wisby* massacred by the inhabitants, and *Magnus* thereby rendered still more odious to his people.

A. D.  
 1361.  
*Waldemar* pillages *Oeland*.

The  
*Swedes*  
 have re-  
 course to  
 the king of  
*Norway*,  
 who ar-  
 rests *Magnus*.

*Waldemar's* policy.

NEXT year *Waldemar* made a descent on the island of *Oeland*, put five hundred peasants to the sword, stormed the fortress of *Borkholm*, and pillaged the whole island, a victory that highly delighted *Magnus*, as nothing gave him so much satisfaction as the ruin of that people over whom God had placed him, for their security and protection.

TIRED out with oppression at home, and injuries abroad, the *Swedes* had recourse to *Haquin* king of *Norway*, imploring him to have compassion on their sufferings, and rescue them from absolute unavoidable destruction. *Haquin* heard their prayer, arrested *Magnus*, and confined him in the citadel of *Calmar*. Upon this the senate took heart, and began to hope for a prosperous issue in the affairs of the kingdom. They required of *Haquin* that he would enter into no alliances with his *Danish* master, on the contrary, that he would come to an open rupture with that prince; and instead of marrying his daughter, he would make proposals to the earl of *Holstein's* sister princess *Elizabeth*, and thereby strengthen his interest in *Germany*.

*MAGNUS*, then a prisoner, feigned to approve these terms imposed on *Haquin*, which were confirmed to the states, on condition that if he should refuse to do so, he should lose his right over *Calmar*; and if, on the other hand, *Magnus* and *Haquin* should be guilty of any breach of the conditions, the diet and senate should be released from their allegiance to them, and empowered to choose for *Holstein* for their lawful sovereign. Deputies were therefore sent to demand the princess, and they obtained her; but the ship in which *Elizabeth* sailed was driven, by reason of weather, on the coast of *Denmark*, where she was detained by the politic *Waldemar*. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, earl of *Holstein* took arms to oblige him to release her. *Waldemar's* intrigues gained over *Haquin*, and persuaded him to marry the princess *Margaret*, in direct opposition to the conditions he had lately sworn to. The *Swedish*

\* *Magnus*. sub reg. ibid.

rians alledge, that, to cut the way strait to the crown of Sweden, *Waldemar* no sooner saw his daughter married to *Hacquin*, than he had poison administered to *Magnus* and his queen *Blanche*; a fact denied by good authority, and supported only by some libels and defamatory papers handed about at the time. The queen died immediately, but *Magnus* recovered by the skill of his physician (B).

AFTER this infraction of the treaty, the Swedes, in resentment of *Hacquin's* conduct, elected *Henry* of *Holstein* king; but that political prince declined the honour intended, and strongly recommended duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, nephew to king *Magnus*. *Albert* likewise declined the offer, but proposed his second son *Albert*; who immediately set out for *Gothland*, where he was proclaimed king, by a certain number of the nobility, who had taken refuge there to avoid the effects of *Magnus's* indignation. Thence *Albert* went to *Stockholm*, which he took with little trouble, on account of a powerful party within the walls, that appeared in his favour.

HAVING got possession of the capital, all the nobility who opposed the measures of *Magnus*, were assembled to declare their reasons for throwing off their allegiance to him. It was no difficult matter to urge pretences for their disobedience; the folly of *Magnus* had afforded but too many. His desire of rendering himself absolute; his repeated breach of promises to the diet and senate; the cession of *Schonen*, and the Danish provinces; his connivance at the plundering of the islands of *Oeland* and *Gothland*; and at the marriage of *Hacquin* and *Margaret*; his exorbitant and oppressive taxes; and lastly, his attempt to exterminate the principal families among the nobility. After formally deposing *Magnus* according to all the forms of justice, they proclaimed *Albert* a second time, in the capital. *Magnus*, however, who was supported by a strong party, by the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, resolved not to stand by their award. Collecting all his friends, he joined a body of *Danes* and *Norwegians*, and with his son *Hacquin* penetrated to the province of *Upland*. Here he was met, de-

*Magnus deposed.*

(B) It is said that *Christopher*, the only son of *Waldemar*, died on the same occasion by poison, which was given him by mistake.

thority of *Puffendorf*, it is certain, that *Henry* was elected only by the lords banished the kingdom by *Magnus*, and taking sanctuary in the isle of *Gothland*.

(C) Notwithstanding the au-

*Loccen. p. 109.*

feated,

seated, and taken prisoner, by *Albert*, his son *Hacquin* escaping wounded out of the field<sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1336.

Peace con-  
cluded  
with Den-  
mark.

Albert of  
Mecklen-  
burgh  
chosen king  
of Sweden.

To profit by his victory, *Albert* laid siege to all the places that stood out for *Magnus*; but the number of *Danish* troops in the kingdom greatly obstructed his progress. This obliged him, with the consent of the senate, to purchase a peace with *Waldemar*, at the expence of the isle of *Gotland*, the city *Wisby*, the fortress of *Helsingburgh*, great part of *Helsingia*, with several other lands and cities. He likewise consented that his father and brothers should enjoy and possess the whole duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, the duchy of *Schwerin*, and principality of *Rostock*, independent of the crown of *Sweden*. They promised in return to restore *Werborg*, not to release *Magnus*, or come to terms of peace with *Hacquin*, but on condition that these two princes ratified the treaty now concluded.

A. D.  
1368.

The peace  
broken, and  
the war  
resumed.

A peace so solemnly sworn to by all parties, ought to have been solid; but it was of short duration, the promises of princes being never longer obligatory than they find them consistent with their interest. *Albert* entered into a league offensive and defensive, with the earl of *Holstein*, the *Futland* nobility, the dukes of *Sleswick*, *Mecklenburgh*, and the *Hans* towns, against the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*. He then made an irruption into *Schonen*, and conquered that province, while his allies were busied in subduing *Denmark*, which king *Waldemar* was forced to abandon.

A. D.  
1371.

Death of  
king Mag-  
nus.

BUT he was less successful against the king of *Norway*, who entered *Sweden* at the head of a numerous army, obliged *Albert* to quit the field, and laid siege to *Stockholm*. At last both sides consented to an accommodation, whereby *Magnus* was set at liberty, paying 12,000 marks for his ransom, ceding the crown of *Sweden*, with his pretension to the province of *Schonen*, to king *Albert*, and accepting as an equivalent the provinces of *West-Gothland*, and those of *Wermland* and *Dali*. Sixty gentlemen, as pledges of his truth, obliged themselves, in case *Magnus* broke his faith, to surrender themselves prisoners to *Albert* at *Stockholm*. In effort *Magnus* kept his word, lived the rest of his days in *Norway*, and at last perished crossing a little ford near *Blonenfort*. Thus died an unhappy monarch, the most unsteady, weak, voluptuous, and arbitrary, that had ever wielded the *Swedish* sceptre.

<sup>c</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iii. PUFFEND. p. 131. PONTAN. lib. x. MEURS. vit. Wald. 18.

Wearied of the repose which had now blessed his reign for the space of five years, *Albert* took up arms to support his nephew the duke of *Mecklenburgh's* claim to the crown of *Denmark*. At the death of *Waldemar*, the states of that kingdom had elected *Olaus*, son of *Hacquin* and *Margaret*, in prejudice of *Albert's* right. A great fleet was equipped on this occasion, but it was so roughly treated in a storm, that the duke relinquished his pretensions.

As soon as king *Albert* found himself disengaged from this war, he employed his attention in rendering himself absolute. Prosperity swelling his heart, he began to despise the *Swedes*, and, after the example of his predecessor, entered upon every measure that could possibly irritate and incense them. Particularly he introduced numbers of foreigners into lucrative posts and employments, believing them the fittest tools to work his purposes. These he invested in the governments of fortresses, and the most important trusts of the state, preferring persons of no merit or birth, to the first nobility of the kingdom, for no other reason than because they were foreigners, and subservient to his will. He even went so far as to introduce *Germans* into the senate, in direct violation of the express laws of the realm, and the kingdom was filled with foreign mercenaries, under various pretences, whose insolence and avarice become quite insupportable to the people. *Albert* imposed new taxes for the maintenance of this standing army of mercenaries, and gratifying the rapacity of his needy favourites. At last the country was so drained of money, that it was impossible for the people to pay the taxes, or answer the demands of the prince, which seemed to rise in proportion to their poverty. On this he assembled the states, and represented to them, that the revenues of the crown were insufficient to maintain the regal dignity; that the people must contribute; and the strictest and most effectual method would be to annex to the crown the thirds of the civil and ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom. The diet besought him not to rob them of those possessions and rights bequeathed them by their ancestors, or seek to extend the power of the crown, beyond the limits assigned by law. They represented that the present revenues of his crown, were sufficient to maintain it in the utmost splendor, provided he retrenched his extraordinary liberality to foreigners, and discharged that mercenary army with which the people were oppressed. By these means, they said, he might live on the present revenues with the same magnificence his predecessors had done.

A. D.  
1376.

A. D.  
1385.  
*Albert becomes arbitrary, and incurs the displeasure of his subjects.*

*The diet expresses their disapprobation of his conduct.*

*Albert enters upon violent measures.*

*The nobility implore the assistance of queen Margaret.*

*ALBERT*, displeased with this refusal, determined to use force; accordingly he seized upon the thirds of all rents of the laity and clergy, a violence that set the whole nation in a flame. The nobility, too weak to resist him, went over to *Denmark*, and implored assistance from queen *Margaret*, a princess too wise not to employ their discontent to her own advantage (A). She promised them the most effectual redress of all their grievances, provided they secured the crown of *Sweden* to her, in case she happened to gain the advantage over *Albert*. "When, says she, I expose my crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to the issue of a doubtful war, it is but reasonable I should have the prospect of an additional crown." She not only insisted upon their promise of electing her to the throne, but of making the crown permanent in her family; a condition which, hard as it was, the *Swedes* were forced to accept, rather than endure the tyranny of *Albert*<sup>b</sup>.

*She is elected queen of Sweden by the malcontents.*

In this manner it was, that *Margaret* was elected queen of *Sweden*, by the malcontents. Assured of her resolution and aid, they began to levy forces, and declare open war on the king; however, as he was supported by a strong party, and in possession of the chief fortresses, they had numberless difficulties to encounter. The war indeed was but of short continuance, but it occasioned an infinity of calamities and misfortunes to *Sweden*, rent into factions, most inveterate in their animosity. *Albert* soon perceived that it would be impossible to support his armies long, for want of money, the country being totally exhausted; he resolved, therefore, to come to a decisive action with *Margaret*. He sent her notice, that he would give her battle on a certain day, in a great plain near *Faloping*, in *West-Gothland*. This message was accompanied with some coarse and indecent raillery, which disgraced the character of a prince. In a word, so certain was he of victory, that the intermediate days were spent in mirth and pleasantries, the king taking an oath that he would not uncover his head till he had subdued the amazon queen. But all his hopes were soon frustrated, the armies met, and *Albert*, after a very bloody battle, was de-

*Albert is defeated and made prisoner.*

<sup>b</sup> Vit. MARG. p. 26. DES. ROCH. Hist. tom. iv. p. 26.

(A) Some writers of good credit alledge, that war was already declared between *Albert* and *Margaret*, and that the former was the aggressor, by sup-

porting the claim of *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*, in right of his wife *Ingeburgha*, the elder sister of *Margaret*, to the crown of *Denmark*. MEURS. l. v. part 2. seated

feated and made prisoner, together with his son, who had attended him during the campaign (B).

WHATEVER misfortunes Sweden had sustained before the imprisonment of *Albert*, they were nothing, when compared to those she was now about to suffer. The princes of *Mecklenburgh*, the earls of *Holslein*, and the *Hanse* towns, united, in support of this unfortunate monarch; and one of the most bloody wars recorded in history was kindled afresh. They had *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and the chief fortresses, in their hands, whence they made excursions which greatly harassed the queen's army. They burnt *Westeras*, *Enkoping*, *Rostock*, *Wisnar*, and other places, cutting in pieces several bodies of peasants, who assembled in their own defence <sup>b</sup>.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Stockholm* suffered all the miseries consequent on tyranny, suspicion, and a siege. While the queen's forces were battering the city without, the German garrison within accused them of partiality to *Margaret*, and an inclination to surrender the city, for which they punished them with the utmost severity. These insolent masters seized and imprisoned the magistrates, put certain citizens to death, and plundered all without distinction. At length the citizens took arms, and a civil war must have broke out, to the ruin of both sides, had not the governor of the citadel and some moderate persons interposed, prevailing on them to take a mutual oath that they would live in friendship. This accommodation was but of short duration. A little time after, the Germans assembling in the night at the town-house, the governor sent for the chief citizens, as upon business of importance. When they came, a list was read over to them of such persons as were accused of high treason, and correspondence with the enemy. These were instantly seized, imprisoned, and put to the torture, of which several died through the extremity of pain <sup>c</sup>.

IN the mean time, a large reinforcement of Germans arrived in the port of *Stockholm*, which rendered them absolutely masters of the capital. It was then given out that the criminals, put to the question, had made very important discoveries. Under this pretext, they spirited off those who

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. lib. v. PUFFEND. p. 170. <sup>c</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iv.

(B) They were conducted afterwards to *Calmar*, where first to *Babus*, a fortress on the confines of *Norway* and *Gothland*; thence to *Labolm*, and

had resisted the torture, enclosed them, bound hands and feet in a house, to which they set fire. Nor did the fury of the *Germans* stop here. The princes of *Mecklenburgh* published a declaration at *Wismar* and *Rostock*, granting the freedom of all their ports to all who should cruise and commit piracies on the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, or *Swedes*. Instantly the *Baltic* was covered with pirates, who rendered themselves equally formidable to friends and foes, were the scourge of *Sweden*, and pests that could scarcely be exterminated at the conclusion of the war <sup>d</sup>.

*Margaret  
unites the  
three nor-  
thern  
crowns.*

A. D.  
1394.

IN this state of anarchy and confusion did the affairs of *Sweden* remain until the year 1394, when the powers at war first began to talk of an accommodation. A conference was held at *Helsingburgh*, but without effect, on account of a skirmish between the *Danes* and *Germans*, in which a burgomaster of *Stralsund* was slain. Soon after, another congress was held at *Laholm*, at which were present queen *Margaret*, and *John* of *Mecklenburgh*. At this interview they came to an agreement about the release of king *Albert*, his sons, and several of the nobility, on condition that *Albert* should in three years surrender all power and pretensions to the city of *Stockholm*, to *Margaret*; and that in case of any infraction of the treaty, he should return prisoner to her. As security for the performance, the *Hanse* towns engaged to pay the sum of 60,000 silver marks, on *Albert's* breach of faith. A suspension of arms was likewise settled, and a free commerce opened. *Stockholm* in the mean time remained in the power of the *Hanse* towns, and each side was to retain their possessions in the isle of *Gothland*.

*Albert is  
set at li-  
berty.*

A. D.  
1395.

*ALBERT* no sooner obtained his liberty, than he turned his thoughts to the recovery of his crown, chusing rather to forfeit the 60,000 marks than resign his pretensions to a throne. With this view he went over to *Prussia*, and formed an alliance with the knights who had retaken the isle of *Gothland* from the pirates. This island was put in his hands, and here he left his son *Eric* to keep his court, while he pursued his measures for renewing the war.

*MARGARET* had now attained the summit of her ambition. She saw herself in possession of three kingdoms, and the most powerful potentate in *Europe*. Her wisdom and sound policy gained her the esteem and affection of her subjects, who were eager to fix the succession, as the queen had no issue, and could not be prevailed on to share her so-

<sup>d</sup> PONTAN. lib. ix. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxii.

verignty with a husband (A). To gratify the ardent wishes of her people, in a manner that would not derogate from her own authority, *Margaret* introduced to court her grand nephew *Henry*, son of *Wratislaus VII.* and *Mary of Mecklenburgh*, daughter to *Henry of Mecklenburgh*, and *Ingeburgha*, sister of queen *Margaret*, and daughter of *Waldemar I.* This prince, then an infant, she proposed for her successor; and that the name of *Henry* might not sound harsh in the ears of the people, she changed it to *Eric*, a name which many of the sovereigns of the three kingdoms had borne. It was his youth that influenced *Margaret* to consent to his being proclaimed king, as she was to hold the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Some writers<sup>c</sup>, however, affirm, that *Eric* was only appointed successor, while *Puffendorf* and *Loccenius* are equally positive, that he was immediately elected sovereign of the three kingdoms, and *Margaret* appointed regent<sup>d</sup>.

*Eric elected king, and Margaret continued in the regency.*

*MARGARET*, sensible of the obligations she owed the *Swedish* nation, was resolved not to seem ungrateful. She resumed all the crown-lands which *Albert* had granted to foreigners; she degraded all the strangers on whom he bestowed titles and preferments; she rased the fortresses he had built as a curb to liberty; in a word, she laboured, in conjunction with the senate and diet, to remedy the misfortunes and grievances consequent on a despotic reign and bloody revolution. But while she was labouring thus for the interests of the *Swedish* nation, she did not forget her own. She persuaded the diet to allow her, for the support of her dignity, *West* and *East Gotbland*, the provinces of *Wermeland*, *Westermanland*, and *Dalecarlia*, together with a power of disposing of the mines as she thought proper. She left no means untried to confirm the union of the three

*Her policy.*

<sup>c</sup> VERTOT *Revol. de Suede*, p. 33.  
PUFFEND. p. 171.

<sup>d</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iv.

(A) This character is not very agreeable to the portrait drawn of this great princess by *Loccenius* and some *Danish* writers, who accuse her of incontinence, tyranny, and oppression, of laying a poll-tax on *Sweden*, giving large grants of lands to foreigners, and of other actions contrary to the laws of the con-

stitution. It is said, that the nobility remonstrating to her on this head, and shewing her the papers and charters of their privileges, she replied, that they might keep their charters and papers, but she knew how to use the lands and fortresses. *Loccen. lib. iv.*



crowns, and render it as lasting as it was advantageous to each, while governed by an impartial and equal hand <sup>e</sup>.

*She assembles a diet at Calmar, where these articles were drawn up, that obtained the name of Union.*

WHEN she imagined she had sufficiently gained the principal persons in the three kingdoms, she called a diet at *Calmar*, with intention to frame a law that should inseparably unite the crowns. On this occasion she expatiated with admirable eloquence on the necessity and utility of the union; using among other arguments this pretext, that the royal line being now extinct in the three kingdoms, a fairer occasion could not offer for consolidating them into one state, and removing all causes of contention and wars, which must ever subsist while they remained divided. Her reasoning was so plausible, that in all appearance her design would have succeeded to her wish, if the *Danes* had not shewn an eagerness to oppress the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, relying much on *Margaret's* being a native of their country, and the partiality she had occasionally shewn towards them. Notwithstanding this obstruction, *Margaret* gained her point so far, that articles were signed by the states of the three kingdoms, promising by oath, by letters and charters, to remain perpetually under the dominion of the same sovereign; but the formal, fundamental instrument she designed, was for this time deferred.

A. D.  
1397.

ACCORDING to these articles, the right of electing a king was placed in a congress consisting of forty members out of each kingdom, viz. one archbishop, two bishops, one bailiff, one marshal, the chief magistrate of every town, and two of the oldest peasants of each jurisdiction, in all making 120 electors (B).

*Albert gives up all pretensions to the crown of Sweden.*

NOT long after the congress at *Calmar*, *Eric*, the son of *Albert*, died in the isle of *Gothland*; a circumstance that determined his father to resign all thoughts of recovering his crown. He did not imagine it worth his while to encounter so many difficulties and dangers in pursuit of a dignity that must fall with his death. He therefore surrendered *Stockholm* to *Margaret*, all the pretensions he formed to the crown of *Sweden*, and passed the remainder of his days in *Mecklenburgh* <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> MEURS, lib. v.

<sup>f</sup> PONTAN. lib. ix.

(B) It is remarkable, that the *Swedish* writers should differ from the *Danish*, even in this particular, which concerns no

one nation more than another; yet we find that they do vary. See our *History of Denmark*.

WHEN

WHEN *Margaret* perceived herself fixed in the throne of *The Sweden*, she began to shew her partiality for *Denmark*, making *Swedes* that kingdom her usual residence. She is charged at the same time with arrogating to herself more power, and acting in a manner too arbitrary for the laws. The *Swedes* acknowledge, that she loaded them with taxes, which she carried over to *Denmark*, enriching her native country, by impoverishing that people who had voluntarily offered her a crown. They remonstrated, but received only fair promises in answer to all their complaints. It was obvious enough, from her conduct to the *Swedes*, why the *Danes* were so eager for the union of *Calmar*; and the advice which she is said to have imparted to the young king, could not fail of alienating the *Swedish* nation from her. "Sweden, said she, will furnish you with food, *Norway* with raiment, but you must look upon *Denmark* as the country that will stand by you in all extremities."

ABOUT eight years after *Margaret's* accession to the three crowns, she recovered the isle of *Gothland*, by a sudden descent; but *Wisby*, the capital, stood an obstinate siege, and was relieved by the knights templars, who drove the *Swedes* out of the island (C). Upon this, *Margaret* resolved to compromise the dispute, perceiving the difficulty that would attend the reduction of that island. But the reader will find this whole transaction fully related in our history of *Denmark* <sup>b</sup>.

ACCORDING to *Loccenius* and *Puffendorf*, the young king *Eric* was declared of age in the year 1410, though *Meursius* and *Pontanus* both agree in placing this event in 1406, when he married the daughter of *Henry IV.* of *England*. The *Swedish* writers say, that *Eric* now took upon himself the administration of public affairs, leaving very little authority to the queen, as appears by his putting to death her minion and prime favourite, *Abraham Brodersen*; yet all the *Danish* writers agree, that, to the day of her death, *Margaret* retained her authority in full force, in proof of which they relate a thousand instances, as the reader will perceive by consulting the reign of this princess in our account of *Denmark* <sup>c</sup>. We have already expatiated on the transactions

<sup>a</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. iv. PUFFEND. p. 177. <sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>c</sup> Vol. xxxii.

(C) *Pontanus* and *Meursius* place this event in the year 1398. It is probable, therefore, that our author intends the money that was paid to the emperor *Winceſlaus*, on the surrender of *Wisby* in 1404. *Pontan. lib. ix. Meurf. lib. v.*

of *Margaret's* reign, so that it would be unnecessary to add more in this place, than that she began to sink in the esteem of the people before she paid the tribute to nature, which preserved her reputation with so much lustre to posterity. Had she lived longer it is probable another revolution would have been the consequence of her rigorous treatment of the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, and that prejudice she always shewed in favour of the *Danes*.

## S E C T. IV.

*Containing the history of Sweden down to the great revolution effected by Gustavus Erickson, in the year 1520.*

A. D.  
1415.  
Eric of  
Pome-  
rania.

Eric's op-  
pression.

THE same year that *Margaret* died, a war broke out between king *Eric* and *Henry* earl of *Holstein*, the guardian of earl *Gerhard's* children, from whom the king was desirous of wresting the duchy of *Sleswick*; a scheme planned, and in part executed, by queen *Margaret*. By the laws of *Denmark* his claim was perfectly just; yet was his obstinate pursuit of it attended with almost fatal consequences. At first he was strongly supported by the *Hanse* towns, the dukes of *Saxony* and *Mecklenburgh*, who soon after changed sides, and succoured his enemies with more vigour than ever they had done *Eric*. To maintain numerous armies, and support a ruinous war, it was necessary to impose heavy taxes, which were levied in *Sweden* by *Danish* governors, without feeling or compassion for the miseries of the people. When the senate carried their complaints to the throne, they were either denied audience, or received with coldness. The gentry, who were forced to serve in the wars at their own expence, were wholly ruined, either by long services, or high ransoms paid for their liberty when they were made prisoners; the peasants were in much the same situation, by means of grievous taxes, and the rapacity of the *Danish* governors. Even the clergy were not exempted from oppression and violence. A *Dane* was made archbishop of *Upsal*, in opposition to the whole chapter. This prelate, after committing various outrages during his possession of the see, was at length deposed, for defrauding the cathedral of *Upsal* of 20,000 ducats<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iv.

AMONG all the acts of oppression and violences committed in this reign, on the *Swedes*, the most cruel and extraordinary were owing to the inhuman disposition of one *Erickson*, of *Westeraas*, the sworn enemy of the *Swedish* peasants. This fellow massacred them at pleasure, tortured them thro' mere wantonness of barbarity, and puzzled his brain to find out variety of punishments and tortures for the harmless, industrious peasants, whose labour supported his pride and insolence. Some he smoaked to death, others he flea'd, broiled, and salted alive; nor did he shew more compassion for the tenderer sex, it being a common diversion with him to yoke them like oxen in the plough. When their complaints were carried to the king, all the redress they found was, blows and threats for aspersing the reputation of his officers. Such was the deplorable condition of *Sweden*, and more particularly of *Dalecarlia*, of which province *Jesson* *Asdal* was governor. His insolence had now grown to such a height, that the inhabitants publicly declared it was no longer supportable, and they would revenge themselves, if he continued his cruelties. At last the province revolted, under the conduct of *Engelbert Engelbrachtsen*, a gentleman who had boldly laid the governor's conduct before the king, for which he was forbid the court. They besieged *Jesson* in *Westeraas*, and refused to lay down their arms before he should be removed <sup>b</sup>.

*Insolence of the Danes performed in Sweden.*

A. D.  
1434.

ON *Jesson's* departure, he threatened to revenge himself on the *Dalecarlians*, by prevailing on the king to send them a governor still more severe than himself; and *Engelbert* gave them to understand, that they never could expect but tyranny and oppression while they were under the command of foreigners. Thus alarmed, the peasants again had recourse to arms, chose *Engelbert* their general, and seized a variety of fortresses, which they burnt and rased to the ground. This success extended their views; *Engelbert* invited other provinces to follow the example of the *Dalecarlians*, and to banish foreigners out of the kingdom. His army daily encreased, and soon became formidable; at the same time that *Eric Pache*, another brave *Swede*, was stirring up the provinces of *Nericia* and *Westmerland* to vindicate their rights. *Uplandia*, and the nobility of several other provinces, embraced the same generous resolution: the *Danes* were every where massacred, and the king's fortresses destroyed.

*He drives the Danish governors out of the province.*

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. p. 180. DES ROCHES, tom. iv. p. 92.

So general a revolt obliged the senate to meet, to deliberate on the means of securing the government against a revolution. *Engelbert* boldly entered the senate, at the head of a thousand peasants, pathetically represented the deplorable condition of *Sweden*, the barbarity and insolence of the *Danish* governors; and concluded with a solemn oath, that the first who opposed the measures in agitation, for preserving the rights and liberties of the people, should be instantly put to death. His intrepidity and resolution obtained an act, whereby the senate renounced their allegiance to king *Eric*<sup>a</sup>.

Charles  
Canutson  
joins the  
rebels, but  
bears a  
grudge to  
Engel-  
bert.

*CHARLES CANUTSON*, grand mareschal of *Sweden*, and governor of *Finland*, conformed immediately to the resolution of the senate. This nobleman, descended from the illustrious family of *Bonde*, which had given kings to *Sweden*, perceived with joy the approaching revolution, that promised freedom to his country; but he beheld with jealousy the whole glory attributed to a private gentleman, and dreaded lest the regard the peasants entertained for his person, would induce them to reward his valour with the crown he had so nobly vindicated. This consideration made him resolve to join the malecontents without delay, where, on his first appearance, he obtained that power and authority due to his birth and dignity, being made general and commander in chief of the peasant army (D).

The states  
resolve to  
depose  
Eric.

*CANUTSON* profited by a quarrel that arose between king *Eric* and the *Danes*. His majesty seeing himself the sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, imagined that his power might set aside the laws and privileges of the people, assume a despotic authority, and treat his subjects as his slaves. Although in general he had favoured the *Danes*, yet had he committed many outrages against the laws of that country, extremely jealous of liberty. In a word, the three kingdoms, unanimous in nothing besides, came to a resolution to depose a tyrant whose cruelties rendered him unworthy of a crown. *Denmark* and *Norway* led the way,

<sup>a</sup> LOCCEN. lib. iv. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxii. p. 324.

(D) In our history of *Denmark*, we have minutely related all the particulars of this memorable revolution, which it would be unnecessary to repeat. We have mentioned the base assassination of *Engelbert*, the ambition of *Canutson*, which rendered

him odious, the quarrel between him and *Eric Pacbe*, the great power which he acquired, and the share he had in uniting the three kingdoms under *Christopher*, the succeeding king. Vid. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxii.

and

and declared *Christopher* of *Bavaria* king; but how far the *Swedes* carried their revenge, is not clearly determined. Some writers assert, that after a civil war which lasted for three years, *Eric* was reduced so low, as to grant whatever terms the people required; upon which a general diet was called, and certain restrictions laid on the royal prerogative \*. Others again are of opinion, that the king was formally deposed, and the administration put into the hands of *Canutson*, who acted as regent, and was the great instrument of *Christopher's* accession. This last opinion we have followed in our account of *Denmark*, as supported by the best and earliest authorities. *Loccenius*, *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, and a cloud of other writers, expressly relate, that he retired to the isle of *Gothland*, from whence he committed piracies on the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*; in a word, that he lived the last twenty years of his life in exile (E).

AMIDST such a variety of discording opinions, it may be proper that we trace the steps by which *Christopher* ascended the throne. After *Eric* was deposed, the administration being put into the hands of *Canutson*, he summoned the governors of cities and castles to surrender their trusts to him, in order to commit them to the charge of natives. This many of them refused without an express order from *Eric*, whose authority they still acknowledged; but they were soon intimidated into compliance by the power of the administrator. Thus he enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty, except the name, *Eric Pache* could not support with patience the good fortune of his rival. He excited a revolt among the peasants, under pretence of revenging the death of *Engelbert*, a name highly revered among them; and soon took the field with a force which he thought sufficient to drive the marshal out of the kingdom. *Canutson* readily perceived that it would be in vain to have recourse to arms; the popularity of his enemy's cause drew the whole country on his side; he

Different opinions of authors.  
*History of Charles Canutson's regency, and the means by which he ascended the throne of Sweden.*

\* PUFFEND. Hist. tom. i, p. 201. VERTOT, Revol. Suede, P. 47.

(E) *Puffendorf* relates, from some other authorities, that passing from *Calmar*, where he had signed the limitation-act, to *Sweden*, he was driven to the isle of *Gothland*, after losing almost all his fleet. It was supposed that the king was drowned; but the senate took an oath of fidelity to him, and put the administration in *Canutson's* hands, until *Eric's* fate should be certainly known. His own absurd conduct to the deputies, sent to him, was the reason he was never recalled to the throne. P. 202.

therefore

*The policy  
of his  
Danish  
majesty.*

therefore had recourse to treachery. Desiring to compromise their differences by treaty, he found means to draw *Eric Pache* to an interview, where he ordered him to be seized, sent prisoner to *Stockholm*, and beheaded. He now aspired openly at the crown, and played every engine of intrigue and policy to obtain his purpose. He found an inclination in the people to recall *Eric*, and he bent all his force to frustrate a design so pernicious, and destructive of his hopes. However, all his art could not prevent the diet from sending deputies to *Eric*; but fortune was more favourable to the marshal than his conduct merited. *Eric* was either unwilling to comply with the conditions proposed, or unable to accept them on account of the revolutions in *Denmark*, which entirely broke the union of *Calmar*, upon which the instructions of the deputies were founded. Certain it is, that the *Swedes* had recourse to *Eric*, merely to frustrate the views, and disappoint the marshal's ambition; it is therefore probable, from the king's answer, that they had laid such restrictions on the prerogative as his pride could not stoop to accept; for he told the deputies, that if he returned, *He would be a king in fact, and not a king of straw.*

STILL, however, the *Swedes* were resolved to disappoint *Canutson*, whom they heartily detested, on account of his pride, and the treacherous means by which he destroyed their two great favourites, *Engelbert* and *Pache*. They therefore entered upon measures with *Denmark* for uniting the crowns of the three northern kingdoms, on the head of *Christopher* of *Bavaria*. *Christian Nelson* and several lords formed a confederacy against *Canutson*; they animated the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermelandians* to revolt; but the marshal soon had his revenge. By a piece of artifice, he seized *Nelson*, and obliged him to surrender all the forts in his possession, and to swear, he would never attempt any thing directly or indirectly against him, nor seek to revenge the present affront.

*The  
Swedes,  
assisted by  
the Danes,  
revolt.*

THIS success drew upon the marshal another and more powerful enemy. *Nils Stenon*, or, as some writers call him, *Nicolas Stenson*, who had married the marshal's sister, without respect to affinity, resolved to punish his perfidy. He raised a revolt in *East Gothland*, and drove out all the governors appointed by *Canutson*; but the marshal soon appeared with an army in that quarter, besieged *Stenon* in *Steckbergh*, and obliged him to save himself by a precipitate flight to the king, in the isle of *Gothland*. Here he was invested

vested by *Eric* with the dignity of marshal of *Sweden*, who commanded all his subjects to receive him as such. In this quality, he returned with two hundred horse to *East Gothland*, and created much trouble to *Canutson*, though too weak to make head against him in the field. Some time after, he was made prisoner, and beheaded by the marshal's order; though some alledge, that, to avoid this disgrace, he swallowed poison.

EVERY thing succeeded to *Canutson's* wish, and his prosperity was daily raising him new enemies. Among others, *Broeder Suenfon*, who had long served under *Engelbert* and *Eric Pache*, a bold, resolute, but rash man, assumed to himself the task of chastising the marshal. He went to him, and upbraided him with having ruined his country, abused his power, and committed every kind of violence and oppression. As his courage and patriotism were not supported with power, his reproaches had no other effect than hastening his own destruction. He was seized, by the marshal's order, and the same night executed, without form of trial, or shew of justice.

*Broeder  
Suenfon's  
bold exposure.*

WHILE the marshal was exercising his power with all the severity of a tyrant, the nobility were using every expedient to bring back the king; but all their endeavours proving abortive, they resolved to close in with the proposals made by *Denmark*, of electing duke *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, nephew to king *Eric*, a prince who had spent many years at the court of *Denmark*. A general diet of the three kingdoms being at length held, *Christopher* was solemnly elected, as we have already seen in the preceding history of *Denmark*. The marshal had opposed the resolution of the *Swedish* states, to consent to a general diet of the three kingdoms; but being over-ruled in this, he found it would be vain to dispute the election of a prince who was already raised to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and espoused by all the nobility of *Sweden*: he contented himself, therefore, with requesting the diet to pay some regard to all the dangers, troubles, and vexations, as well as the expences he had been at, for the service of the kingdom; adding, that he had contracted debts which he could not pay without the assistance of the state; that this alone prevented his subscribing freely to *Christopher's* election; and that as soon as that difficulty was removed, he would give his vote with as much chearfulness as any member of the assembly. The senate, rejoiced to find him in this disposition, granted more than he required, and assigned him for life the province of *Finland*,



*Finland*, and the isles of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*, to descend to his heirs for ever <sup>b</sup>.

Christo-  
pher a-  
scends the  
throne.

*CHRISTOPHER* ascended the triple throne upon the same terms as *Margaret* and *Erik*; he consented to all the limitations specified in the treaty of *Calmar*, and was to reside a certain number of months in each of his kingdoms. On his first arrival at *Stockholm*, all those who thought themselves aggrieved during the marshal's administration, flocked to him with complaints of his conduct; but *Camusson* employed the interest of his friends, and fair promises, for successfully, that he escaped for that time.

A. D.  
1442.

Eric makes  
depreda-  
tions on  
Sweden,  
and ruins  
the com-  
merce of  
the king-  
dom.

ALL this while *Eric* was doing incredible mischief to the trade of *Sweden*, issuing out commissions to swarms of pirates, to cruise in the *Baltic*. His chief resentment was levelled against the *Swedes*; and he not only made prize of their shipping, but ravaged their coasts with all the fury of the most injured enemy. Complaints were perpetually carried to *Christopher*, but he turned them off with raillery, saying, that his uncle must live. In many particulars, he too closely copied the unfortunate king *Eric*. Wholly unmindful of the conduct which had involved that prince in ruin, he preferred foreigners to *Swedes* or *Danes*, bestowed upon them his confidence, and all posts of consequence or profit. On his marriage with *Dorothy*, daughter to *John*, margrave of *Brandenburgh*, he laid such taxes on his *Swedish* subjects as were unsupportable; and raised such clamours in the nation, that, to appease them, he was forced to dismiss foreigners from his service, promise to lower the taxes next year, and to redress all their grievances; promises that were forgot as soon as made. *Eric* was permitted to continue his piracies, which with a natural scarcity of corn that prevailed in *Sweden*, brought on a famine that reduced the nation to the lowest distress. To encrease the public misery, *Christopher* exerted some very unwarrantable acts of power. He knew that the nobility were divided into factions, and to secure to himself the interest of one side, he granted the fiefs and fortresses of the crown to those who petitioned for them, notwithstanding they were in the possession of others. *Loccenius* affirms, that this abuse of the prerogative became so frequent, that one fief has been in the hands of seven different masters, in the space of one year <sup>c</sup>. Another advantage resulted to the king from this practice,

Christo-  
pher be-  
comes a  
tyrant.

<sup>b</sup> DES ROCHES, ubi supra. LOCCEN. lib. iv. PUFFEND. p. 214. <sup>c</sup> Lib. iv.

namely,

namely, the exorbitant fees paid into the exchequer at each investiture, which brought large sums of money into the royal coffers.

At last *Christopher* thought it necessary to amuse the people with a pretended expedition against the isle of *Gotland*; but after vast preparations, which cost the nation immense sums of money, he changed his warlike designs to a friendly visit, made with no other view than to confirm his antipathy to the *Swedes*. Thus he endeavoured by every possible means to alienate the affections of the *Swedes* from his person, by shewing an open contempt for the nation, preferring the foreigners to his favours, endeavouring to subject the kingdom to *Denmark*, and, in a word, infringing every article of his agreement at his accession, of the treaty of *Calmar*, and of the most solemn engagements. Had he lived longer, it is probable his conduct would have effected another revolution; but death rid *Sweden* of a *Christo-* tyrant, and *Christopher* of the mortification of being de-*pher's* graded from that high station, to which the caprice of the *death*. people, and not his own virtues, had raised him. This event fell out on the 14th of *January* 1448, at *Helsingburgh*, where he was taken ill, on his way to hold a diet at *Jen-* *koping*.

THE senate, as soon as apprised of the king's death, ap- *A diet of* pointed *Bengt Janson* of *Saleslack*, and his brother *Nils Janson*, *the states* regents of the realm, until the first meeting of the diet at *beld*, *for* *Stackbalm*; for as to the diet called at *Jenekoping*, it was con- *the election* voked by the king on some extraordinary occasion. When *of a king* the members were assembled, they formed themselves into two factions. One was for adhering to the treaty of *Cal-* *mar*, and taking no resolutions touching the election, before the states of the three kingdoms were assembled at *Helmstadt*. This was the opinion of the two regents, of the archbishop *John* of *Upsal*, and their party. On the contrary, the mar- ouschal *Canutson*, with an infinity of others, were for setting aside the union, and proceeding immediately to the election of a new prince: "The union, said they, is already be- come void, as, contrary to the express meaning of the treaty, it proved highly prejudicial to two kingdoms, for the sake of profiting the third." It must be owned, that besides the heavy taxes levied in *Sweden*, and spent in *Den-* *mark*, at *Christopher's* death all the shipping, artillery, arms, and moveables, belonging to the crown of *Sweden*, were farmed at *Copenhagen*; and though at his death his majesty had bequeathed great legacies to the *Swedish* hospitals, by way of atonement for the many oppressions, yet none were

were ever paid, the *Danes* detaining all his money and effects.

THE mareschal's faction added, that the *Danes* had already been guilty of an infraction of the union, by electing *Christopher* of *Bavaria* to their throne, before they had consulted their allies, or given the smallest intimation of their intention to the states of *Norway* and *Sweden*. Each party enforced their opinion with all the eloquence and arguments in their power; but at last the mareschal's prevailed, and the diet proceeded to the nomination of three persons, one of whom should be chosen king. The three proposed were the two regents and the mareschal *Charles Canutson*; but the latter had managed matters so well, that he was elected by a great majority.

**Charles Canutson raised to the throne. A. D. 1448.** *CHARLES CANUTSON* was no sooner raised to the throne, than he set out for *Merasten*, where he was proclaimed, and thence to *Upsal*, to pass through the ceremonies of coronation. Immediately after, he certified his accession to the states of *Denmark* and *Norway*, with a view of sounding how their inclinations stood with respect to him, and whether it might be possible to unite the three crowns. In this he was disappointed; nor was he even successful in his application, to have the *Swedish* fleets, artillery, and money, carried to *Denmark* by *Christopher*, restored. Incensed at their refusal, he sought to revenge himself both on *Denmark* and king *Eric*, by a vigorous descent on the isle of *Gotthland*. His general *Magnus Green* laid siege to *Wisby*, and took it before the winter. The citadel must likewise have surrendered, had not *Green* been decoyed into a suspension of arms by *Eric*, who upon this occasion acted with the activity, intrepidity, and caution of a great monarch and skillful general. During the truce, he applied to *Denmark* for assistance, chusing that the island should fall rather to that kingdom than to *Sweden*. He always acknowledged his obligations to the former, for leaving him in the quiet possession of this island, and even forgot that the *Danes* had first abjured his authority; whereas, he could never forgive the earnest desire the *Swedes* had always expressed to drive him out of *Gotthland*, the little remaining pittance of all his vast dominions.

*ERIC*'s proposals were well received in *Denmark*. The senate wrote to *Charles Canutson* to withdraw his forces (A); but

(A) *Puffendorf* says, that *Swedish* majesty; but if we may *Christian* wrote to his rely on the authority of *Loechnius*,

but his majesty not only refusing their request, but sending orders to *Green* to push the siege with redoubled vigour, they sent a squadron powerful enough to relieve the place, conducting *Eric* to his native country, where he ended his days, without once attempting the recovery of his crown (B).

THE *Danes* were now in possession of the citadel, and the *Swedes* of the town of *Wisby*. Hostilities daily passed between them; but to gain time, his *Danish* majesty sent *Axelsson* to negotiate a suspension of arms with the *Swedish* general; a point which he managed with so much address, that the *Danes* were not only supplied with provisions, but the city invested by *Christian* in person, before the *Swedes* had any intimation or even suspicion of his intentions. Being, however, disappointed in his design, he had a second time recourse to negotiation, and obtained a suspension of arms. After all, the *Swedes* were obliged to abandon the isle of *Gothland*, which was immediately annexed to the crown of *Denmark*<sup>m</sup>.

To ballance this loss, his *Swedish* majesty had overtures made him by the *Norwegians* to accept their crown, which former experience prevented their offering to *Christian* king of *Denmark*. Immediately he set out for that country, and was elected without opposition, except from a few of the nobility. He was crowned at *Drontheim*, and having chosen regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, passed without delay for *Sweden*.

CHARLES was no sooner arrived in his capital, than *Congress* he assembled a diet at *Abroga*, where he nominated twelve *at Abroga*, commissioners to treat with the *Danish* commissaries at *Helmstad*, about the island of *Gothland*, his claim to which he had not yet fully resigned. At this congress the *Danes* insisted not only upon *Gothland*, but that *Charles* should surrender *Norway* to his *Danish* majesty. They even carried matters further, and proposed a renewal of the union of *Calmar*, and even gained over *Magnus Green*, and some others of the *Swedish* commissioners; although the whole of their request did not transpire for some time. All that was done at this congress, was concluding a peace between the two kingdoms,

<sup>m</sup> LOCCEN. lib. v. Vid. Univ. Hist. vol. last.

nus, this appears premature; was elected king of *Denmark* for the *Danes* had not then elected this prince. *Loccen. lib. v.* before the siege of *Wisby* was raised; but the whole of this fact the reader will find in the p. 141.

(B) It is certain that *Christian* preceding history of *Denmark*.

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and referring the matter in dispute to be decided in a future congress.

*Treacher* *CHARLES* had no direct evidence of the treachery of his agents, but entertained such strong suspicions of *Green*, on account of his former conduct in *Gothland*, that he despoiled him of all his employments. Nor did he fail of shewing a just resentment of the conduct of the archbishop, and some others, who, he knew, were not well disposed to promote his interest: but however spirited this conduct might appear, experience evinced it was unpolitic. The persons who fell under his censure were of high rank, and had a powerful interest, which they resolved to exert in obtaining revenge for the indignity.

A. D. 1454. Some time after the peace of *Heimstad* was renewed at an interview that passed between the two kings; but nothing was decided concerning *Norway* and *Gothland*: yet this ratification did not hinder the *Danes* of the island of *Gothland* from making a descent in the neighbourhood of *Stock-*

*Helsingius* *holm*, and pillaging, burning, and laying waste the country. His *Swedish* majesty, regarding this infraction of the peace as if it had been committed by order of *Christian*, retorted it, by a descent on *Söderman*. He first summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and on their refusal burnt and destroyed the country; particularly the cities of *Helsingburg*, *Landskroon*, and *Lands*, according to the *Swedish* writers: though the *Danes* alledge, that the bravery of the archbishop foiled all the king's endeavours to get possession of this last city. Another point in which the writers of the two nations differ is, that the former assert, that *Charles* defeated and cut in pieces a large body of peasants assembled at *Cister Dalby*; whereas the latter are equally positive, that he was repulsed by them.

THIS visit was returned by the *Danish* prince, who marched at the head of a powerful army to *West Gothland*, took *Leäna*, and obliged all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, as well nobility as peasants, to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and acquaint king *Charles*, that they had renounced their allegiance to him. To oppose the progress of the *Danish* arms, *Charles* set out with a numerous army, bending his march by the forest of *Tyveden*; but he had not proceeded far, when he was informed, that *Axelsson*, joined by the traitor *Magnus Green*, lay with a fleet before *Stockholm*, and that they were joined by the archbishop and lords of *Uplandia*. His return was so expeditious and unexpected, that the *Danes* quitted *Sweden* with great precipitation, and, as some alledge, with very considerable loss.

IN the mean time *Christian* was preparing to invade *East Gothland*; but the troops he had left to defend the passes of the forest of *Tywedem* were cut to pieces by the *Swedese*, which opened the way for *Charles* to march to the relief of that country. He detached *Thorde Bonde* to surprize *Ladese*, a commission which that officer executed with great address, and afterwards recovered all *West Gothland*; obliging the governors, appointed by *Christian*, to surrender the fortresses in their hands at discretion.

NOTHING now remained to prevent *Charles* from being absolute master of all *Sweden*, but to reconcile himself to the enemies he had within the kingdom; to effect which, he called the archbishop and seven suspected lords before him, and signed an agreement with them. The archbishop, in particular, took a solemn oath, ever to remain inviolably attached to the service of the king; notwithstanding, the event shewed how little the prelate regarded the most sacred obligations<sup>n</sup>.

THE year concluded with a congress at *Waldstena*, where *Peace con-* they laboured in vain to establish peace between the two *cluded.* nations.

FOR three years afterwards, *Christian* refrained from disturbing *Sweden* by open force, though he kept the kingdom in perpetual alarm by the preparations he made, which obliged *Charles* to march his army, two or three times in a year, towards the frontiers. Those marches were extremely oppressive to the peasants, and frequently occasioned their mutinying, which was the very object of *Christian's* policy; whose designs penetrated farther than obliging *Sweden* to grant an advantageous peace. He was in hopes, that by keeping the *Swedese* in this irksome situation, every day expecting to be invaded, and forced to maintain numerous armies for their defence, he should compel them to wish for a renewal of the union of *Calmar*. What greatly promoted his designs, was the resolution *Charles* had taken to retrench the revenues of the clergy, and the murder of *Thorde Bonde*, the best general, and most faithful subject of his *Swedish* majesty.

THE *Danes* grown now more daring, entered the straits of *Calmar* with a fleet, took the isle of *Oeland*, and besieged *Stockholm* for six weeks. Here *Puffendorf* seems to have fallen into a very extraordinary error, asserting, contrary to all other authorities, that the citadel of *Stockholm* capitulated on condition; of the garrison's being allowed the honours of war; terms which the *Danes* broke through<sup>o</sup>. But he must certainly mean *Berkholm*, as that of *Stockholm* could not well be

A. D.  
1456.

<sup>n</sup> LOCSEN. lib. v.

<sup>o</sup> Tom. i. p. 233.

taken before the city had surrendered; and indeed the *Danish* writers make no mention of the fact, as they probably would, had they the slightest foundation.

*A dispute  
between  
the king  
and the  
archbishop  
of Upsal.*

*Conse-  
quences of  
their quar-  
rel.*

IN the winter the archbishop demanded of king *Charles*, an equivalent for the losses he had sustained by the capture of certain ships he had equipped for his service. *Charles*, who thought he was not bound to make restitution, submitted the affair to the senate; who determined it in favour of the archbishop. Their sentence incensed the king, and forced him to express his resentment in terms that served only to multiply his enemies. However, he relied upon his own power, or the number of fortresses in his hands, and of troops ready to obey his nod. This enraged the natural vehemence of his temper, made him treat his enemies with haughtiness, when he might have won them over by gentleness, and was the chief cause of his ruin.

A. D.  
1457.

THE senate did not long conceal their discontent, and the coal of sedition was artfully blown up by the clergy. When *Charles* went to *Calmar*, with design to reconquer the isle of *Oeland*, the archbishop seized that opportunity of executing a plot he had contrived against the king. He arrested all the officers of the king's household, and fixed up a manifesto in the cathedral of *Upsal*, renouncing the oath he had taken to *Charles*, for the following reasons: "that he

A. D.  
1458.

*The arch-  
bishop o-  
penly re-  
bels.*

"had oppressed the liberties of the clergy and laity; that he was a heretic; that he bestowed the highest places of trust and profit on wretched profligate minions; that he occasioned perpetual wars, despised all those who gave him wholesome counsel, and plundered his subjects with unsatiable avarice." Then entering the cathedral, he exchanged his mitre and crozier for a coat of mail and sword; declaring that he would not resume his ecclesiastical habit before the kingdom was in a better situation, and the grievances of the people redressed. Then he pillaged the palace, assembled a numerous army, and infected the whole nation with the contagion of discontent and faction; all expressing themselves dissatisfied with the king's conduct <sup>p</sup>.

ON the first advice of the archbishop's revolt, the king returned to *Stockholm* at the head of fourteen hundred horse; then assembling his infantry, he set out with intention to surprise the prelate, but fell into the snare he had prepared for his enemies. The archbishop took his measures so artfully, that he entered *Stragnez*, where the king lay, while the royal army was wrapt in sleep and security, attacked

*The king  
surprised.*

and defeated them, after killing and taking great numbers prisoners. *Charles* himself received a wound, and escaped with great difficulty to *Stockholm*, where he set fire to the suburbs, to prevent being pursued.

NOR was the archbishop long behind, but marching with expedition, invested the capital on every side with so much vigour, that the king sent a deputation to offer his pardon, promising henceforward to govern the kingdom agreeable to the laws; proposals that were rejected by the haughty prelate, who resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity. In this situation, *Charles* perceiving that the city could not hold out long, that he had no relief to expect, and that he was become odious to the nobility, clergy, and peasants, put all his wealth on board a ship in the night, and set sail for *Dantzic*; thus abdicating the crown he had worn for the space of ten years (A).

THE archbishop, who had the reputation of snatching *The arch-* liberty out of the hands of a tyrant, disposed of every *bishop's* thing in what manner he thought proper, after the king's *power.* flight. The city and citadel of *Stockholm* surrendered after a siege of six months. He then conveyed all the princes, and seized all the fortresses, except *Calmar*, which *Gustavus Canutson* bravely defended for a long time. As the warlike prelate had now assumed the title of protector, *Olof Axelsson* came to him from *Gothland*, and was employed in the conquest of *Finland*. At the same time *Green*, and a number of nobility, who had retired to *Denmark* to avoid the effects of the king's resentment, returned, and were well received by the archbishop. All the powerful lords of the kingdom closed with his intention of renewing the union of *Calmar*, and calling *Christian* king of *Denmark* to the throne of *Sweden*. They sent ambassadors to invite that prince to *Stockholm*; King but let nothing of their design transpire, because they knew *Christian* that the inhabitants of the coast and frontiers were extremely invited to ly incensed at the frequent descents and irruptions of the *Sw. den.* *Danes* for several years past<sup>1</sup>.

*CHRISTIAN* embraced the invitation, which indeed had been given in consequence of the deep scheme he had

<sup>1</sup> DES ROCHES, tom. iv. passim.

(A) *Puffendorf* says, that and *Danish* historians (1). It is indeed astonishing to observe how the year 1455, contrary to the testimony of *Loccenius*, *Sueningius*, this great man is, in every part defective the performance of *Pontanus*, and all the *Swedish* of chronology.

(1): *Puffend.* p. 238.



Christian  
mounts the  
throne and  
unites the  
three  
crowns.

long contrived for uniting the three crowns on his own head, and came to *Stockholm*, convoyed by a powerful squadron, and with the utmost magnificence of retinue and equipage. On his arrival, he dispersed a writing through the kingdom, declaring that *Charles Canutson* was levying powerful forces in *Germany* to subdue the *Sweedes*, and take severe vengeance on all who had opposed his arbitrary measures; but that, as to himself, he had brought a strong armament, not to subdue, but to protect the kingdom. This declaration was made to banish any bad impressions the people might have received from the extraordinary military force with which they saw him attended. Previous to his election, a certain number of articles were drawn up, which he signed and sealed. He was then chosen in form, and crowned with great ceremony at *Upsal* (B).

Dispute a-  
bout Sles-  
wick.  
A. D.  
1459.

*CHRISTIAN* began his reign with great moderation, and the people supported his government with cheerfulness. One declaration of his, indeed, gave offence, as it greatly affected the property of numbers of the nobility. It intimated, that the king would resume all the crown-lands that had been mortgaged, without redeeming them, by which great sums of money would be lost to the people, and the crown revenue augmented by a direct breach of the public faith.

*ADOLPHUS* duke of *Sleswick* dying without issue, king *Christian* claimed the duchy as nearest heir at law, being son to the duke's sister. *Otton*, earl of *Schawemburgh*, and the duke's brother, pleaded the right of consanguinity; but the lawyers of those days determined the dispute in favour of the degree of affinity, which they likewise perceived was supported with power. It was, however, stipulated, that 40,000 ducats should be paid to earl *Otton*, 40,000 to his brother, by the king, as an equivalent for his right of succeeding to his brother. To raise this money *Christian* was obliged to tax *Sweden* for the first time; besides which, he drew large sums from the monasteries at *Stockholm*, which had been left them by the late king at his

(B) We are told that the archbishop, stung with remorse for having taken up arms against his lawful sovereign, to ease his conscience, asked absolution of pope *Calixtus*, which was granted to him and his accomplices (1). It is probable indeed, that

the prelate's remorse arose from the disappointment of his great expectations; his ambition either aspiring at the crown, or his avarice requiring higher rewards than were granted by the new king.

(1) *Puffendorf*, p. 249.

departure.

departure. This tax led the way to others, and the practice Christian became at length so familiar and habitual, that though at *imposes* first the king made apologies for the necessity of the measure, *heavy* and gave the strongest assurances that he would hencefor- *taxes.* ward avoid it; yet now heavy impositions were laid without ceremony, and levied without mercy, or regard to the ability of the people.

DISGUSTED with his arbitrary conduct, the Swedes began to complain of the king's breach of promise. Their clamours grew louder upon intelligence, that king *Charles* was levying forces in *Russia* for the recovery of his crown, and many had determined to go over to him as soon as he arrived. The report was false, for no such armament was ever set on foot; however, it furnished *Christian* with an opportunity of seizing upon certain persons who had incurred his displeasure, under pretence that they carried on a secret correspondence with his enemies. It is true, the archbishop had suborned certain persons to accuse them; they were put to the torture, under the excruciating pain of which some of them died, while others languished out the rest of their days in horrible dungeons.

A METHOD of proceeding so extraordinary increased the public hatred, and the king was now regarded, not only as an arbitrary prince, but a bloody tyrant. What greatly confirmed the people in their animosity, was the dying declaration of one of the accused, who, expiring on the rack, acquitted all the prisoners of the crimes laid to their charge, throwing the whole upon the malice of the archbishop, and cruel disposition of the king.

BUT what gave the finishing stroke to the misunderstanding between *Christian* and his people, were the extraordinary *The peasants boldly remonstrated.* taxes he imposed, to support the expences of a progress he intended making to *Finland*. The archbishop had directions to levy this tax in the king's absence; but when he demanded payment, the peasants began to mutiny, and resolutely answered, that they were under no obligation to pay additional taxes, as the king solemnly promised never to increase their present burthen. They added, that it was impossible for them to pay the ordinary rates, and that, unless the assessments were made more equal and light, they would hazard their lives in defence of their privileges.

ON the king's return, he found it necessary to disapprove of the prelate's conduct, and highly blamed him for exciting sedition among the peasants, who had never before

refused contributing towards the charges of the government. *Charles Canutson* had adherents in the kingdom, who artfully blew up the fire of contention between the king and the archbishop, and which rose to such a height, that the latter was forced to give security, for his not removing out of *Stockholm* without leave from the king. The *Danes* took part against the archbishop. They represented him as a traitor to both princes, and numberless libels and pasquinades were dispersed and pasted up\*.

*The arch-  
bishop is  
confined.*

THE prelate's confinement, for such it might be called, excited a tumult among the peasants, who assembled and seized the isle of *St. Esprit*, for the inhabitants of the city were apprized of their rising. These the king defeated, making three hundred prisoners, whom he put to the torture. After this, *Christian* surprised *Stecka*, a fortress belonging to the archbishop. Upon this, the bishop of *Lincoping* wrote to his majesty, demanding the archbishop's release, and security from the king, that he would henceforward govern the kingdom in a manner more agreeable to the laws. Piqued at this insult *Christian*, without regarding the bishop's menaces, sent the archbishop prisoner to *Copenhagen*.

*The bishop  
of Lin-  
coping  
revolts.*

*KATIL*, bishop of *Lincoping*, upon advice of this precipitate measure, resolved to keep no bounds. He sent the king notice, that, in conjunction with the states of *Sweden*, he renounced his allegiance, for a variety of reasons, all of them plausible, and most of them true. But in order to support his allegations, he assembled a numerous army in *East Gotland* and *Norway*, at the head of which he marched strait to *Stockholm*. He knew that the inhabitants round the capital were highly incensed against the king, on account of his exorbitant impositions, and the cruelty he lately exercised on the peasants.

A. D.  
1463.  
*Katil be-  
sieves the  
king in  
Stock-  
holm.*

ON the first report of the bishop's march, *Christian* ordered several small vessels, well manned, to go up the *Meler*, and block up the passes: but scarce was this armament arrived at *Quickstadt*, when it was vigorously attacked by *Katil*, defeated, and great numbers of prisoners made. Flushed with success, *Katil* proceeded strait to the capital, invested it, and repulsed strong parties of the enemy that had sallied out. His approaches were pushed with such vigour, that the king perceiving he could not resist the prelate's impetuosity, withdrew to *Denmark*, with this cutting reflection, that the loss of *Sweden* was wholly to be imputed to his own

*Christian  
retires to  
Denmark*

arbitrary conduct. Immediately on the king's retreat, *Katil* assumed the authority of protector of the kingdom, beginning his administration with a necessary act of popularity, which endeared him to the people. He lowered the taxes, and redressed all those grievances against which the peasants had loudly clamoured, and with great reason<sup>†</sup>.

*CHRISTIAN* had no sooner set foot in *Denmark*, than he began levying numerous forces for the recovery of *Sweden*. He was attended by most of the senators and nobility of that nation, who either accompanied him in his flight, or went over to him, on the bishop's declaring himself protector. When he had assembled a powerful army, he began his march, with full expectation of reducing the prelate, who commanded only a rabble of peasants, without the countenance of a single senator, except *Eric Nelson*. But he soon perceived what ability and courage could effect with an undisciplined mob against the most numerous forces. He found the roads broken down and blockaded with huge trees, and peasants dispersed among the woods to gall his troops with their arrows. Still, however, he pushed on, and was at length attacked, with such fury, by the bishop in person, that unable to withstand his efforts, he fled precipitately, with the relics of his army, to *Stockholm*, leaving behind a great number of dead, wounded, and prisoners.

ALL this while the city and citadel of *Stockholm* were blocked up. *Katil* now pursued the king, and again invested the capital, pushing the siege with such spirit, that *Christian* was a second time forced to abandon it. During the siege, the peasants of *Dalia* and *Upland* wrote to the senate, that they would no longer acknowledge *Christian* for their king, because he was neither lawfully elected, the people not having been consulted, nor had he governed agreeable to the laws of the realm. They declared their resolution to recal the late king *Charles*, as in all ages *Sweden* had been in the form of a monarchy, and not that of a kind of republic, under the direction of a protector. Accordingly ambassadors were sent from bishop *Katil* and the peasants, inviting *Charles* to the kingdom; a request so agreeable to the king's inclinations, that he complied with their wishes, without scruple or hesitation. Putting himself at the head of some forces he levied in *Poland* and the city of *Dantzic*, he set out for *Sweden*, and on his arrival had the city of *Stockholm* put into his hands. He was acknowledged king with loud acclamations and general testimonies of joy; and he

A. D.  
1464.

He returns  
with a  
powerful  
army, and  
is defeated.

Charles  
Canutson  
recalled.

† PUFFEND. p. 230.

solemnly promised henceforward to govern in such a manner as would merit the strongest returns of affection.<sup>k</sup>

HE commenced his administration with some acts of generosity, in setting at liberty the grand marshal of *Denmark*, and other noble prisoners, that proved displeasing to bishop *Katil*, who thought of exchanging them for the archbishop, still prisoner in *Copenhagen*, or of having them ransomed at a great price. Disappointed in these expectations, he kept no measures, but pursued the ships in which the prisoners were embarked, and brought them back to *Sweden*. At length, however, he consented to their release, on condition that the archbishop obtained his liberty, and that peace should be concluded between the two kingdoms. At the same time, he entered into a secret engagement with king *Christian*, to restore him to the throne of *Sweden*, provided he would again take the archbishop and himself into favour, and allow *Charles Canutson* a province for his maintenance (A).

ALL these conditions were readily granted by king *Christian*, who immediately set the archbishop at liberty, treated him splendidly, and constituted him governor of *Sweden*, with orders to all the governors of fortresses and castles to acknowledge him in that quality. He likewise charged him with power to grant a general amnesty; and lastly, he sent him with a numerous retinue to that kingdom, fully assured it could not afford room for him and king *Charles* together.<sup>l</sup>

A. D.  
1465.

King  
Charles  
besieged in  
Stock-  
holm.

BISHOP *KATIL* hearing of the archbishop's arrival, set out to meet him, and contrive measures for the expulsion of that prince he so lately placed on the throne, with the most solemn protestations of eternal fidelity. Their emissaries were dispatched to every part of the kingdom, to draw the people to their side. The public taxes were lowered, and every thing done that could engage their affections. They professed themselves equally enemies to *Christian* and to *Charles*, and friends only to liberty and the constitution; they appointed four governors in *Sweden*, assigned *Finland* for the

<sup>k</sup> PONTAN. lib. x. LOCCEŒ. lib. v. <sup>l</sup> Vid. supra.

(A) The *Danish* historians take no notice of this secret treaty; and *Meurfus*, in particular, alleges, that *Christian*, on his return to *Denmark*, set the archbishop at liberty, merely from a principle of justice, finding that he had been misrepresented to him, and grossly calumniated. *Meurf. Vit. Christian*, p. 27.

maintenance of king *Charles*, took all his officers prisoners, assembled troops, and laid siege to *Stockholm*. *Charles* not chusing to hazard a siege, sallied out with all his forces, and gave battle to the prelates. Much depended on the issue of the engagement, and both sides fought with that fury, which might be expected from men in despair. The field was strewed with dead bodies, and the ear stunned with the shrieks and moans of those, who, disabled by their wounds, from moving to a place of safety, were trampled on equally by friends and enemies. In a word, after one of the most bloody actions that ever was fought, victory declared for the archbishop, though *Charles* made good his retreat without being pursued. Soon after, however, the *Dalecarlians*, who were marching to his assistance, were repulsed by the enemy, which entirely turned the scale, obliged the unfortunate monarch to put himself in the power of the haughty prelates, and by a formal declaration renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*, to which he swore never more to aspire, and even not to accept of it were it proffered (A).

THE archbishop, now master of the whole kingdom, was in the zenith of his power, unopposed by all, except *Nils Sture*, the intimate friend of *Charles*, who gave the prelate abundance of trouble, and artfully escaped all the traps laid for him. He was indeed forced to retire to *Finland*, under the protection of *Eric Axelson*, governor of *Wiburgh*; but they both ventured to appear at the next diet, and boldly impeached the prelate's conduct. Their accusation producing nothing but opprobrious language from the haughty archbishop, *Sture* retired to *Gestrícia*, where he put to death several of the magistrates appointed by the prelate. Here were laid the sparks of that civil war which broke out soon after with vehemence. Certain it is, that the archbishop thought of nothing less than recalling *Christian*, or his opponents than restoring *Charles*. The names of these princes were used only as a cloak to their own designs. The spirit of anarchy took possession of every breast; and while each demanded for himself the supreme authority, the constitution went to

(A) Instead of the whole province of *Finland*, only the fortress of *Raseburgh*, with its appendages, were assigned for his maintenance. Difficulties arose about the surrender of *Raseburgh*, which obliged the king to live for a whole season at

*Abo*, without any revenue to support his household. Hence he was forced to contract debts, that involved him in great difficulties; and so mean was the archbishop, that he refused to lend him five hundred crowns. *Loccen. lib. v.*

wreck,

wreck, and all government and good order was wholly neglected <sup>k</sup>.

Eric Ax-  
elson  
chosen ad-  
mini-  
strator.

To quiet the outcry raised against him, the archbishop took a solemn oath in presence of the people, that all the reports spread to injure his reputation, and ruin him in the opinion of the people, were false and groundless; and that he had taken upon him the office of regent with no other view than the public good, and to pave the way to the election of a sovereign. He also declared, that he seized on the castle and palace of the late bishop of *Lincoping*, only to put it into the hands of that person whom the states should think fit to raise to the dignity either of king or administrator. After this public declaration, he called a diet to meet at *Walstenar*, where, after much altercation, *Eric Axelson* was chosen administrator, and the archbishop was forced to surrender to him, the capital, and all the fortresses of the kingdom, though *Axelson* was strongly in the interest of king *Charles*, his brother-in-law, and the intimate friend of *Nils Sture*, both sworn enemies to the prelate <sup>l</sup>.

A civil  
war  
breaks out.

*NILS STURE* advanced, in the mean time, to *Westeraas*, at the head of a considerable body of forces, declaring every where, that he would restore king *Charles*. He was opposed by *Eric Nelson*, who marched to give him battle, which was prevented by the interposition of the administrator. By the treaty concluded on this occasion, *Westeraas* was surrendered to *Nils Sture*, to the great dissatisfaction of the archbishop. It only skinned over the sore, without affecting a radical cure. The mutual resentment of both parties was rather influenced by this suppression, which enabled it to burst forth with redoubled violence, on the first opportunity that offered. Two powerful factions were formed; the one headed by the archbishop, *Eric Nelson*, *Trotte Carlson*, *Yver Green*, *Eric Carlson*, *John Scwolke*, and *Nils Fadergon*, supported by an infinity of gentry and magistrates of towns, who were altogether unacquainted with the views and designs of their superiors <sup>m</sup>.

The king-  
dom di-  
vided into  
two fac-  
tions.

THE leaders of the other factions were, *Eric Axelson*, administrator of Sweden, *Yvar Axelson*, his brother, governor of the isle of *Gothland*, *Nils Sture*, *Steen Sture*, *Birger Trolle*, *Gustavus Carlson*, *Knat Possé*, and the city of *Stockholm*, whose professions were, that they would defend the kingdom against the usurpation of all foreigners, and either maintain the administrator in his authority, or restore king *Charles*. This might be called the country-party, and was

<sup>k</sup> Anot. citat. ibid. <sup>l</sup> PUFFEND. p. 238. <sup>m</sup> Id. ibid.

espoused as such by a majority of the peasants and common people. It is unconceivable to what a pitch of fury their resentment grew; nothing but massacres were heard of in every quarter of the kingdom. The peasants and mechanics fell upon each other just as they happened to espouse one or the other side, and gave no quarter; in a word, those cruel wars, which for the space of a century distracted *Italy*, and made the names *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* famous in history, were not conducted with more rancour or violence of party-spirit, than the present divisions in *Sweden*°.

SEVERAL advantages were gained by the administrator's party; notwithstanding which the archbishop collected so powerful an army, that he laid siege to *Stockholm*, and would probably have taken it, had not *Yvar Axelsson* defeated *Eric Nelson*, in *Nericia*, and then marched to his brother's relief; while *Steen Sture*, after worsting *Eric Carlson*, was in full march for the same purpose. But neither these disappointments, nor the archbishop's death, could break the spirit of the faction, which seemed to grow with its losses. Assembling all their troops, they now determined upon coming to a decisive battle with the administrator, who upon his side did not decline it. After a violent conflict victory declared for the latter, and the enemy were cut in pieces, except some that were made prisoners, and a few who escaped. At last the people, wearied and exhausted with troubles, expences, and cruel wars, which seemed to have no object in view, but the destruction of the kingdom, demanded the restoration of king *Charles*. In fact, that prince was recalled and forced from his retreat in *Finland*, by the administrator, who put *Stockholm*, and the fortresses of the kingdom, in his hands; but *Eric Nelson*, and *Eric Carlson*, still refused to acknowledge him, saying, that they could not think of replacing the crown on the head of a prince who had solemnly renounced it, and sworn that he never would accept it. This declaration they supported with force of arms and treachery; for taking advantage of a peace concluded for five days with *Charles*, just as the armies were ready to engage, *Eric Carlson* fell upon him before the time was expired, and defeated him°.

A. D. 1467.

King Charles recalled to the throne.

ACCORDING to *Puffendorf*, king *Christian*, all this while, kept aloof, suspecting that both parties had their own particular interests more at heart, than the restoration of either prince. He was besides employed in defending *Iceland* from the *English*, and in certain disputes about *Sleswick* with the

° PUFFEND. p. 241.

° P. 260.



earl of Oldenburgh; but these are facts which we do not find mentioned by any other historian. On the contrary, *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, and all the *Danish* writers expressly affirm, that his *Danish* majesty vigorously assisted the archbishop's faction, made incursions into *Halland* in the year 1468, where he took *Schwisburgh* and other fortresses, and two years after obtained a signal victory over *Yvar Axelsson*, in the plains of *Harling*. So decisive was this action, that the administrator's party engaged to bring the states to consent to *Christian's* restoration, and send ambassadors to *Lubeck* to adjust the terms. *Christian*, much disposed to peace, signed a treaty with them, relying upon the sincerity of their promises; but finding himself made the dupe of their artifice, and that the ambassadors they promised never came to *Lubeck*, he again had recourse to arms <sup>p</sup>.

Carlson  
defeated.

A. D.  
1470.

AFTER the advantage *Carlson* obtained over the king, he was marching to lay siege to *Stockholm*, when *Nils* and *Steen Sture* gave him battle, and defeated him with such loss, that believing he could not be safe in *Sweden*, he retired to *Denmark*, where he proposed several schemes to *Christian*, all of which he affirmed were practicable. To comply with his importunity, that prince entered *West Gothland*, and was laying siege to *Dareslein*, in the depth of winter, where the two *Stures* fell upon him, defeated, and obliged him to retire to *Denmark*, with great precipitation <sup>q</sup>.

Death of  
king  
Charles.

The same year king *Charles* died at *Stockholm*, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *May*, and perceiving his dissolution approaching, surrendered the city of *Stockholm* to *Steen Sture*, his nephew, who had always assisted him with the utmost fidelity. The nobility immediately sent letters to the members of their body residing in *Denmark*, acquainting them of the king's death, and urging them to return, in order to elect a new king, or by any means establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. To this *Eric Carlson* answered, that he would acknowledge no master but *Cristian*, already duly and lawfully elected. While *Carlson* was bringing forces to support the treaty of *Calmar*, and the union of the three kingdoms, the *Dalecarlians* were publishing declarations, that they would never submit to any other master than *Steen Sture*, for whom they would hazard their lives and fortunes. *Eric* and *Yvar Axelsson* closed in with the *Dalecarlians*, and wrote letters to the magistrates and burghers, as well as the garrison in the citadel of *Stockholm*, exhorting them to stand firmly to their engagements with *Steen Sture*. In a word, they behaved

Declara-  
tions of  
both par-  
ties.

<sup>p</sup> Loccen. lib. v. p. 159.

<sup>q</sup> Id. ibid.

themselves

themselves so vigorously, that *Steen Sture* was actually chosen administrator in a kind of diet assembled at *Jeneckoping*. This election proved highly agreeable to the *Swedish* peasants, but served to convince *Christian*, that if ever he should wear the crown of *Sweden*, he must gain it by force of arms and dint of conquest. Immediately he equipped a fleet of sixty-five sail, steered directly for *Stockholm*, and dropped anchor before the city; but reflecting on the difficulties that would attend a regular siege, he had recourse to negotiation, which continued for six days without effect. *Cristian* perceiving that the *Swedes* wanted only to gain time to lay in provisions, landed his troops, and threatened that he would sack and pillage the city, whip the administrator with rods, violate the women before the faces of their husbands and fathers, and castrate the men; with other expressions equally indecent in themselves, unbecoming the character of a king, and unsuitable to the disposition of *Christian* (A). But as his menaces produced no effect, he marched to *Upsal*, was proclaimed king by the neighbouring peasants, complained bitterly of the senate and the city of *Stockholm*, who he said had nothing in view but the gratification of their own ambition, to tyrannize it over their fellow subjects. By fair promises, and importing salt, which he sold at a low price, he gained the affections of crowds of peasants, and made an impression on many of the gentry, who were prevailed on to swear allegiance to him.

*Christian  
invades  
Sweden.*

After this excursion, he returned to lay siege to *Stockholm*, while *Steen Sture* was assembling a numerous army to relieve it. As soon as *Sture* had joined a body of troops raised by his brother, he marched within two miles of *Stockholm*, and thence wrote to the king, that if he sought to avoid the unnecessary effusion of blood, he would immediately raise the siege and withdraw to *Denmark*. *Christian's* reply was such as produced an engagement, in which, after receiving a wound in the mouth, his *Danish* majesty was defeated, several hundred of his soldiers drowned in attempting to save themselves on board the fleet, about 1500 left dead in the field of battle, and 900 taken prisoners, among whom was

A. D.  
1471.

*Is defeated  
by Sture.*

PUFFEND. p. 265. MEURS. vit. Joh. p. 29.

(A) Nothing can be more different than the characters drawn of the same princes, by the *Swedish* and *Danish* historians, each speaking according to his prejudices, and the one celebrating as virtuous, temperate, and mild kings, those whom the others have stigmatized as cruel and bloody tyrants.

*Nicholas*

*Nicholas Rennau*, grand mareschal of *Denmark*. Upon this repulse, the king set sail for *Denmark*, and found, that besides his late disgrace, he had left several fortresses in *West Gothland*, which were garrisoned in his name. In a word, *Steen Sture* was now so firmly established, that no actual attempt was made for several years to disturb his administration, although the kingdom was kept in perpetual apprehension of an invasion from *Denmark*.

John  
elected  
king of  
*Denmark*  
and *Nor-*  
*way*.

A. D.  
1483.

History of  
the admin-  
istration  
of *Steen*  
*Sture*.

FROM this time, to the death of *Christian*, which happened on the 21st of *May* 1481, nothing material occurs in the *Swedish* history. *Steen Sture* had so gained the affections of the people, that if we may credit the *Swedish* historians, he might frequently have obtained the crown (B)\*. Several congresses were held, and ambassadors from the three kingdoms ordered to treat about a re-union of the crowns, all of which terminated in nothing. This year indeed a congress was held at *Helmstadt*, by the consent of the three kingdoms. All men were in great expectations, that the renewal of the treaty of *Calmar* would be the result of this conference. *Steen Sture* had so readily consented to the congress, that he deceived all parties. They imagined that public spirit had gained the ascendant over ambition, and that he resolved to sacrifice his own grandeur to the good of the state. But his pretended illness on the road, as he was going to attend the appointment, blasted all their hopes. They now perceived he would never consent to see the kingdom in other hands; accordingly the *Danes* and *Norwegians* proceeded to elect prince *John*, the eldest son of their late king *Christian*. Immediately after this, a treaty of union was concluded between the three kingdoms, at *Calmar*; but still the *Swedes* refused to elect king *John*, unless he signed and swore to certain restrictions, which he thought derogatory to his dignity. So politically, however, did *Steen Sture* conduct affairs, that he avoided an open rupture with *Denmark*, and yet governed *Sweden* with all the authority of a sovereign prince, notwithstanding he was surrounded by enemies†.

*YVAR AXELSON*, in particular, was his avowed enemy, on account of the administrator's frequent attempts to retrench his power, and wrest the province of *Finland* out

\* *Loccen*. lib. v. p. 164.

† *Id.* *ibid*.

(B) The *Danish* writers represent *Sture* as a crafty, ambitious, cruel, and insolent man, who never was beloved by his own nation.

of his hands. Another cause of contention was the isle of *Gothland*, which the administrator feared he would surrender to the *Danes*, and king *John* was no less apprehensive might fall into the hands of the administrator. *Ivar Axelsson* reigned with uncontrouled authority, and committed piracies in the *Baltic*, which disgraced the *Swedish* nation, as most people imagined they were countenanced by the government. In vain did the senate and administrator exhort him to desist from such practices, which reflected dishonour on the whole nation. At last, the administrator, accompanied by certain senators, desired a conference with him, which *Ivar Axelsson* declined. They then besieged him in the citadel of *Barkholm*; but he made his escape in the night to the isle of *Gothland*, and, in resentment of the violence offered by the administrator, surrendered the island to king *John*.

A. D.  
1487.

*Ivar Axelsson's*  
conduct.

As no period of history is more confused, or more variously related, than the administration of *Steen Sture*, it would be equally unentertaining and useless to relate such a medley of transactions as occur, under different forms, in the different writers. Sufficient it is, that after repeated congresses, interviews between king *John* and the administrator, promises from the latter, and great expectations on the side of the former, the politic *Sture* found means to continue the government in his own hands for the space of ten years longer, during which there happened several wars with the *Danes*. In these he was assisted by the *Hanse* towns, while king *John* engaged the *Russians* to annoy *Sweden*, on the side of *Finland*, where they were defeated by *Canute*. Next year they returned, and over-ran *Carelia*, with all the fury of engaged barbarians, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and laying the whole country in ashes.

The *Russians* in-  
vade *Carelia*.

To revenge these injuries, the administrator sent *Suante Nelson* and *Eric Trolle*, with an army against the enemy, proposing to follow them with more numerous forces; but being some time detained at *Stockholm*, to quiet certain factions formed against him, they drove the *Russians* out of *Finland* before his arrival. That his expedition might not be altogether lost, he determined to make an irruption into *Russia*; but *Suante Nelson* refused to accompany him, which so incensed *Sture*, that he stigmatised him for a coward. On their return to *Stockholm*, to attend the diet, *Nelson* complained loudly of the gross affront put upon him by the administrator, and justified his own conduct by such reasons as obliged the diet to declare him innocent. From this time

*Suante Nelson*  
revolts.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. our account of *Denmark*, in the preceding volume.

*Nelson* vowed revenge, and exerted all his abilities to have the administrator removed, engaging in his interest the archbishop of *Upsal* and all the clergy, who had for some time past expressed an inclination to see the three crowns united. This produced a conference between the administrator and senate, in which they upbraided him with having occasioned numberless losses and disgraces to the realm; with having governed the kingdom in a despotic manner, without consulting or advising with the senate; and lastly, they highly blamed him for not having bestowed *Finland*, as a crown-fief, on some person whose valour and power would enable him, and his interest induce him to protect it against the *Russians* <sup>d</sup>.

*Sture is  
accused by  
the senate.*

A. D.  
1497.

*He justifies  
himself.*

In answer to this accusation, *Sture* endeavoured to prove, that his administration had been eminently serviceable to the kingdom; and to demonstrate, that the government of kings, and particularly the union of *Calmar*, had almost brought ruin on the nation. He represented, that king *John* had unjustly seized on the island of *Gotbland*, and treated the rest of the kingdom of *Sweden* with great disrespect. He accused the senate of ingratitude, for endeavouring to deprive him of the administration of the state, which he had rescued from tyranny, and defended under so many dangers and difficulties. In a word, he gave them to understand, that his commission depended not on the will of the senate, but of the whole people assembled in a general diet.

*They come  
to an open  
rupture.*

WHEN the senate perceived that *Sture* was resolved to maintain his post, they deposed him with one voice, and took from him the administration. This obliged him to shut himself up in the citadel, where next day he was joined by 600 horse out of *Finland*. With this body he traversed the kingdom, to engage the people on his side, and levy forces, bitterly accusing the rashness or treachery of the senate, who would introduce a foreign power into the kingdom, to ruin, oppress, and enslave the *Swedish* nation. Finally the two parties came to an open rupture; and *Sture* refused all terms of accommodation, or admitting any propositions whatever, until the senate should first acknowledge him as administrator, and take an oath of fidelity to him in that capacity <sup>e</sup>.

To remedy at once all these disorders, the senate sent to demand the protection of *John*, king of *Denmark*, at that time committing horrid ravages in the neighbourhood of

<sup>d</sup> LOCEN. lib. v.

<sup>e</sup> PUEFEND. p. 280.

Calmar and the isle of Oeland. John immediately sent a body of troops to oppose the administrator, who had arrested the bishop of *Lincoping*, and was besieging the archbishop in *Upsal*. In the mean time he took *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, where he was proclaimed king, by *Nils Booson* and *Afmund Trolle*, in the name of the senate and nobility. Then steering his course to *Stockholm*, he debarked his forces, and laid *invades* siege to the city. *Sture's* fortune began now to wear a different aspect. He had got together a considerable army, but sustained a variety of repulses, and at length a total defeat, *Sture de-* near *Rotebroo*. Notwithstanding the check received on this *seated* occasion, the faithful and brave *Dalecarlians* encouraged him once more to try his fortune in the field. Attacking the king's army at *Nordelmalm*, a very bloody battle was fought, and *Sture* was again defeated. Despairing then of being able to make head against *John*, the administrator signed a treaty, whereby he acknowledged him king of *Sweden*, agreeable to the union of *Calmar*; had *Finland*, the *Two Bothnias*, the city of *Nicoping*, and some other lands and cities assigned for his maintenance; was fully discharged from being called to account for his past conduct, and taken into the king's favour. His majesty engaged *Sture* to exert his influence with the *Dalecarlians*, to acknowledge him king; at first they refused, but were brought to consent, on condition that the late administrator should have the government of *Wesjieraas*, *Bergslagen*, and the province of *Dalia*.

*STOCKHOLM* was now surrendered to king *John*, *John pro-* and he was immediately crowned king of *Sweden*. The ci- *claimed* vil war would seem to be extinguished, and all the discordant *king of* members of the state again reunited to the body. *Sweden*. Some writers alledge, that when the ceremony of the coronation was finished, *John* asked his privy council, if any of the forms were wanting? To which one of them answered, "Nothing but a gibbet, to hang up certain *Swedes*;" a hint that was afterwards pursued to his cost by *Christian*, but rejected, with indignation, by *John*, who expressed the satisfaction he would have in seeing evil counsellors suspended to the gibbet they advised erecting. In a word, he so gained upon the senate, and ingratiated himself with all the nobility, that they not only appointed his son *Christian* his successor, but gave his majesty the disposal of all offices, in whatever manner he thought proper<sup>f</sup>.

AFTER settling the state of the kingdom, *John* set out for *Denmark*; and the archbishop of *Upsal*, and several of the

<sup>f</sup> PUFFEND. p. 284.

nobility, who hated *Steen Sture*, embraced this opportunity of ruining him. They accused him of crimes committed during his administration; but the general pardon he obtained, under his majesty's hand and seal, obliged them to go another method to work. The archbishop engaged the pope on his side, and imagining he might commit the most horrid and flagrant crimes under the sanction of *Christ's* vicar, endeavoured, by several stratagems, to assassinate *Sture*. To such a pitch did he carry his resentment for some injury done him by the administrator, that the *Danes* themselves were astonished at the animosity and rancour of fellow-subjects, and the king endeavoured to heal their divisions by an accommodation.

A. D.  
1498.  
*His queen  
proclaim-  
ed, and  
crowned.*

This year *John* returned to *Stockholm*, where he had his queen *Christina* crowned, and *Oerebro*, with the provinces of *Nericia*, *Wermeland*, and *Dalia*, assigned to support the expences of her household. For the first years of this prince's reign, *Sweden* enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and the administration was conducted with great prudence and moderation. *John* was in his disposition easy, forgiving, brave, and open; but, misled by his favourites, he suffered himself to be steered to those shoals on which his predecessors had foundered. He complained of the scantiness of the revenue to support his dignity; he forced from *Steen Sture* some of these provinces granted to him by the treaty between them; he deprived several other persons of fiefs, which he had granted to them the year before; and these he either kept in his own hands, or disposed of to *German* and *Danish* minions.

A. D.  
1499.  
*He be-  
comes odi-  
ous to the  
Swedes.*

Those who were instrumental in elevating him to the throne, were rewarded greatly beneath their expectations. They even had less credit with him, than with the administrator they removed. Still, however, they murmured in secret, and durst not put up their complaints to the throne, or make them public to the people, lest they should be taxed with fickleness and inconstancy. However, when intelligence was received of the king's unfortunate expedition against the *Dithmarsians*, they began to talk more openly, and discover those seeds of discontent, which hitherto lay concealed. Each exclaimed against the king's ingratitude, and aspired at effecting a change in the government, and said aloud, that if one little province could shake off obedience to *John*, and foil all his endeavours to subdue it, what must all *Sweden* be able to effect, when united, and unanimous in one design?

*STURE* was at the bottom of these murmurings. He *Commoti-* artfully fomented the people's discontent, with a view to *ons fo-* the recovery of his former dignity, the loss of which he had *mented by* been seen to lament with tears. It is even said, that he *Sture.* plucked his beard, gnashed his teeth, and shewed extreme despair, at *John's* coronation; but it is probable, that the provinces wrested from him was the first occasion of his dissatisfaction.

THESE commotions required the king's immediate presence. On his arrival, he entered into measures with the senate for crushing them in the birth; but all their endeavours were to no purpose. Matters were now gone too far. *Steen Sture, Suante Sture*, with several other nobility, came to *Stockholm*, attended by 700 gentlemen, their vassals and adherents, and presented a remonstrance containing all their grievances. For six days this remonstrance was under consideration. Negotiations were set on foot, but nothing was determined. Both sides, however, counterfeited: the king pretended to be satisfied with the fair promises made by the malecontents, and they would seem to put confidence in the assurances given by his majesty; while, at the same time, each heartily hated, despised, and distrusted the other.

WHEN *Sture* had formed a party which he believed sufficient, he assembled all his friends at *Wadstena*, and solemnly renounced his allegiance to king *John*, openly declaring himself his enemy; nor were there wanting plausible reasons to justify this conduct. *John* had not fulfilled the treaty of *Calmar*; he had not terminated the differences about *Gothland*; he made grants of the fiefs of the kingdom to foreigners; he carried into *Denmark* all the wealth of *Sweden*; with an hundred other violations, which composed the substance of the remonstrance. *A bill of grievances presented to the king.*

*JOHN* no sooner read their complaints, than he perceived, from the spirit of the writing, that he could remain no longer in security in *Sweden*: leaving the queen in the *Den-* citadel of *Stockholm*, with a strong garrison, he set out for *mark.* *Denmark*, hoping, by the assistance of the archbishop, to appease these murmurings, without proceeding to extremities. The king's departure was a signal to the malecontents to begin their operations. They laid siege to *Oerebro*, and soon reduced it. Next *Sture* invested *Stockholm* with all his forces; and had not advanced far in his operations, before the magistrates demanded a truce, in order to come to an accommodation. This was granted; and in the mean time the garrison set fire to the suburbs; which so incensed



the burghers, that they opened the gates to *Sture*, who then began his approaches against the citadel.

*JOHN* now perceived, that the strength of his enemies exceeded his expectations. He likewise saw the bishops drop off from his party, and join the enemy; he thought it therefore advisable to write to *Steen Sture*, offering to appear before a diet, to justify his conduct, and refute all the calumnies thrown out against him. But *Sture*, looking upon the proposals as an artifice to gain time, rejected them, and was immediately after declared administrator<sup>1</sup>.

A. D. 1503. *The queen besieged in Stockholm, but is forced to capitulate.* THE siege of the citadel of *Stockholm* continued for the whole winter, though the severity of the weather rendered the approaches of the besiegers slow and difficult. On the approach of spring, the administrator gave a general assault, which the queen sustained with extraordinary intrepidity; but perceiving preparations making for storming a second time, her garrison being reduced to a handful, and provisions falling short, she capitulated, on condition of being permitted to pass to *Denmark*. All the rest of the garrison was made prisoners of war; and *Sture*, in direct violation of the articles of capitulation, ordered her majesty to be arrested, and confined in the monastery of *Wadstena*, till the following year. *John* appeared with a strong fleet before *Stockholm* three days after the citadel was surrendered, and was forced to return without attempting to land. It was alledged indeed, that, enamoured of the superior charms of a mistress, he first neglected relieving *Stockholm*, and then obtaining the queen's liberty.

Death of *Steen Sture*. A. D. 1514. THE administrator pushed his success. The castle of *Elfsburgh* was taken, and reduced to ashes, the peasants cruelly massacring *Eric Erickson*, who commanded the garrison. On the other hand, the *Danish* army, led by prince *Christian*, made an irruption into *East Gothland*, burnt *Oerefteen*, and committed terrible ravages; *Sweden* suffering equally under the hands of her friends and her enemies.

*STEEN STURE* was now master of all the fortresses of the kingdom, except *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, which the king found means to relieve. A treaty was set on foot by the regency of *Lubec* and cardinal *Raimond*, by which her majesty was released. The administrator paid her the compliment of seeing her safe to the frontiers, and on his return was taken ill at *Jenekoping*, where he died; a circumstance that greatly affected his party, and rendered a meeting of the diet necessary<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> VERTOT. *Revol.* p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> LOCCEN. lib. v. PUFFEND. *ibid.*

GREAT debates arose in the diet, whether *John* should be recalled, or the government put into the hands of *Suante Nelson Sture*, who had performed very signal services to the kingdom, and was, besides, descended of an ancient royal family. The latter opinion prevailed, and *Suante Sture* was elected protector by a great majority of voices. The city of *Stockholm*, and all the other fortresses of the realm, were put into his hands. The war now recommenced between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and the new administrator began his operations by attempting to relieve *Calmar* and *Borkholm*. The former was besieged by the bishop of *Lincoping*, and taken by assault; after which, a suspension of hostilities for three months was agreed upon: at the expiration of which, it was proposed a congress should meet at *Calmar*, to terminate all differences amicably.

*Debates in the diet about a successor.*

*War renewed with Denmark. A truce concluded.*

ON the day appointed for this conference, *John* appeared with a powerful fleet before the city, with such appearances of hostility, as prevented the *Swedish* commissioners from attending. One would imagine, from the indignation the king expressed at their conduct, that his own was perfectly fair and honest. He upbraided them with perfidy, and a breach of the most solemn engagements. He attributed their absence to their guilt, and fear of resting their cause on an impartial trial. In consequence, he condemned them to lose their estates, to be degraded from their honours and dignities, with several other punishments, which the *Swedish* senate despised, because he had not the power to inflict them.

*JOHN*, however, proceeded to put his sentence in execution in part. He seized upon all the effects of the *Swedish* lords in *Denmark*, and got the emperor to ratify his verdict, and banish the *Swedes* out of *Germany*. He likewise gave a general licence to his subjects, to cruize and commit all sorts of depredations and piracies upon the *Swedish* coasts and commerce. The isle of *Gothland* proved of the utmost detriment to *Sweden* on this occasion. It was the most convenient rendezvous for the pirates, who covered the *Baltic* with their ships, and distressed *Sweden* more than the king could by the most formidable invasion. To complete the misery of this unhappy kingdom, the administrator incurred the displeasure of pope *Julius II.* who threatened to excommunicate him, and lay the whole kingdom under an interdiction; a sentence which, in those days, was dreaded as the most terrible of all punishments: yet so high was the spirit of

*John confiscates the estates of and gives a certain licence to the Swedes.*

*Suante Sture, the administrator, incurs the pope's censure.*

† Loccen. lib. iii.

Terrible  
depreda-  
tions com-  
mitted by  
the Swedes  
and Danes

party arrived, that even the pope's menaces were disregarded, and the administrator entered upon the most vigorous enterprizes against *Denmark*. *Schonen* and *Bleking* were invaded, and dreadful ravages committed; hostilities that were revenged by the *Danes*, who suddenly entering *Finland*, burnt *Abo*. In the same manner they treated *Castleboven*, in the province of *Oeland*, and *Ladese* in *West Gothland* &c.

A treaty  
concluded.

THUS both countries were laid desolate, and the inhabitants ruined, without either party's deducing the smallest advantage from such barbarities. It was this that forced them both to consent to a negotiation, which, however, ended without effecting the accommodation proposed. *John* would listen to no terms, unless the *Swedes* accepted of himself or his son *Christian* for king; or at least pay a certain yearly sum of money, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. Many of the administrator's friends relished this last proposal, as the damage done to their shipping amounted to double the sum demanded; but the majority rejected it, as a concession that would reflect disgrace on a free nation. Yet after all, deputies were sent to *Malmoe*, and a bargain struck up with *John*, whereby he promised to refrain from all hostilities, on *Sweden's* paying him 13,000 silver marks annually, until such time as the kingdom was surrendered to him or his son<sup>b</sup>.

A. D.  
1509.  
The senate  
refuses to  
ratify it.

THIS treaty, however, produced nothing; the deputies exceeded their commission, and the senate refused to ratify what they had signed. It is certain, that they were particularly instructed to offer no money, unless *John* consented to restore the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, and the city of *Calmar*, which the king expressly refused. On this account the war was renewed; and the *Swedes* entered upon it with more vigour, as the administrator had formed an alliance with the regency of *Lubeck*, who engaged to support him with all their power. He likewise concluded a peace for sixty years, with the czar *George Belim*, whereby the *Russians* were tied up from entering into any engagements with *Denmark*, to the prejudice of *Sweden*, during that period<sup>i</sup>.

THE *Lubeckers* commenced hostilities against *Denmark*, by pillaging *Borkholm*, *Langland*, *Falstere*, *Laland*, *Werm*, and the coasts of *Bleking* and *Halland*. Their fleet was numerous, and they spread terror and desolation wherever they appeared. The *Swedes*, likewise, retook *Calmar* and *Bork-*

<sup>s</sup> LOCEN. lib. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> PUFFEND. p. 291.  
holm;

*holm*; the king being kept so employed by the *Lubeck* fleet, as rendered it impossible for him to relieve those cities, however important they were. To get rid of so formidable an enemy, *John* granted the regency such favourable conditions, that they concluded a separate peace, leaving *Sweden* to fight her own battles. Upon this the *Danes* invaded *West Gothland*, and advancing to *Skara*, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the country in ashes: but the approach of the *Swedish* army prevented their penetrating farther; nay, obliged them to retreat with precipitation, and to leave *Schonen* and *Halland* exposed to their ravages. A. D. 1512.

IN the mean time *Suante Sture* resigned his last breath, after a short illness, at *Westeraas*. He had governed the kingdom, with great prudence, for the space of eight years, amidst perpetual wars; and his death, far from putting an end to the public confusion, seemed rather to increase the divisions in the senate, introducing a fresh subject of contention, the election of a prince or governor. All the young nobility were for putting the administration into the hands of the son of *Steen Sture*, who was greatly beloved by the people, not only out of respect to his father's memory, but on account of his own good qualities, and the services he had done the state. On the contrary, the archbishop, the bishops, and all the old senators and nobility, cast their eyes on *Eric Trolle*, a man whose age, experience, and wisdom seemed to justify their choice: but the states of *Sweden*, exhausted and languishing under the long and bloody wars carried on against *Denmark*, resolved to restore peace upon any terms; for which purpose, they deputed bishop *Mathew of Regnez* to *Malmoe*, to accommodate matters with king *John*. The separate peace concluded by the *Lubeckers* with *Denmark*, as well as the specious promises of that monarch, greatly forwarded this resolution. Debate about a successor.

ON the following year a diet was held at *Stockhom*, in consequence of the determination of the states; and the *Swedes* were constrained to accept of one of these three conditions: 1st, Either to acknowledge king *John* or his son *Christian* for their sovereign; 2dly, To pay a sum of money annually to that prince; or, lastly, Should they refuse to accede to either of the preceding conditions, to submit to the decision of the *Hanse* towns, who took upon them to mediate a peace, and declared, that they would commence hostilities against whatever party should decline their award. A. D. 1513.

IN the mean while, *Eric Trolle* and the young *Sture* both appeared at *Upsal*, as candidates for the office of administrator. A majority of votes were evidently in favour of the latter, Two candidates for the administration.

\* PUFFEND. p. 298.

and,

and he was accordingly elected ; whereas the pretensions of the former were rejected, because he was of *Danish* extraction, and descended from a family that had always shewn a partiality for that people. The affair was again taken into consideration at *Stockholm* ; and it is probable the dispute would have occasioned a civil war, had not some senators of influence interposed, and effected a compromise. In the end, however, *Sture* carried his point, and was declared administrator in the usual manner, and acknowledged in that capacity by all ranks of the people <sup>p</sup>.

Death of  
king John.

A. D.  
1514.

THE death of *John* king of *Denmark* furnished his son *Christian* with an opportunity of renewing his pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*. Deputies were sent by the administrator to *Copenhagen*. They demanded to know *Christian*'s claim, and were answered by his insisting upon their subscribing conjointly with the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, to his election ; but they excused themselves by asserting, that they had no instructions on that head ; that *Sweden* had been forced to subscribe to the election in 1499 ; and lastly, that *Christian* had committed such barbarities both in *Sweden* and *Norway*, when he commanded his father's army, as would even deter the states of *Sweden* from electing him. After much altercation, they obtained a cessation of hostilities for the space of four years, which time *Christian* employed in drawing over the clergy to his interest. With this view queen *Christina*, his mother, was applied to ; and she, by her address, prevailed on *Leo X.* to pour down all the thunder of the vatican on the administrator's head. *Steen Sture* and his faction were formally excommunicated in a council of the *Lateran*. The pope's taking part with *Christian*, soon drew the clergy to his side, and revived the clamours of the old senators, in favour of *Trolle* <sup>q</sup>.

Young  
Sture  
chosen ad-  
ministra-  
tor, but  
excommu-  
nicated by  
the pope.

A. D.  
1515.  
*Gustavus*  
*Trolle*  
raised to  
the see of  
*Upsal*.

ABOUT this time the archbishop died, with his last breath recommending *Gustavus Trolle*, then a student at *Rome*, to *Sture*. It is supposed that *Sture*'s assent to the promotion of *Gustavus Trolle*, was one of the conditions of reconciliation with the old senators. A deputation was immediately sent to *Rome*, to acquaint *Gustavus* with the news of his promotion to the archbishopric. Passing through *Denmark*, *Christian* put a large sum of money in their hands, as a present to the young prelate, thereby to engage his interest. He knew well that *Gustavus* could not be much disposed to favour the administrator, chosen to that dignity in opposition to his father. In this artful manner did his *Danish* majesty

<sup>p</sup> LOCCE. lib. v.

<sup>q</sup> Anot. citat. ibid.

solicit the interest of the clergy, while he was at the same time either strengthening himself by foreign alliances, or carrying on intrigues at different courts, in order to raise up enemies on all hands against Sweden. Besides marrying *Elizabeth*, daughter to the king of *Castile*, and sister to the emperor *Charles V.* he was in strict alliance with the kings of *France* and *Scotland*, the elector of *Saxony*, the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Hanse* towns; a support so powerful, that he flattered himself Sweden would make but a slight resistance.

THE new archbishop went straight to *Upsal*, without touching at *Stockholm*, or paying his compliments to the administrator. No sooner had he taken possession of his diocese, than he expressed his gratitude to king *Christian*, by thundering out anathemas against *Sture*, and all who opposed his father's election; and notwithstanding the administrator wrote to him in the mildest terms, that if he had cause of complaint against any one, he need only apply to the courts of justice, where he might be assured of all possible satisfaction; he still continued to shew his resentment by every method in his power. In hopes of reclaiming and bringing His in-  
the hot-headed prelate to a due sense of his own interest, *trigues.*  
*Sture* made him a visit at *Upsal*; but was received in the rudest manner, and even upbraided with crimes he had never committed. Even the pope's persuasions could not bend the obstinate spirit of this haughty prelate, intoxicated with his elevation. He went on heaping one affront upon another, and laying the foundation of a civil war, that was near reducing his country to extreme misery.

JUST as *Sture* was preparing to march against the *Russians*, who made an irruption into *Finland*, *Gustavus Trolle* was inviting *Christian* into *Sweden*, promising to surrender to him all the fortresses of any consideration in the kingdom; and having actually engaged the governors of *Nicoping*, *Stockholm*, and other cities, to betray their trust. But the vigour of the administrator's measures frustrated this treacherous design. He arrested all the suspected governors, and particularly *Eric Trolle*, the archbishop's father, and *Peter Thorson*, *He openly*  
governor of *Stockholm*, *revolts*

ON his side the prelate fortified himself in *Steeka*, nor could the intreaties of the other bishops prevail on him to compromise matters with the administrator. Upon this, *Sture* called a diet at *Abroga*, where it was determined to intreat his holiness, to depose the archbishop as a turbulent person,

A. D.  
1516.

A. D.  
1517.

who would inevitably involve his country in a civil war was further resolved to lay siege to him in his fortress at the same time to declare war against *Christian*, who was plain embraced every opportunity of disturbing the peace of *Sweden*. The siege was accordingly commenced. *Christian* made preparations to relieve the prelate.

by means of the archbishop of *Lunden*, he excommunicated the administrator and senate, endeavouring likewise to prevail on his holiness to confirm the punishment. He endeavoured, by every possible means, to gain the friendship of *Sweden*, and induce the *Lubeckers* to break the treaty of commerce with that kingdom. At length he sent a fleet

He is de-  
posed and  
confined in  
a mona-  
stery.

sail, with 4000 land-forces on board, to raise the siege. His troops were landed, they marched to *Steeka*, and, if we credit the *Swedish* writers\*, were defeated by *Sture* driven with great loss to their ships (A). The archbishop disappointed of relief, demanded a parley, and offered to surrender the fortress, provided he was continued in his dignity, and sent safe to *Upsal*. But the administrator refused that such terms were now too late, after the shedding of much blood; however, that he would refer him to the determination of the states, and grant him a passport to attend diet. In consequence, the prelate attended the diet at *Stockholm*, was by them degraded and deprived of all his titles, his fortress raised, and treated himself in every respect as the severity of an enemy to his country, a seditious, turbulent and ambitious ecclesiastic, merited (B). Indeed so were the people, that it was with difficulty the administrator could prevent his falling a sacrifice to their rage. All

Differences  
between  
the rela-  
tions of the  
*Swedish*  
and *Danish*  
historians.

*Danians* agree, that after sentence he was shut up in the monastery of *Westenas*; and, perhaps, the only difficulty in conciling the *Swedish* and *Danish* historians, will be to

\* LOCCEN. lib. v. p. 183. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 305

(A) *Meurfus* and the *Danish* writers give a very particular relation of this expedition, directly contrary to the foregoing. They affirm, that the *Danish* fleet, consisting of 120 sail, commanded by the admirals *Norby*, *Giffel*, and *Morian*, landed the forces near *Steeka*. That the *Danes* eagerly sought to come to an engagement, which the *Swedes* as industriously avoided;

but that proposing to attack the *Swedish* camp, *Sture* raised the siege, and the *Danes* retreated with the archbishop. *Meurf.* c. 23.

(B) It would not be possible to reconcile this with the relation of the *Danish* writers, who alledge, that the siege was conducted by the prelate, and the *Danish* conductors, and the prelate conducted the siege in *Denmark*, where he staid a space of two years.

mine whether the prelate was present when sentence was pronounced. As to his confinement in *Wefienas*, it might possibly be voluntary, to hide his disgrace from the world, and avoid the many mortifications that must necessarily attend such a change of condition. That such a sentence was passed and executed, is certain from the concurring testimony of all historians; that the pope demanded his release, nay, his restoration, and the rebuilding of *Stecka*, under pain of excommunication: menaces which operated but little, in favour of a man despised by the whole nation (C).

EARLY next year, *Christian* equipped a formidable fleet, and embarked a great number of land-forces with intention to subdue all *Sweden*. The troops were landed at *Stockholm*, and the city invested on the south side. Hearing that *Sture* was marching to raise the siege, the king struck his tents, advanced, and gave him battle, was defeated and driven with great slaughter to take shelter on board the fleet. *Sture* pursued with so much vigour, that thousands perished by the sword, multitudes were drowned, and a great number of nobility and private men taken prisoners; in a word, it was one of the compleatest victories which the *Swedens* had ever before obtained over the *Danes*, at that time the best soldiers of the North.

*CHRISTIAN* paid down the ransom for the prisoners, and was steering his course to *Denmark*, when, stopped by adverse winds, he made several descents on the *Swedish* coasts, ravaging the country with the fury of a disappointed incensed *Barbarian*. These hostilities cost him dear. He was forced to retire, and was so distressed for provisions, that half his forces perished with hunger, and the whole was in the most imminent danger, by the sudden approach of a most rigorous winter. His unfortunate circumstances then suggested a stratagem to *Christian*, that had almost been attended with fatal consequences to the administrator. He sent a message to *Sture*, acquainting him, that he was resolved upon a perpetual peace with *Sweden*, as providence itself seemed to oppose all his designs against that kingdom, and requesting an interview with him, in order to adjust preliminaries. His design was to assassinate, or at least

A. D.

1518.

*Christian*

*invades*

*Sweden,*

*and is de-*

*feated.*

*His per-*  
*sidy.*

\* LOCCEN. lib. v.

(C) We have enlarged the dence on both sides, and form more on this circumstance, pos- his opinion from what appears to sibly of no great importance, him the strongest. that the reader may see the evi-

make



make prisoner, the administrator, who never once distrusted the sincerity of his professions ; but after accommodating him with all kinds of provisions, was setting out to make him a visit. This the senate prevented, having some suspicion of the plot, and soon after demonstrative proofs of *Christian's* perfidy<sup>u</sup>.

MISSING the blow he aimed, *Christian* offered to go in person to *Stockholm*, to confer with the administrator, provided six hostages were sent in his room ; the conditions were accepted, and six of the first nobility, among whom was *Gustavus Erickson*, afterwards king of *Sweden*, were put on board the *Danish* fleet. The wind happening to shift at that instant, and prove favourable, *Christian* ordered the fleet to put under sail, and steered strait to *Denmark*, where he arrived safe with the hostages (A).

He sails to  
Denmark  
with the  
Swedish  
hostages.

A. D.  
1519.

ON his return, *Christian* made great preparations for war, under pretence of executing a commission against the *Swedes*, lately granted him by the pope, but indeed to revenge the disgraces of the former year. First he appeared with a fleet before the isle of *Oeland*, and took *Borkholm* ; but was defeated in an attempt he made on *Calmar*.

A. D.  
1520.  
He in-  
vades  
Sweden a  
second  
time.

The admi-  
nistrator  
killed.

THE little success attending this expedition, determined *Christian* to equip a more powerful armament. Having a very numerous army, he made an irruption into *West Gothland*, while his fleet was harrassing the coasts. *Sture* marched to give him battle, fell into an ambush laid for him by the king, and received a wound of which he died at *Stregnez*. *Sweden* was now left without a head, and the senate fell into violent disputes about a successor, while *Christian* was marching, without opposition, to the capital. After the late repulse, and the loss of their general, the army disbanded itself. *Christian* took advantage of this state of affairs, advanced by large strides to the very heart of the kingdom, burning and destroying all before him. On his arrival at *Stregnez*, he granted a suspension of hostilities, to give the people time to deliberate on their situation, and reflect how easily they might get rid of their troubles, and

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.

(A) Here again is a fact, concerning which the *Danish* and *Swedish* writers differ. The former alledge, that *Gustavus* was not carried into *Denmark* before the year 1521, being made prisoner after the defeat

of *Sture*. Policy, say they, required that so enterprising a genius should not be left at liberty to plan schemes against the life and government of the king. *Mours. v. c. 25.*

all

all the horrors of war, only by electing him king. In this critical situation, an assembly was held at *Upsal*, where *Gustavus* resuming the archiepiscopal function, from which he had been degraded, pathetically represented the deplorable circumstances of *Sweden*; adding, that his *Danish* majesty was ready to give them all manner of security for the preservation of their privileges, to forget all that was past, to conciliate himself even to his most inveterate enemies, provided they now laid down their arms, and to act in every respect as if he had been elected without opposition, and by the free choice of the people. Then he proclaimed *Christian*, in the name of the states, king of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and wrote to all the provinces, enjoining them to receive and acknowledge him as their king and sovereign; threatening, at the same time, the most rigorous punishment, if they refused submission <sup>x</sup>.

*CHRISTIAN* confirmed all that had been promised by the prelate, signed the articles with his own hand, and sealed them with his seal, conjointly with all the senators of *Denmark*; gave fair words to the people in general, but caressed the peasants in a particular manner, and made them donations of salt.

ALL this while *Christina*, the administrator's widow, was besieged in *Stockholm*, where she made a brave defence, and found means to engage several provinces in her interest. *Christian* now pushed the siege with redoubled vigour; but the city being well provided, he found the resistance would be obstinate, and had recourse to his usual cajolling, which succeeded. The city capitulated, on condition that all the articles signed at *Upsal* should be strictly adhered to; that *Stockholm*, in particular, should be continued in all its rights and privileges; that the dowager *Christina* and children should be put in full possession of all the effects of her late husband; and that *Christian* should again swear he would govern *Sweden*, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but the mild beneficent disposition of a prince, raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people <sup>y</sup>.

WHEN the articles were mutually signed, his majesty entered the city, accompanied by 2000 horse, and as many foot, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, who are ever pleased with novelty. Thence he published circular letters, inviting, in the gentlest terms, the states of *Sweden*, to be present at his coronation, fixed for the fourth of November. On this meeting of the states, he obliged them to

<sup>x</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>y</sup> PUFFEND. 312.

sign an instrument, acknowledging him the legitimate sovereign, and lawful heir to the crown; after which he was crowned with the usual ceremonies by *Gustavus Trolle*.

*The king crowned.*

It was remarkable, that, on the day of his coronation, he bestowed the order of knighthood on some *German* gentlemen, but neglected paying the same compliment to the *Swedes*. To some complaints made to him on this head, he replied, that it would be madness to reward men who had so lately laid down their arms, before he had proofs of the sincerity of their professions.

*His diabolical project to extirpate the Swedish nobility.*

DURING the grand entertainments he gave for three days after his coronation, it was that he formed the diabolical resolution of extirpating, at one stroke, all the *Swedish* nobility, in revenge of the troubles they had excited, and to prevent the people from ever being able to revolt, by depriving them of proper persons to conduct their measures. Even his *Danish* confidants and minions were struck with horror at the proposal, from which they endeavoured to divert him, but to no purpose. To open this tragical scene, archbishop *Trolle*, at the king's desire, began lamenting the demolition of *Steca*, and the losses sustained by the see of *Upsal*, which amounted to near a million of money. To this he added a bitter accusation of the widow and the son-in-law of the late administrator, comprehending in this accusation about fifteen of the nobility of the same faction, all the senate, and the burghers of *Stockholm*, and concluding his crafty oration and double-laid accusation, with a pathetic request, that justice might be granted, and the criminals punished \*.

*The execution of the Swedish nobility and senators.*

*CHRISTINA* was immediately ordered to give an account of her husband's conduct, which she justified by producing the senate's order for the demolition of *Steca*, and the archbishop's degradation. Upon this, all who had signed the order were arrested, except the bishop of *Lincoping*, who, with a true ecclesiastical cunning, had the precaution to put under the impression of his seal, a protest that he was forced to enter into the measure. Several of her noblemen, who had no share in this transaction, were arrested under various pretences, and all together imprisoned in the citadel. Then a tribunal was erected to pass sentence, and the archbishop himself nearly fell into the snare he prepared for his fellow subjects, by omitting to condemn to immediate death the criminals; an omission that greatly incensed the king. In a word, to give an air of plausibility to this iniquitous trial, the prisoners were proceeded against

\* PUFFEND. p. 315. et seq.

as hereticks, condemned to death, and forbid confession, Gibbets were immediately erected for their execution, and above three-score senators and noblemen of the first rank in *Sweden* hanged up as felons and traitors, for having bravely defended their liberties, and opposed the election of a bloody tyrant (A). Before death, they could only call out to their countrymen to revenge their blood<sup>1</sup>; a request that would seem to have taken deep root in the heart of every *Swede*, who now equally opposed the cruelty and perfidy of the bloody-minded *Christian*, whose name will ever stain the annals of *Denmark*.

SOME *Swedish* writers affirm, that, not content with the barbarous revenge taken on the living, *Christian* ordered the dead body of the administrator to be dug up, and divesting himself of humanity, slew like a wild beast upon the corpse, which he tore and mangled with his teeth and nails. To complete the measure of his barbarity, he ordered the widow of the administrator to be brought before him, and asked her whether she chose to be burnt, dead, or buried alive. His savage intentions were, however, diverted by the strong interest made in behalf of that unfortunate lady, who was granted her life, on condition that she consented to spend the remainder of her days in close imprisonment; a miserable alternative, which the principle of self-preservation obliged her to embrace. The brutish monarch, in the next place, vented his rage upon the mother of *Christina*, a lady whose character was as amiable as her person was elegant. Her he threatened to tie up in a sack, and throw in the sea, and would certainly have executed his menaces, if to save her life she had not surrendered up all her estate and effects to the king. Even after this concession he shut her, with the widows of other lords, who had suffered in the late massacre, in close and perpetual imprisonment. It would be endless to enumerate all the cruelties committed by *Christian*; his treachery, avarice, and brutality, in some measure acknowledged by the *Danish* writers, and solemnly affirmed and minutely described by all *Swedish* historians. At length he departed for *Denmark*, marking his way with blood, and

A. D.  
1520.

The cruelty of the Danish monarch.

<sup>1</sup> LOCZEN. lib. v.

(A) A few particular circumstances of this horrid transaction, the reader will find in our history of *Denmark*. It shocks human nature to relate, much more to repeat such barbarities; and the benevolent reader, we are certain, will excuse our not expatiating on scenes that disgrace humanity.

drawing upon him the curses and imprecations of the whole nation. He was even a tyrant as he passed along the roads, ordering gibbets to be erected, and the peasants hanged for every trifling offence. At *Jeneköping*, he had two boys, the one seven, the other not exceeding nine years of age, whipped to death; an instance of a bloody disposition that can scarcely be paralleled<sup>k</sup>.

WE may remember that *Gustavus Erickson* was among the number of the hostages whom the king perfidiously carried off about two years before. Promises and threats were used to detach him from the administrator; but nothing was able to reconcile him to *Christian*. His obstinacy almost cost him his life; the king dreading his valour and constancy, gave secret orders that he should be strangled in prison; but the *Danish* officer, to whom the commission was delivered, detesting so perfidious an action, boldly remonstrated with the king about the consequences of it, and prevailed upon him to withdraw his purpose, and satisfy himself with closely confining the hostages in the castle of *Copenhagen*. Here some of them perished, in consequence of the rigorous treatment received; but the hardy constitution and resolute spirit of *Gustavus* withstood all the king's cruelty.

Account of  
Gustavus  
Erickson,  
and of the  
great re-  
volution he  
effected.

However, *Eric Banner*, a *Danish* nobleman, struck with compassion of his sufferings, requested the king that he would put *Gustavus* into his custody, to try whether he could not prevail upon him to embrace his majesty's party, and open his eyes to his own true interest. *Christian* consented, but on condition that he should conduct him to the fortress of *Calo* in *Futland*, of which he was governor, and pay six thousand crowns for his ransom, in case he should happen to make his escape. *Banner* generously embraced the condition, and carried with him his prisoner, striving by the utmost tenderness and care, to obliterate from his memory the hard usage he underwent at *Copenhagen*. The noble qualities of *Gustavus* gained so strongly upon *Banner*, and all his family, that he was not long at *Calo* before he had liberty to walk about and hunt for his diversion. New recreations and amusements were every day proposed, and all the country flocked round to entertain the stranger. But all their caresses were not able to make him forget that he was a prisoner; nor could any civilities he received compensate his chagrin, at being deprived of a share in the glory of the war. His earnest desire to be of service to the administrator, his passion to defend his country against the attacks of

<sup>k</sup> LOCZEN. lib. v. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 319.

*Christian,*

*Christian*; and his resentment at the perfidy of the *Danish* monarch, had prevented his relishing the sweets of the retirement, and the enjoyment of the most sublime friendship. Still, however, he bore with his confinement, and supported his situation, until the misfortunes in which he saw his country involved, the death of the administrator, the ruin of his party, the horrid massacre of the senate, and the tyranny of *Christian*, all convinced him that every expedient for the recovery of his liberty was to be tried; as that might be the means of rescuing his country from the very jaws of destruction. He could not hope to prevail on *Banner* to give up the interest of his king, whatever marks of friendship and distinguishing regard he had bestowed on him; but he flattered himself, that provided he could raise the sum at which *Christian* fixed his ransom, he might make his escape without injuring his generous protector, or violating the sacred rights of friendship, gratitude, and hospitality. In any event he judged, that obligations to the public, and duty to one's country, ought to supersede all the ties of private affection<sup>1</sup>.

WITH these sentiments, *Gustavus* one day mounted his horse, under pretence of hunting, as usual, in the forest. When he got at a proper distance, he changed his dress to the habit of a peasant, and quitting his horse, he travelled for two days on foot, through by-paths, and over mountains almost impassable, arriving on the third at *Flensburgh*. Here no one was admitted without a passport, and *Gustavus* dreaded presenting himself to the governor, or the officer upon guard, for fear of being discovered. Happily for him it chanced to be on that season of the year, when the merchants of *Lower Saxony* drove a considerable trade in cattle, which they purchase in *Jutland*. *Gustavus* hired himself to one of these merchants, and under favour of his disguise escaped out of the *Danish* territories, and arrived at *Lubeck*.

*BANNER* was no sooner acquainted with his escape, than he set out after him with the utmost diligence, found him at *Lubeck*, and reproached him with great warmth, as ungrateful and treacherous; but he was soon appeased by the arguments urged by *Gustavus*, and especially by the promise he made of indemnifying him in the loss of his ransom. Upon this *Banner* returned, giving out, that he could not find his prisoner. *Christian* was enraged at his escape, apprehending that he might traverse all his designs in *Sweden*,

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. Etiam VERROT. Revol. p. 185. tom. i.

and gave orders to *Otho*, his general, to make the strictest search, and leave no means untried to arrest him. *Gustavus*, nevertheless, persevered in his designs, without being affrighted at the danger that surrounded him. He applied to the regency for a ship to convey him to *Sweden*, where he hoped he should be able to form a party against the *Danes*. He likewise endeavoured to draw the regency of *Lubec* into his measures, representing to them the interest they had in opposing the aggrandizement of his *Danish* majesty, who, by the conquest of *Sweden*, was become master of all the commerce of the *Baltic*. He laid it down as an eternal maxim, that the union of the *Northern* crowns must be prejudicial to the trade of the *Hanse* towns, and particularly of that of *Lubec*. He reminded the regency of the constant enmity the *Danish* sovereigns had shewn to their republic; and on the contrary, of the inviolable regard expressed by the Kings of *Sweden*, towards the city of *Lubec*, which owed its liberty to the princes of this country; and in particular to King *Eric*, who in the year 1248 rescued it from the tyranny of *Waldemar* II. king of *Denmark*. In a word, he reasoned with so much zeal and ability, that *Nicholas Geminus*, first consul, was entirely gained; but the regency could never be prevailed on to declare for a party, without friends, arms, money, or credit. However, before his departure, the consul gave him assurances, that if he could raise a force sufficient to make head against the enemy in the field, he might depend on the services of the republic, and that the regency would immediately declare for him. *Gustavus* desired to be landed at *Stockholm*; but the captain of the ship either having secret orders to the contrary, or business elsewhere, steered a different course, and put him on shore near *Calmar*, a city hitherto garrisoned by the troops of *Christina*, widow of the regent. In truth, the governor held this place for his own purposes, and only waited to make the best terms he could with the *Danes*. When *Gustavus* arrived, he made himself known to him and the principal officers of the garrison, who were mostly *Germans*, and his fellow soldiers in the late administrator's army. He flattered himself that his birth, his merit, and connections, would immediately procure him the command. He told them, that, at the hazard of his life, he had thrown himself into their city, to have the glory of sharing with them the fatigues and hardships that might attend resisting the tyrant, and standing in defence of liberty, and all that is dear to brave men; but the mercenary band, seeing him without troops, without attendants, regarded him as a desperate person, devoted to destruction,

struction, refused to embrace his proposals, and even threatened to kill or betray him, if he did not instantly quit the city.

DISAPPOINTED in his expectations, *Gustavus* took himself away with great expedition; and his arrival being now publickly known, he was again forced to have recourse to his peasant's disguise, to conceal him from the *Danish* emissaries, dispersed over the country to search for him. In a waggon loaded with hay, he passed through every quarter of the *Danish* army, and at last repaired to an old family castle in *Sundermania*. From hence he wrote to his friends, notifying his return to *Sweden*, and beseeching them to assemble all their force, in order to force a passage through the enemy's army into *Stockholm*, at that time besieged; but they likewise refused to embark in so hazardous and desperate an attempt. They were no longer those bold intrepid *Swedes*, jealous of their liberty, and the sworn foes of tyranny and oppression. All plied under the yoke of power, and every one was assiduous to remove from himself every suspicion of dislike to the government, contenting themselves with personal security, and shewing the utmost indifference for the safety of the state.

PERCEIVING that mean selfishness had supplanted public spirit among his friends, *Gustavus* applied himself to the peasants. He hoped, that a race of men fierce and independent by nature, and who had nothing to fear from *Christian*, would embrace with ardour the opportunity of expelling the tyrant and rescuing their country. He traversed the villages in the night, harangued the principal persons, and at last exposed himself publickly at their feasts, but all to no purpose. Satiated with wars, in which most of them had lost fathers, sons, or relations, the peasants brutally answered, that they enjoyed salt and herrings under the government of the king of *Denmark*; and that any attempts to bring about a revolution, would be attended with certain ruin, without the prospect of bettering their condition; for peasants they were, and peasants they should remain whoever was king. At length, after several vain attempts to throw himself into *Stockholm*, after that city was surrendered to the king, after the horrid massacre of the senate, and after running a thousand dangers, and undergoing hardships and fatigues hardly to be supported by human nature, he formed the resolution of trying the courage and affection of the *Dalecarlians*. While he was in the deepest obscurity, and plunged in almost unfurmoutable adversity, he never relinquished his designs or abandoned hope. The news of the massacre had, how-



ever, very near sunk him in despondency, as thereby he lost all his friends, relations, and connections, and indeed almost every prospect of safety to himself or his country. It was this that inspired the thought of going to *Dalecarlia*, where he might live with more security in the high mountains and thick woods of that country, if he failed in the attempt of exciting the inhabitants to revolt.

ATTENDED by a peasant, to whom he was known, he travelled in disguise through *Sundermannia*, *Nericia*, and *Westermannia*, and arrived, after a laborious and painful journey, attended with continual dread and apprehension of being discovered, safe in the mountains of *Dalecarlia*. Scarce had he finished his journey, when he found himself deserted by his companion and guide, who carried off with him all the money he provided for his subsistence. Thus forlorn, destitute, half-starved, he entered among the miners, and wrought, like a slave, under ground, without relinquishing his hopes of one day ascending the throne of *Sweden*. His whole prospect for the present was, to live concealed and gain a maintenance, until fortune should effect something in his favour: nor was it long before this happened. A woman in the mines perceived, under the habit of a peasant, that the collar of his shirt was embroidered. This circumstance excited curiosity; and the graces of his person and conversation, which had something in them to attract the notice of the meanest of the vulgar, afforded room for suspicion, that he was some person of quality in disguise, forced by the tyranny of the government to seek shelter in these remote parts. The story came to the ears of a neighbouring gentleman, who immediately went to the mines, to offer his protection to the unfortunate stranger; but how astonished was he on recognising the features of *Gustavus*, whose acquaintance he had been at the university of *Upsal*! Touched with compassion at the deplorable situation of so distinguished a nobleman, he could scarce refrain from tears, but however had presence of mind enough not to reveal the discovery. At night he sent to *Gustavus*, made him an offer of his house, and gave him the strongest assurances of his friendship and protection. He told him, he would meet with better accommodations, and as much security as in the mines; and that, should he chance to be discovered, he would, with all his friends and vassals, take arms in his defence.

*GUSTAVUS* embraced with joy the obliging offers of the hospitable *Dalecarlian*, and passed several days with his friend, as if he had no other intention than to avoid the pursuit

purſuit of his enemies ; but he applied himſelf all the while in learning the ſtrength of the province, and enquiring into the ſentiments of the inhabitants, with reſpect to the new government. It was with the utmoſt ſatisfaction he heard from his generous hoſt, that the *Dalecarlians* bore with impatience the *Daniſh* yoke ; that they murmured loudly at certain impoſitions eſtabliſhed by *Chriſtian* ; trivial indeed in themſelves, and inconfiderable, but irkſome and intolerable becauſe they were new ; that they abhorred the cruelty, and deteſted the inhumanity of the king of *Denmark* ; and that he doubted not but the ſlighteſt treſpaſs on their liberties would excite a revolt in the province. The *Dalecarlian* then boated of the ſtrength of the province, with all that partiality and ſelf-ſatisfaction generally ſhewn in enumerating the excellencies of one's own country. He told *Guſtavus*, that the province could raiſe above twenty thouſand men ; that every man was a ſoldier, and bred from his infancy to arms, and that with this force, and the natural ſituation of their country, they might bid defiance to all the power of *Denmark*.

THE frequent repetition of this converſation encouraged *Guſtavus* to diſcloſe his deſigns to his landlord, to whom he repreſented the unhappy condition of the nation, plunged in the deepeſt adverſity, from which neither the faith due to treaties, nor the ſubmiſſion and implicit obedience of the people, could reſcue it, while the bloody and perfidious *Chriſtian* remained in poſſeſſion of the throne. He told him, that the infernal maſſacre in *Stockholm* was but a prelude to other more enormous cruelties, which his troops daily committed in the provinces ; and that it was more glorious and ſecure to oppoſe and meet danger, than to wait tamely to be butchered in their houſes. All his rhetoric, however, produced no other effect, than to diſplay, in ſtronger colours, to the *Dalecarlian*, the danger that attended the vaſt projects of *Guſtavus*. “ Where, ſays he, are your troops to ſupport your deſigns ? What army have you to oppoſe to your formidable and numerous enemies, who ſeem hitherto to reſpect our privileges, but will, like a torrent, over-run the province, on the firſt appearance of an inſurrection ?” It would ſeem that fear had made him forget, that he was juſt before boating of the ſtrength of the province. He now found new arguments to deſtroy all his former reaſoning, and to perſuade *Guſtavus* to alter his reſolutions. He expatiated with vehemence on his political ſchemes, leſs out of attachment to his perſon, than to teſtify and demonſtrate, that it was neither the want of courage nor zeal that

prevented his embracing his party. Seeing, however, that *Gustavus* still persisted in his first design, of declaring openly against the *Danes*, he only advised him to defer the measure to a more seasonable occasion, when possibly the whole province might express an inclination to revolt. He said, the peasants paid but little regard to the interest of the gentry, upon whom they always looked as severe and rigid masters; that hitherto they had only shewn some tokens of useless compassion at the massacre of *Stockholm*, which it required some personal injuries to excite to resentment; this it was probable would soon happen, as the *Danish* troops would, in all likelihood, extend their ravages to *Dalecarlia*, after they had ruined and exhausted all the other provinces; in which case he might depend on an universal revolt. He beseeched *Gustavus* therefore to remain quietly in his house, until matters were more ripe for execution, and not destroy, by his rashness, the glory of being the avenger and deliverer of his country; as his birth and merit would certainly procure him the command, whenever such an event should happen.

*GUSTAVUS* plainly saw that in this advice there was more fear than real prudence; but the weakness of his host rather excited his compassion than his indignation. He neither believed him a friend to the *Danes*, nor capable of betraying him; yet he thought remaining longer at his house would turn out to no real advantage, and only serve to disturb the life of a quiet, pacific man. After enjoining him to the most profound secrecy, and returning thanks for the friendship and hospitality he had shewn, *Gustavus* took his leave in the night, the better to conceal his rout, and after travelling several days on foot, across mountains and woods, without so much as a guide, he at length arrived happily at the house of a gentleman named *Peterfon*, whom he had formerly known in the service. *Peterfon* received him with marks of perfect respect and esteem, always so grateful to the unfortunate. He even seemed more affected than *Gustavus* himself with his misfortunes: he exclaimed against the tyranny of the *Danes*, and at the very first overture made by *Gustavus*, of taking up arms, and raising his vassals, he embraced the design with all the appearance of ardour. Our hero was overjoyed at meeting with a *Swede* generous and bold enough to attach himself to his fortune. He omitted no caresses, promises, or views of interest, to confirm *Peterfon* in his resolution; and he received in return the most solemn assurances of inviolable fidelity. This perfidious wretch named the lords and peasants whom he pretended to have engaged in his party, and a few days after went secretly

cretely to a *Danish* officer, to whom he communicated the retreat and designs of *Gustavus*, with a view of recommending himself to *Christian*, and in expectation of being rewarded in a manner proportioned to the importance of his service. The *Danish* officer flew with all possible expedition to *Peterfen's* house, which he surrounded with soldiers, flattering himself it would be impossible for *Gustavus* to escape; but all his precautions were useless. That nobleman was happily saved the night before, and owed his preservation to *Peterfen's* wife, who, touched with compassion, and perhaps still more tender sentiments, discovered to him her husband's perfidy, put him under the care of a faithful domestic, and had him conducted to the house of a clergyman, her friend. He was received by the clergyman with all the respect due to his own birth and merit, and the recommendations of the lady who had sent him. This gentleman was filled with zeal for his country and the church. His piety was sincere and unaffected; he aspired not at preferment, and attached himself to no party; but he assured *Gustavus* of his honour and secrecy. Lest the domestic, who had conducted him to his house, might copy after the treachery of his master, he removed *Gustavus* to the church, and concealed him in a small closet, of which he kept the key. Thither he went every day to visit him, and in their conversations took such a liking to *Gustavus*, that he entered warmly into his designs, and promised that nothing in his power should be wanting to gain a party in his village, and wherever else his influence extended. But he dissuaded him from imparting his projects, or putting confidence in the nobility of the province. He represented to him, that the gentry of *Dalecarlia*, satisfied with the security and independence they enjoyed in their mountains, gave themselves but little concern about changes at court, and the general good of the nation; that it was with difficulty they were ever prevailed on to arm their vassals, as in the number and industry of these their wealth consisted; that the sure method was, to apply directly to the peasants, by whom he would be more powerfully assisted if they took arms voluntarily, than if they were compelled by their masters. The sensible priest added, that, to succeed in his scheme, it was necessary artfully to propagate a report, that the *Danes* were about to enter the province, in order to establish new taxes by force of arms; a consideration that would operate more strongly upon the minds of the multitude than any other. With this business he charged himself, promising to *Gustavus*, that the report would in a few days be general; by means of his relations and acquaintance, in the

the district. Lastly, he advised *Gustavus* to repair to *Mora*, where the annual feast of all the neighbouring villages was in a few days to be held. This, he said, was a conjuncture extremely favourable to his designs, as the peasants were never more bold, nor easily stirred up to revolt, than at these assemblies, where they judged of their own strength by the numbers present. He assured him at the same time, that he would engage the principal persons of the diocese in his interest, and told him, he might deem himself secure when once the peasants at the feast took arms.

AGREEABLE to the advice of this honest and sage counsellor, *Gustavus* set out for *Mora*, and on his arrival found the peasants informed of his designs, and impatient to see a nobleman, illustrious by his birth, his valour, and his sufferings. Before he shewed himself in public, he assumed a dress becoming his rank, the better to engage the attention of the people, always regardful of these exterior marks of grandeur. At last he appeared in the assembly, with an air of intrepidity and resolution, tempered with that melancholy becoming his situation, after the death of his father and of so many senators. All were touched with compassion before he uttered a syllable; but when he came to expatiate on the tyranny of *Christian*, the horrid massacre at *Stockholm*, the persecutions in the provinces, the miseries of the kingdom in general, in terms the most lively and pathetic, he so enflamed the assembly, that they broke out into exclamations bordering upon fury, menaces against *Christian* and the *Danes*, and vows that they would revenge the death of their countrymen with the last drop of their blood. Immediately they resolved to throw off the allegiance they had promised to *Christian*, and to sacrifice, without distinction, all the *Danes* in the province, as an atonement for the death of so many *Swedes*.

THERE were, however, certain persons who opposed this revolt, under pretence of consulting the other villages, before they took any final resolution. Whether these were actuated by prudential motives, whether they dreaded the power of *Christian*, or were in fact in his interest, is not material; their proposal was rejected with indignation by the whole assembly. The most forward in the revolt became the greatest favourites, and all flew immediately to arms, requesting *Gustavus*, with whose address, stature, and strength, they were charmed, to take upon him the command.

BUT nothing contributed so much to inspire their confidence in this young nobleman, as the observation of certain old men, that the wind had constantly blown from the north while

while *Gustavus* was haranguing the assembly<sup>b</sup>; which, among the *Dalecarlians*, is deemed an infallible omen. Thus, without further deliberation, and fully persuaded that any delay would be only opposing the will of heaven, so visibly declared in favour of *Gustavus*, they instantly formed a body of 400 men, out of which number they chose the handiomeſt and beſt-born, as a body-guard to their general.

*GUSTAVUS*, deſirous of profiting by their ardor, led them directly againſt the governor of the province. It was his intereſt to anticipate his meaſures, and put it out of his power to oppoſe the inſurrection of the villages. With this view he divided his troops into a number of ſmall corps, the better to conceal his march and intentions; and, under favour of the night and woods, arrived with his *Dalecarlians*, by different routs, at the foot of the governor's caſtle. The darkneſs, and ſurpriſe of ſo unexpected an attack, favoured his enterpriſe. The caſtle was taken by aſſault, and the gariſon ſacrificed to the juſt fury of the *Dalecarlians*.

HOWEVER inconsiderable this enterpriſe might appear, it ſerved to animate the peaſants, and exalt their high opinion of their commander. In a few days, almoſt the whole province declared for *Gustavus*. The peaſants in crowds flocke to his ſtandard, ſome out of reſentment to the *Danes*, ſome in expectation of plunder; others from the love of novelty, and many from that natural inconfſtancy in the diſpoſition of the *Dalecarlians*, which excites them to revolts and daring attempts. Several of the gentry now appeared in his camp, and he was ſupplied with money by others, who were ſtill afraid of eſpouſing him publickly.

*CHRISTIAN* was ſoon acquainted with the deſigns of *Gustavus*, but he was not alarmed. He ſaw himſelf ſovereign of three powerful kingdoms, and hedged round by multitudes of kiſmen, dependants, and allies; but he particularly relied on the ſecurity conſequent on his having poſſeſſion of all the fortiſſes in *Sweden*. In this confidence, he ſent but a ſlender detachment, under the command of *Soren Norby*, to aſſiſt his adherents in *Dalecarlia*. *Gustavus* took advantage of his ſecurity. He advanced, with 5000 men, to *Weſteraas*, and defeated *Melen*, who commanded a body of *Danes*. Afterwards he ſent perſons, on whoſe ability and integrity he could depend, to the provinces of *Nericia*, *Sundermannia*, *Uplandia*, and *Weſt Gothland*, in each of which he gained a great number of friends. The arch-biſhop of *Upſal*, however, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his deſigns;

<sup>b</sup> Loccen. lib. vi. p. 202.

and raised numerous forces for king *Christian*, notwithstanding the advantageous proposals made to him by *Gustavus*. He was even very near surprising the *Swede* before *Upsal*; and was, in his turn, surprised, attacked, and defeated, with great loss, by that hero; after which *Gustavus* marched, with his *Dalecarlians*, to lay siege to *Stockholm*. His army, however, was too weak for so great an attempt, and he was forced to relinquish it with loss.

EVERY day increased the number of our hero's forces; a reinforcement joined him from *Lubeck*, and the peasants flocked to him from every quarter of the kingdom. *Christian* now began seriously to reflect on the consequences of this revolt; and he was so incensed with the progress made by *Gustavus*, that he removed from *Stockholm* the mother and sisters of that nobleman, enclosing them in a dismal prison at *Copenhagen*, and putting them to death by the most cruel tortures, without regard to the prayers and entreaties of his queen, who interceded for them. Soon after he imprisoned at *Lieuward* several other *Swedish* ladies, imposing upon them the horrid task of making sacks, in which they were to be thrown over a precipice into the sea: so mean and savage was the resentment of this bloody tyrant, which he vented on the helpless and innocent.

*GUSTAVUS* was moved by these instances of barbarity, but it was with indignation. Without desisting from his schemes, in order to appease the tyrant, he pursued them with redoubled vigour, the sooner to revenge the wrongs done to his country. He assembled the states of *Sweden* at *Wadstena*, and was unanimously chosen administrator, in which quality the diet took an oath of fidelity to him; giving him besides all possible assurances, that with their lives and fortunes they would assist his generous intentions to deliver his country from the bloody usurpation of *Christian*. In the mean time, the *Danish* governor of *Stockholm* endeavoured to throw in a convoy of supplies into the citadel of *Wadstena*, at that time besieged by *Gustavus*; but it was intercepted, and the *Danish* troops cut in pieces. To pursue the advantage, *Gustavus* detached certain regiments to *Finland*, with instructions to extirpate the *Danes* in that province, marching himself, at the head of his army, to lay siege to *Stockholm*. His approach struck such terror in the archbishop of *Upsal*, *Slabog* and *Beldenacker*, the *Danish* governors, that they immediately fled to *Denmark*, where they were coldly received; *Christian* imagining that their flight must be highly prejudicial to his affairs in *Sweden*. At the same time a commissioner from the pope arrived in *Denmark*,

to examine into the death of the bishops massacred at *Stockholm*; and *Christian* throwing the whole blame on the two bishops, *Slabog* and *Beldenacker*, they were both put to death, in the king's justification<sup>1</sup>.

NOR satiated with the blood he had spilt, *Christian* sent express orders to all his governors and officers in *Sweden* and *Finland*, to lay violent hands on all the *Swedish* gentry, whether friends or enemies; an order that cost many brave subjects their lives. The *Swedes* made reprisals, and massacred the *Danes* wherever they found them. Forts and castles were taken, the garrisons put to the sword, and the walls razed to the ground, to cut off every retreat from those ministers of the king's oppression and tyranny.

A. D.  
1522.

WHILE these matters were transacting, *Norby* raised the sieges of *Calmar*, *Abo*, and *Stockholm*, with great loss on the side of the besiegers. To revenge himself, and animate the troops, *Gustavus* laid fresh siege to the latter city; and the better to succeed in his designs, he petitioned the regency of *Lubeck* for succours, and a squadron of ships to block up the harbour. His request was granted; but on such conditions as were thought extremely unreasonable by *Gustavus*, tho' the urgency of his affairs obliged him to close with them. The regency demanded, that the administrator should oblige himself, in the name of the states, to pay 60,000 marks of silver to indemnify the expence of the armament; that until the kingdom should be in a condition to pay that sum, the *Lubeck* merchants, trading to *Sweden*, should be exempted from all duties on imports or exports; that all other nations should be prohibited from trading with *Sweden*, and all such traffic be deemed illicit; that *Gustavus* should neither conclude a peace, or even agree to a truce with *Denmark*, without the concurrence of the regency; and that, should the republic be attacked by *Christian*, he should oblige himself to enter *Denmark* at the head of 20,000 men. However pernicious to *Sweden*, and unjust, these terms might appear, necessity forced *Gustavus* to compliance. The treaty was concluded, and the *Lubeck* fleet set sail, in consequence, for *Sundercoping*, and debarked the land-forces. *Gustavus* immediately sent *Bernard Milan*, their own countryman, to take upon him the command; but the auxiliaries positively refused to obey him, and pressingy demanded to see *Gustavus*, whose fame had drawn them thither, to fight under his banners. It was necessary to satisfy them, by granting their request. Ac-

<sup>1</sup> VARTOT Revol. de Suede, tom. i. p. 2. LOCCEM. lib. vi. PUFFEND. 10m. i. p. 326, et seq.



cordingly the administrator set out for *Sundercoping*, and was received with loud acclamations by the strangers, who were charmed with his figure, his address, affability, and eloquence. Without reluctance they took the oath required, and attached themselves with as much ardor to his fortune, as if they had been his subjects.

*FLEMING*, who commanded a squadron of light frigates equipped by *Gustavus*, performed a very signal service on his first arrival before *Stockholm*, in destroying and taking a strong convoy, which the *Danish* admiral endeavoured to throw into the city. *Norby* was chagrined at the loss, and laboured to repair it. He prepared another strong convoy of ammunition and provision, which he determined to throw into the town in spite of all obstruction. The mouth of the harbour was blocked up by *Fleming* and the *Lubeck* squadron. On the approach of the *Danish* fleet, a furious cannonading began, which continued until the fleets were separated by the night. *Norby*, upon this, retired to a little island on the coast, hoping to renew the engagement next day; but he was blocked up by a hard frost that prevented his moving. *Gustavus*, upon this, formed the bold resolution of burning his fleet. With this view, he marched over the ice at the head of the *Lubeckers*, preferring them in an attack of so extraordinary a nature to the raw, undisciplined peasants that composed his own army, and advanced, under cover of the night, within a short distance of the enemy, before he was observed. *Norby* no sooner perceived him, than he began a terrible discharge from his cannon and musquetry; notwithstanding which the *Lubeckers* boldly continued their march, with lighted torches in their hands. Some of the more intrepid endeavoured to climb up the sides of the vessels, but they were hurled down upon the ice by the *Danish* soldiers, who fought to great advantage from their ships. In this manner they struggled on both sides, the one for victory, and the other for life. Night wrapped them in profound darkness, except the terrible light that flashed from the incessant fire of the musketry, and the burning torches held by the *Lubeckers*. In spite of the brave resistance made by the *Danes*, several of their ships were set on fire, and abandoned with equal precipitation by the conquered and conquerors. The horrors of darkness, the cries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the fire, the fall of masts, and wreck of ships, all inspired the most daring with secret terror. The *Danes* found it as difficult to save themselves from their burning ships, as from their enemies. Many of their ships were already destroyed, and they

they would have found it impossible to have saved any, had the officers who commanded under *Gustavus* pursued their blow, and shewn an inclination wholly to destroy the vanquished. Such, at least, is the account of the *Swedish* writers; though the *Danes* affirm, that *Norby's* valour and perseverance alone saved the fleet. Whether it was, that the *Lubec* general was secretly gained over by the *Danish* admiral, or that he had instructions so to ballance matters between both parties, as that neither should prevail, is not manifest; certain, however, it is, that, disregarding the prayers and entreaties of *Gustavus*, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, just at the time he had the enemy in his power. As the season was not far advanced, the heat of next day's sun dissolved the ice, prevented any farther attempts on the side of *Gustavus*, and permitted the *Danish* admiral to set sail.

*GUSTAVUS* was enraged at the perfidy of the *Lu-becker*, which snatched victory out of his hands, and prolonged the siege of *Stockholm*, on which depended the success of all his designs. He perceived that little confidence was to be placed in such allies: he penetrated their designs, but he dissembled, and suppressed his resentment, because he stood in need of the republic's fleet to block up *Stockholm* by sea. Instead of shewing any marks of dissatisfaction, he put the *Lubec* troops into good winter-quarters, and with the *Swedes*, accustomed to the severity of the climate, he kept the city closely blockaded.

IN the mean time, *Norby* was making preparations effectually to relieve *Stockholm*, now reduced to great extremity; when the news arrived, that all *Denmark* was in arms against *Christian*. That prince, always violent and despotic, trampled upon the laws, and disregarded the privileges of the people. He disposed of his subjects effects as his own; even their lives depended on his will. He put to death, without form of trial, several lords of the first rank, whose affection he suspected; but all this was trifling, to certain indignities imprudently put on the clergy, ever jealous and vindictive. His tyranny and oppression, the cruelty and inhumanity of his disposition, were pardonable; but offences against the church could not be overlooked. The people are ever influenced by their spiritual directors; the clergy poured out fulminations from the pulpit against *Christian*, which was a signal for the whole nation to take arms. First, the torch of civil discord was lighted in *Jutland*, and the flames soon spread over the rest of the kingdom. The revolt became general among all ranks and degrees of men, and

and nothing could appease them but deposing the tyrant. *Christian*, unable to stem the torrent; retired to *Germany*, flattering himself, that, through the influence of the emperor, his brother-in-law, the whole empire would take arms to restore him. *Norby*, apprised of his abdication; relinquished the design of relieving *Stockholm*. He retired with his whole fleet to the island of *Gotland*, and left but a slender garrison in *Calmar* <sup>k</sup>.

*GUSTAVUS*, like a true politician, turned the confusion in *Denmark* to his own advantage. He pushed the siege of *Stockholm*, made himself master of *Calmar*, putting the garrison to the sword, reduced the island of *Oeland* and province of *Bleking*, conquered great part of *Norway*, and in a word, subdued all *Sweden*, except the capital, which still refused to submit, and obstinately defied famine, disease, and all the fatigues and hardships of a long and vigorous siege. At length, pressed on every side by the army and fleet of *Gustavus*, enfeebled by the length of the siege, and apprehensive of the murmurs of the burghers, who began to express some inclination to the government of the administrator, they yielded to a capitulation, after acquiring immortal honour by their glorious defence. The garrison demanded no other terms than the payment of the arrears due to them from *Christian*; and *Gustavus*, to whom the surrender of the city was so important, refused, contrary to his ordinary maxim, a proposition so advantageous. He knew that the garrison was reduced to a very small number, destitute of every necessary, enfeebled with hunger, sickness, and fatigue. Under the appearance of severity, he acted the true politician, by prolonging the siege. He feared, that when *Stockholm* was surrendered, and profound peace established throughout the kingdom, the people might forget to whom they owed these blessings, and, instead of expressing their gratitude, fall into parties and civil divisions about the election of a sovereign. While the capital stood out, there might remain some degree of uncertainty and uneasiness, which would render him necessary. These were the motives of this shrewd prince for refusing terms to a brave garrison, which his own heart dictated; and for assembling a general diet at *Stregnez*, whither the nobility and people flocked on all hands, to see *Gustavus*, regarded by all *Sweden* as a hero and their tutelary angel. The first proceeding of the diet was, to fill up the vacancy in the senate, by new creations, in the room of the unhappy *Christian*.

<sup>k</sup> *Loechn*, lib. vi. *Hist. de Dan.* tom. iv.

tors massacred at *Stockholm*. *Gustavus* had the address to have only such persons elected, as were perfectly agreeable to him, and devoted to his interest. Next, the speaker of the assembly represented to the states the necessity of speedily electing a sovereign. He drew the portrait of *Gustavus* in characterising a true and patriot king, whose vigilance, valour, activity, and prudence, should be able to withstand all the attempts of *Denmark* again to subjugate and enslave the nation, under pretence of renewing the union of *Calmar*. He concluded with observing, that the states would shew themselves equally ungrateful and blind to their interest, if, after the astonishing proofs of heroism exhibited by the administrator, and the obligations conferred on his country, they hesitated about electing him sovereign of that people whom he had rescued from servitude. The speaker's harangue was received with universal applause, and the people, urged on by their zeal, anticipated the votes of the senators and deputies of the provinces, by loudly proclaiming *Gustavus* king of *Sweden*. It was impossible to collect the votes, and pass through the usual forms; the diet was tumultuous in their acclamations; a sort of enthusiasm actuated every breast; peasants and burghers mingled promiscuously with the states, pushed in to behold their prince, filled the air with their praises, and the words *Saviour* and *Deliverer* echoed from every quarter.

*Gustavus  
elected  
king of  
Sweden*

## S E C T. V.

*Containing the reign of Gustavus Ericson, to his death  
in 1560.*

**G**USTAVUS was charmed with the zeal of the *Swedes*; he acknowledged, that their affection exceeded his merit, and was more agreeable to him than the effects of their gratitude. He made some feint attempts, out of modesty, to refuse the crown; but he was over-ruled by the prayers and entreaties of the whole assembly. In a word, he ascended the throne, to which he paved the way by his valour and perseverance; he was solemnly acknowledged king of all *Sweden* and the *Two Gothlands*, by the united voices of the senate, deputies, and people, who immediately took an oath of fidelity. The diet were pressing for his coronation at the same time; but this he wisely declined, under pretence of the necessity of immediately returning to the siege of *Stockholm*; but

Stock-  
holm  
surrenders  
to Gusta-  
vus.

in reality because he did not think himself sufficiently secure upon the throne, to omit those oaths usually exacted by the clergy, in confirmation of their rights and privileges.

THE return of *Gustavus* to the camp was no sooner known in *Stockholm*, than the governor sent deputies to him, offering to submit at discretion, and leaving his majesty absolute master of the terms of surrender. *Gustavus* received them graciously, and demanded, that all the money, papers, and moveables, belonging to *Christian*, to his viceroy, archbishop *Trolle*, and admiral *Norby*, should be delivered to him. He permitted the garrison, in consideration of their brave defence, to march out with their arms, baggage, and the honours of war, but on condition that they did not carry arms against *Sweden* for the space of six months. He engaged to transport them to *Lubec*, and promised the burghers that he would, with pleasure, inviolably preserve the privileges of the city. The terms were accepted, the garrison marched out, and *Gustavus*, accompanied by the senators, nobility, gentry, and officers, magnificently dressed, made his public entry. The consuls and magistrates met him at the gate, and on their knees presented the keys of the city to his majesty. The people crowded among the soldiers to behold their prince; the sky was rent with their acclamations; all were charmed with the sweetness and majesty of his air; and nothing could be heard but their shouts and cries. *Gustavus* next went to the great church, to return thanks to God for his signal mercies in blessing his arms with such extraordinary success; after which he gave a grand entertainment to the senate, nobility, and general officers.

*GUSTAVUS* had no sooner gained possession of his capital, than he began to exert the functions of a king. Orders were issued to all the provinces to acknowledge his authority; governors were appointed, and garrisons draughted for the fortresses, with strict injunctions to all officers, civil and military, immediately to proceed to their several departments. Every hour in the day was employed in the business of the nation. He received persons of quality with respect, and men of merit with that peculiar graciousness, that distinguished the patron and the friend. The people, oppressed with the severity of the last reign, began now to breathe; commerce revived, and *Sweden*, delivered from the cruel tyranny of her ancient enemies, enjoyed all the sweets of peace and liberty, under a generous, brave, and patriot monarch. Even the court was new-modelled; more taste and refinement, the consequence of felicity and wealth,

wealth, were introduced, either with intention to soften the barbarous manners of the people, or to draw the nobility from their forts and castles in the country, where they reigned independent, and attach them to the court by pleasures and preferments.

THIS harmony and unanimity was not of short duration. *Gustavus* To clear off the large arrears due to the army, and several years the other incumbrances extremely burthensome to the people, *Gustavus* found it necessary to raise contributions on the clergy, and bring to the mint quantities of new plate, serving no other purposes than those of luxury and ostentation. Here was wealth inestimable quite lost to the public, and which might faithfully be called the treasures of iniquity; as, instead of maintaining the poor, and promoting piety and religion, it was used to gratify ambition, pride, and avarice. *Gustavus* justly imagined, that piety, charity, and learning, constituted the true wealth of the teachers of christianity, and the preachers of that doctrine which, above all others, recommended these virtues, and the laying up of treasures in heaven. But true policy perhaps dictated different sentiments in the beginning of his reign, and the unsettled state of government. His conduct alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics; and *Bruse*, bishop of *Lincoping*, in particular, broke out into open rebellion, instigated his brethren to follow his example, and accused the king of avarice and heresy, before the pope's nuncio. *Gustavus* was too wise to despise the clamours of the church. He fortified himself against the effects, and at the same time firmly pursued his designs. An army was sent to *Bleking*, and that province reduced; while his fleet assisted the new king of *Denmark* in reducing the isle of *Bornholm*.

ABOUT this time it was that the reformed doctrine was first introduced into *Sweden*, by certain *German* merchants, who imported *Luther's* writings; by the *German* soldiers in the king's pay; and by some young gentlemen educated at *Luther's* *Wittenburgh*. The most celebrated disciple of *Luther* from the North, was *Olaus Petri*, born in the province of *Nericia*. This gentleman, after studying several years under the celebrated reformer, returned to *Sweden*, where he first privately made several profelytes, and afterwards preached his doctrine publicly, and disputed in the schools. The clergy, perceiving it struck at their temporal power, violently opposed it; and *Gustavus* expressed an inclination to be instructed in the subject of their controversy. The independency and freedom of this hero's sentiments formed not the least shining part of his character. His mind was too ele-

vated to bear the shackles of superstition, or to regard as dangerous innovations whatever appeared consonant to reason. He easily penetrated into the views of the clergy, and perceived that their zeal for religion was inspired by their regard to their temporal interests. The situation in which he stood with the emperor, who was secretly intriguing to reinstate the late king in the throne, and with the pope, who had taken part with the bishop of *Lincoping*, more readily inclined him to give ear to the scholars and preachers of the reformed religion. The ceremony of his coronation, so essential to an elective monarchy, was not yet performed. This could only be done by the clergy, and it was highly probable they would strenuously oppose it: but the reformed doctrine suggested a method for securing his government, and placing him above the reach of the church, or rather of reducing it within his power. He declined, however, divulging his sentiments, until the pope's nuncio, by express orders from the apostolic see, began persecuting the reformists, and in particular *Olaus Petri*, who boldly defended his opinions, and appealed to the king. His partiality to this person, detested by the clergy, involved him more than ever with the church; and matters at length came to such extremities, that either *Gustavus* must resign his crown, or the clergy some part of their power, and particularly that usurped right of persecuting whoever differed in sentiment from them. It must be acknowledged, that the nuncio, whether secretly gained over by *Gustavus*, or from his own natural good sense, behaved with a moderation rarely found in those representatives of Christ's vicar. The bishop of *Lincoping* urged him to carry matters to extremities, to condemn *Olaus* and his adherents as hereticks, and even to thunder out anathemas against the sovereign: but this he declined, to the great disappointment of that violent and haughty prelate<sup>1</sup>.

A. D.  
1523.  
*Disputes  
with Den-  
mark a-  
bout the  
island of  
Goth-  
land, and  
other ter-  
ritories.*

WHILE the kingdom was thus divided with religious disputes, *Gustavus* neglected nothing that could contribute to the temporal felicity and security of his subjects. Admiral *Norby* held the island of *Gothland* in *Christian's* name, but it was reality for his own benefit. It had long been the subject of animosity between the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and *Gustavus* believed this a seasonable opportunity for annexing it to the crown. He was likewise strongly solicited by the regency of *Lubeck* to engage in this enterprise; and the more to encourage him, the republic agreed to defer the

<sup>1</sup> VERTOT, tom. ii. p. 35, et seq. LOCCEA, lib. vi.

payment of the subsidy due to them for some years longer. Accordingly *Bernad Melleen* was sent with a fleet and body of forces to attempt the reduction of the island. In a short time he rendered himself master of the whole country, and then laid close siege to the city and citadel of *Wibby*, which *Nirby* defended with great valour. In the end, perceiving that he could not withstand the power of *Sweden*, he surrendered his charge to *Frederic* king of *Denmark*, on condition that his majesty would permit him to hold the island as a fief of the crown of *Denmark*, and assist him against the *Swedes*.

*FREDERIC* had for some time cultivated the friendship of *Gustavus*. In appearance he was united to him in the strictest bonds of alliance, with a view of obtaining his assistance to subdue the adherents of the late king *Christian*: yet could he not resist the temptation of annexing the island of *Gothland* to the crown of *Denmark*. However, as he was unwilling to break with *Gustavus*, he disposed matters in such a manner, that it was agreed, through the mediation of the city of *Lubeck*, to hold a congress at *Malmoe*, for the final decision of all disputes between the crowns. But nothing more was determined at this congress, than that matters should rest in their present situation; namely, the *Swedes* in possession of the open country and city of *Wibby*, and the *Dans* of the citadel.

*FREDERIC* was besides using every expedient to gain the affections of the *Swedes*, in hopes of one day obtaining the crown; for he was crowned, by archbishop *Trolle*, king of the three northern kingdoms. *Gustavus* penetrated his designs, and closely watched his motions. At the preceding congress, he procured an act, signed by the *Danish* commissioners, relinquishing any right of dominion *Denmark* might claim over *Sweden*; a concession highly displeasing to *Frederic*, though he concealed his resentment. At the same time he proved, that the isle of *Gothland* had always been annexed to the crown of *Sweden*, before king *Waldemar* took it by surprise; that the kings of *Denmark* have ever since violently kept possession, notwithstanding the solemn promise made at their coronation, that they would restore it. *Gustavus* also affirmed, that not only *Gothland*, but *Bleking*, *Schonen*, *Lyster*, *Huen*, and the province of *Halund*, belonged to *Sweden*; and that the *Norwegians* had mortgaged the province of *Wyck* to the *Swedes*, for the sum of ten thousand ducats. After all, the whole determined at

<sup>m</sup> Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 150.



*Malmö*, was to leave the dispute about the province to the decision of the *Hanse* towns <sup>a</sup>.

DURING the king's absence, a great number of *German* anabaptists arrived in *Stockholm*, whose fanaticism carried them to extremities, and occasioned loud murmurs against the government. They not only preached publicly a strange wild kind of doctrine, but pulled down the images, pictures, and other ornaments in the churches, and destroying them with such fury, as terrified the papists from opposing them, and obliged the *Lutherans* to dissemble their sentiments, in expectation that this storm would terminate to their advantage. The populace, most of whom were rigid papists, and superstitious in proportion to their ignorance, attributed those troubles to the protestants, without distinguishing betwixt the mad enthusiasm of fanatics, and the reasonable alterations proposed by the followers of *Luther*. The seeds of disaffection began to spring up in the capital; and emissaries were sent to *Dalecarlia*, to light up the torch of discord, by the catholics, who attributed all to the king. *Gustavus* no sooner returned, than he ordered the leaders of the fanatics to be seized; and he reproached the *Lutherans* bitterly, for not opposing, in time, those visionaries. He took effectual measures for settling matters in *Dalecarlia*; permitted *Olaus Petri* to preach in the cathedral church against the doctrine of indulgences, and the pernicious consequences, both to religion and the state, of the celibacy of the clergy. He strongly insisted upon levying the proposed contributions on the clergy; urging, that as the church owed all its wealth to the crown, it appeared reasonable, that part of it should be returned on pressing occasions. He permitted *Olaus Petri* to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, giving orders to the archbishop of *Upsal* to prepare another version suited to the catholic opinion; which, he said, was the more necessary, as a variety of different sentiments were asserted concerning the very same texts; the truth of which could only be known, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original. He likewise said, that as many of the clergy were ignorant of the *Latin* tongue, it was probable they might often misconstrue very important texts, which might open a field for new disputes. In a word, he said, if they would conduct their flocks into good pasture, they must lead them with their eyes open, and not blindfold them, so that pits and precipices could not be avoided. At first the bishops violently opposed this order,

*The king orders the scriptures to be translated into the Swedish language.*

<sup>a</sup> Anot, *supra* citat,

but were in the end forced to submit. The books of the *New Testament* were divided among the bishops, each of whom was to translate a certain portion assigned him. *Brusk*, bishop of *Lincoping*, alone, of all the clergy, stood out with firmness. He published letters, exhorting the people to continue fixed in the religion of their ancestors; and complained loudly of the archbishop's permitting the sacred writings to be translated, saying, that our Lord Jesus Christ had left his doctrine to be interpreted only by his servants and ministers, in order to prevent disputes among the ignorant. He also exhorted the people to celebrate the jubilee ordained by pope *Clement* the seventh. In a word, he blew the coal of contention with all his might, and laboured, with the utmost diligence, to kindle a civil war in the nation.

*GUSTAVUS*, however, went on with the pious work of the reformation. He drew the incendiary priests out of *Dalecarlia*, and laid down certain rules for some of the *Lutheran* preachers, who seemed to deviate from the doctrine of their master, in preaching up faith alone, without respect to good works. At the same time he protracted their declaiming so unnecessarily and violently against the pope and bishops. But to stop the mouths of the catholics, he appointed a disputation between the two most learned doctors of either religion; at which were present the king and the archbishop. *Olaus Petri* remained master of the field, because he would admit of no proofs but those deduced from the sacred writings, whereas *Peter Gallus* founded his arguments, on the decisions of councils, and the authority of the pope. *Olaus* justly affirmed, that it was absurd to urge proofs which he could not admit, when they had the sacred writings before them, on which both founded their doctrines, and each equally allowed to be the criterion and test of truth. Moreover, his version of the *New Testament* was received with applause, while that of his adversaries was rejected as false and spurious<sup>1</sup>.

WHAT chiefly assisted the rapid progress of the protestant religion in *Sweden*, was the conversion of the archbishop, who, in visiting the several dioceses, laboured to establish the doctrines of *Luther* among the people. It is true, that his promotion was subsequent to his conversion; yet the dignity of his high station added very considerable weight to his arguments; and what would probably have been disregarded when delivered by a private clergyman, was revered and

<sup>1</sup> LOCEN. lib. vi.

applauded from the mouth of the archbishop. Some writers, however, alledge, and among them the judicious *Puffendorf*, that the archbishop still continued a zealot in the *Roman* catholic faith, and used every probable means to destroy the reformed religion, and persecute its preachers. He goes so far as to affirm, that the prelate endeavoured to prevail on his majesty, to demand the princess of *Poland* in marriage, with a view to attach him the more strongly to the see of *Rome*; but that *Gustavus* penetrating his designs, made light of his counsel (A). Hearing that the bishops had entered into a combination to persecute the reformists, the king told them, that their conduct would be more praise-worthy and useful to the state, if they applied their thoughts to the discharge of the public debts, and easing the people of those enormous taxes imposed by his predecessor. At length he determined using more effectual measures. With a strong body of troops he went to *Upsal*, and publicly declared his resolution of diminishing the oppressive number of idle monks and priests in the kingdom; who, under pretence of religion, lived and fattened on the spoils and labour of his industrious subjects. Their revenues, he said, he would convert to the necessary and essential purposes of the state; but perceiving that his discourse was not relished by the people, he turned it to raillery, putting a crown on the archbishop's head, and making him king of the festival; in order that he might lodge himself and attendants in free-quarters upon him. He ordered a second disputation between *Peter Gallus* and *Olaus Petri*, which, like the preceding, terminated to the advantage of the latter: after which he published an edict, declaring himself head of the church, which was avowedly denying the pope's supremacy. The clergy remonstrated, but the king pursued his designs without regarding their resentment. The archbishop, in particular, became so violent, that his majesty found it necessary to have him arrested, but did not follow the advice of many of his courtiers, who were for putting him to death. On the contrary, he released, and sent him out of the way, under pretence of employing him as his ambassador in *Prussia*; a commission which the archbishop never executed.

(A) We cannot take it upon us to reconcile assertions so contradictory, in a point so obvious and plain as this before us. One writer asserts, that the archbishop was a zealous reformist;

another, that he was a rigid catholic. Probable it is, that different persons are meant, as there happened a vacancy in the see of *Upsal* about this time.

Instead

Instead of proceeding to the court of *Poland*, he retired to *Dantzic*, and from thence recommended the care of the church to the bishop of *Lincoping* \*.

THIS prelate's gaining an accession of power, served only to render him more violent, and widen the breach between the king and the church. A scarcity of corn happened at this time, and the bishop endeavoured to persuade the people, that it arose from the increase of heresy, and the encouragement given to the false doctrines of *Luther*. To relieve the necessities of the people, *Gustavus* ordered great quantities of corn to be imported from *Livonia*, which he believed would prove more effectual than suppressing the growth of protestantism. He likewise gave directions for publishing the principal points in dispute between the papists and reformists, and again proposed a third public disputation. *Brusk*, bishop of *Lincoping*, would by no means consent to this, pretending, that as neither himself, nor the other bishops, entertained any scruples about the truth of their religion, it would be unnecessary, and even impious, to engage in controversies, and obscure truth with subtlety and refinement; that it was ridiculous to dispute the truth of a mode of worship, which had flourished for so many ages, and been confirmed by the martyrdom of such a number of saints.

To divert the king from engaging in religious matters, they artfully prevailed on the son of a peasant, named *Hans*, to personate *Nils Sture*, son to the late administrator. *Hans* repaired, as had been concerted, to *Dalecarlia*, a province in which the name of *Sture* was held in veneration. His arrival drew crowds of followers, and so considerable a party was formed in his favour, that the young impostor's ambition was fired, and his hopes elevated with the thoughts of dethroning *Gustavus*, and succeeding to his crown. He was powerfully succoured by the archbishop of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, and at last the *Dalecarlians* broke out into open rebellion, determining to support the pretended *Sture* against all opposition, and even against the hero for whom they had so lately spilt their blood. *Gustavus* first opposed their folly by demonstrating, that the true *Nils Sture* had been for some years dead; and the senate had wrote in the strongest manner, confirming what the king advanced, and cautioning the people from embracing the cause of an impostor, and being deluded by the machinations of certain persons, whose interest it was to involve the kingdom afresh in a civil war. Their remonstrances seemed to make an impression; the

*Intrigues of the clergy.*  
A. D. 1527.

*An impostor claims the crown.*

\* LOCCEN. lib. vi. VERT. tom. ii. p. 54. et seq.

rebels

rebels were for some time quiet : but the impostor had, by this time, formed a very considerable interest in *Norway*, where he passed by the name of the gentleman *Dalia*, or *Dali*. *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, likewise secretly supported him, or at least connived at this plot to ruin *Gustavus*, which he perceived would furnish him with an opportunity of reducing the province of *Wyck*, and possibly the whole kingdom of *Sweden*. He turned a deaf ear to all the *Swedish* monarch's remonstrances ; but, at the same time, made professions of inviolable esteem and friendship. At last, however, he seemed to throw off all disguise, by permitting the impostor to marry a *Danish* lady of the first quality, and the queen his mother to present him with a gold chain on the day of his nuptials.

*HANS*, upon these marks of royal favour, began his march with three hundred men, to reduce *Sweden*, and dethrone *Gustavus*. The very thoughts of acquiring a crown would seem to have disturbed his imagination ; for he spoke with as much security as if the whole kingdom of *Sweden* had declared for him. His chief resentment was levelled against the city of *Stockholm*, which he threatened severely to chastise for the encouragement given by the inhabitants to heresy. Little regard, however, was paid to his impotent threatenings by the burghers, whose dislike to the *Romish* superstition increased daily, and carried them so far, as to overturn a monstrous statue of *St. George*, that stood in the great church. They likewise ordered, that the *Lutheran* religion should be freely preached in all the churches, and divine service performed in the *Swedish* language. Of all the magistrates, only three had the courage to oppose these innovations ; and their endeavours to stem the torrent were vain.

CIRCUMSTANCES were indeed very seasonable for effecting a reformation, and *Gustavus* availed himself of the opportunity. His holiness was besieged in the castle of *St. Angelo* by the emperor *Charles V.* He was too hard pressed, to pay all the attention to foreign affairs which they required. *Gustavus*, believing this a favourable opportunity to reduce the power of the church, and accomplish his designs, convoked an assembly of the states at *Westeraas*. Here he published a declaration, professing himself a disciple of that doctrine taught by Christ and his apostles, which violent ecclesiastics branded with the odious names of innovation and heresy. He acknowledged his dislike of several practices of the church of *Rome* ; particularly, the granting indulgences, and that pernicious custom among the priests of enriching themselves, by practising on the ignorance and superstition

*Gustavus declares openly in favour of the protestant religion.*

superstition of the vulgar. He ordered, that no one should be denied the sacrament of the Lord's supper on account of debts he might have contracted; but that all matters of this nature be referred to the civil courts. That bishops should not inherit the effects of such ecclesiastics as might die intestate, to the great prejudice of the relations of the deceased. That they should surrender the crown-lands they had long usurped, in order to free the king from the necessity of loading the people with exorbitant taxes. In a word, he proved the legality of the steps he had taken to reduce the clergy, by the example of his imperial majesty *Charles V.* who, incensed at the pride and ambition of the apostolic see, was at that time besieging Christ's vicar<sup>1</sup>.

THIS declaration greatly altered the sentiments of the people with respect to the king's conduct. The mild and insinuating manner in which he treated the turbulent and credulous *Dalecarlians*, the tender regard he expressed for the ease and happiness of his people, as well as the manifest intention of the late ordinances, removed all the suspicions raised by the clergy, checked the growing inclination in favour of the pretended *Sture*, and fully convinced all sensible and moderate persons of the equity, the justice, and the good sense of his majesty's administration. To engage in his interest some lay-senators, who had hitherto sided with the clergy, he made a regulation that gratified their pride, at the same time that it humbled the arrogance of the ecclesiastics. This was, that they should take place, upon all public occasions, of the bishops, who had, till now, assumed that right, and from long custom claimed it as indisputably their due, to rank next to the sovereign. They were now reduced to the necessity of being second in precedence, the nobility were to hold the third, ecclesiastics of the lower order were to hold the fourth, and the fifth and sixth were assigned for the burghers and peasants.

To oppose this, and other encroachments on their liberties, the clergy met in *St. Giles's* church, and there took a solemn oath, never to countenance or suffer those indignities put on their sacred order; never to consent to the alienation of the church-lands, or any other of the late alterations made by the king, or contained in his declaration at *Westmans*. This assembly was held with such privacy, that it never came to the king's knowledge till five years after, when the paper was found, signed by all those who had entered into the engagement. He went on, therefore, in

the design of retrenching their power, representing to those who espoused the church, how much the crown-revenues suffered by the weak indulgence and superstitious liberality of his predecessors to the clergy. He said, that most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign; that they were risen to a height of power dangerous to the commonwealth; that they possessed castles and fortified places, which set them above dependance on the crown, enabled them to excite troubles in the kingdom, and was the means of their enslaving *Sweden* to *Denmark*; that pomp and luxury had taken place of piety, learning, and morality among them, to the great prejudice of souls, and misfortune of those who, born ignorant themselves, relied upon the clergy for edification. He alledged, that the nobility complained of their being impoverished, and prayed that the superfluous wealth of the church might be applied to their relief, without which they must fall to the lowest abyss of misery. He concluded with observing, that, by a law passed in the reign of *Charles Canutson*, the clergy were bound to restore such lands and effects when claimed, as could be proved were bequeathed to them in prejudice to the lawful heirs, and their descendants. On these conditions he could ease the people of all their burthensome taxes, restore the nobility to their ancient lustre, and establish that equipoise of wealth and felicity, which could alone afford general content and satisfaction<sup>a</sup>.

THE great points which the clergy could not digest, were the sequestration of their lands, and the prohibition from granting indulgences, and receiving absolution-money. Bishop *Brusk* replied in their name, that restitution of grants by pious souls, could not be made without danger of incurring the Almighty's displeasure; nor indeed could any steps at all be taken, before the apostolic see was consulted.

HITHERTO the states declined giving their opinion, and had rather shewn a partiality to the clergy; while the king was supported only by the city of *Stockholm*, some of the nobility, and a great part of the army and common people. At last his majesty asked them, whether they would positively consent to his demands, without which, he said, he would abdicate the crown, upon being reimbursed in the estate and money he had spent in the service of his country. On receiving this, he said, he would leave *Sweden*, and never again set foot in an ungrateful insatuated kingdom, doomed to perpetual slavery, either from the dis-

*The king  
threatens  
to resign  
the crown.*

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. Hist. de *Sweden*, tom i. VERT. ubi supra.

potism of its kings, or the tyranny of spiritual directors. Upon this declaration he retired to his palace, where he shut himself up for four days, with the principal officers of his army. The grand marshal *Thure Johanson*, who was married to the king's sister, was the strongest stickler for the clergy. He plainly declared, that for himself he should never be prevailed on to embrace the *Lutheran* doctrine, and that he foresaw innumerable misfortunes to the king from his rashness. He was, however, over-ruled by the states, who, after taking the matter into serious consideration, determined to conform to his majesty's will. Immediately the *accede's* bishops were desired to surrender their castles; and some of his proposals they complied without hesitation. But *Brusk* desired that *sals*, and he might keep his castle of *Mannakebada* during life; which being refused, it was seized by the king's officers, and the prelate forced to give security for his fidelity, and to sign, with the other bishops, the resolution of the states. The chief articles of this resolution were, that the scriptures should be taught in the schools; that the church should be filled with ministers, learned in their conversation, and pious in their lives; that no church-preferments should be granted without the king's permission; that when a layman fought with an ecclesiastic, the former should not be excommunicated any more than the latter, but the offender punished according to law; that the effects of a priest dying intestate should descend to his nearest relations, and not to the church; that persons who used matrimonial liberties with women, to whom they were betrothed, should be exempted from all church-censure on their marrying the party; that all disputes between laymen and priests should be determined before the secular courts; that mendicants should not be permitted to collect alms above twice in the year; that they should not be absent from their convent above two weeks at a time; that they should not meddle with civil affairs, excite seditions among the common people, but employ themselves in their spiritual functions, and preaching the pure word of God, in the vernacular tongue.

As soon as the assembly was prorogued, his majesty examined all the grants and letters of donation to the several churches, and monasteries, re-annexing to the crown all grants made since the year 1454. He then seized upon a variety of other valuable effects, appropriating to himself the rich moveables in religious houses. Thence arose prodigious sums, that greatly encreased the royal revenues, filled the treasury of *Gustavus*, and enabled him to transmit vast riches to his successors. Many of the chief lords of the kingdom,



kingdom, angry that they did not share in the spoils of the church, remonstrated to the king; but he paid little regard to their complaints, and disappointed all their intrigues\*.

*Revolts of the Dalecarlians.* GUSTAVUS had now established the highest reputation, as a politician and soldier, at home and abroad. Frederic, king of Denmark, had long meditated an attempt to unite the three crowns; but struck with the power, the wisdom, and the bravery of Gustavus, he found it necessary to live in terms of amity with him. All the prudence of the king could not, however, quiet the minds of the turbulent Dalecarlians. Instigated by the bishops, they again took arms to support the pretended Nils Sture. To demonstrate to them the imposture, Gustavus sent them a letter, written by the mother of the true Nils Sture, but it produced no effect. Upon this he ordered a powerful army to march against them, on the approach of which they begged a truce, and promised to remain faithful subjects, on condition that his majesty would not force them to embrace Lutheranism; that neither himself nor his officers should wear furred and slashed or finished habits; that he would burn all who eat flesh on Friday; and that he would grant a safe retreat to the impostor, whom they called Nils Sture. Of these four articles, his majesty acceded only to the first and last. The impostor fled first to Norway, afterwards to Rostock, and at last joined with partizans and adherents of the late king Christian; though the Danish writers alledge, that he was beheaded at Rostock, by order of Gustavus, who threatened to detain the shipping if the magistrates refused. It may be worth observing, that about this time several of the discontented lords and the bishops joined in a request to Sigismund, king of Poland, descended by the mother from Waldemar, king of Sweden, to accept of the crown, which he wisely refused, knowing how impossible it would be to unite kingdoms so distant, and not chusing to give up the certainty of his present crown for the uncertain hopes of acquiring one perhaps more brilliant.

A. D. 1528. As soon as the clergy were sufficiently humbled, his majesty resolved to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, hitherto deferred from a variety of contingencies. It was thought that this would put a stop to the great number of the leaders, and restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. Gustavus was accordingly crowned at Upsal on the 12th of February, immediately after which he sent an army against the Dalecarlians, who had again appeared in arms. When

\* LOCZEN. lib. vi.

the king's army entered the province, notice was given to the rebels, that they must either surrender the ringleaders of the sedition, or stand the consequences of a battle, and see their country destroyed by fire and sword. They chose the former, laid down their arms, promised submission, and surrendered their chiefs, who were immediately put to death. It was after this that his majesty convoked an assembly of the clergy at *Oerebro*, where he first publicly renounced several of the tenets of the church of *Rome*, substituting in their place those of the *Lutheran* religion. Here he likewise ordained, that a professor of theology should be established in every diocese, who should expound the scriptures agreeable to the protestant doctrine. When the professor at *Stura* first entered upon the duties of his office, by explaining the evangelists, he with difficulty escaped being murdered, at the instigation of the bishop and chief nobility of *West Gothland*, who had all entered into a league to extirpate the protestants and dethrone *Gustavus*, founding their hopes on the general discontent of the clergy, and their influence over the minds of the people. Such were the difficulties with which the great *Gustavus* struggled, in establishing that freedom of thought permitted by the reformed religion, and breaking the fetters and bondage enforced by the church of *Rome*. They openly accused the king of introducing heresy in the kingdom, of despoiling the monasteries and churches of their ancient privileges, and robbing them of their effects; adding, that he permitted monks to marry, suffered mass to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, diminished the number of sacraments, and soiled their dignity and lustre; in a word, that he abolished the ordination of priests auricular confession, extreme unction, and the invocation of saints. They concluded, that it was absolutely necessary to dethrone him and extirpate heresy, for the preservation of the true religion<sup>t</sup>.

Among the discontented, the chief was *Thure Jobanson*, A fresh who wrote to his sons in *Upland*, to raise the people in arms against *Gustavus*. The sons, however, as senators of the kingdom, preferred their duty to their king and country, to obeying the dictates of a rash bigotted parent, delivered the letters to *Gustavus*, promised him the utmost fidelity, and intreated that their father's crime should not be imputed to them. *George*, the third brother, provost of the cathedral of *Upsal*, however, followed a different course, engaged in his father's sentiments, and raised considerable distur-

<sup>t</sup> LOCZEN. ibid, VARTOT. ubi supra.

bances in the territory of *Roslagen*. *Thure Johanson* himself did the same in *Dalecarlia* and *Smaland*, where the people massacred the king's officers, seized his sister in her return from *Germany*, renounced all obedience to *Gustavus*, obliged the *Ostrogoths* to do the same, threatening to destroy their country if they refused, and resolved to elect *Magnus Breynstifon*, a person of great consideration, and remarkable for his eloquence, their sovereign. *Denmark* espoused the disaffected, and placed great confidence in the popularity of *Johanson*, who declared his interest was so powerful, that with three thousand men he could reduce the whole kingdom. By his assistance, the *Danes* thought to reannex the *Swedish* crown to their own, or at least to recover the province of *Wyck*. But *Gustavus* concerted matters so well, that the *Ostrogoths* laid down their arms, and promised inviolable fidelity; provided they were secured in their ancient religion; and the disaffected lords finding themselves deserted by the people, on whom they depended, were forced to take refuge in *Denmark*. *Gustavus* complained of the countenance shewn them, as a breach of the treaty subsisting between the two kingdoms; but instead of any concessions, *Frederick* pushed on by the great promises of the fugitive *Swedes*, demanded restitution of the province of *Wyck*, and payment of a sum of money which he alledged was due to him from *Gustavus*, because the *Swedish* commissioners did not appear at *Lubec* at the time stipulated by the treaty of *Malmoe*. To this haughty demand, *Gustavus* replied with firmness, accusing *Frederick* of mean intrigues, and declaring to him that peace or war with a prince whose word could not be depended on, was to him a matter of indifference. Surprised and mortified with this answer, the *Danish* ambassador returned; and *Gustavus*, after dispersing the troops raised by *George* provost of *Upsal*, and taking himself prisoner, applied seriously to dissipate the discontents excited by the clergy. He pardoned the inhabitants of *Smaland* and *Visigoth*, and he restored to his favour the chapters of *Skara* and *Lincoping*. These, charmed with his moderation, wrote bitterly to their bishops, summoning them to appear in *Sweden* to justify their conduct. In a word, matters were in a fair way of being happily adjusted on all hands, when a fresh accident had almost again embroiled the nation<sup>u</sup>.

THE subsidy promised by *Gustavus* to the regency of *Lubec* was still due; for the payments of which, the states agreed

*Gustavus*  
returns a  
sharp an-  
swer to the  
Danish  
ambas-  
sador.

<sup>u</sup> VERTOT. ubi supra.

to give his majesty all the useless bells of the churches and monasteries. The people were shocked at the sacrilege, and the *Dalecarlians* in particular expressed their love for religion, by chusing to rise in rebellion against their king, renounce the most solemn engagements, and involve their country in a civil war, rather than part with those superfluities of religion and appendages of weak superstition. *Gustavus*, in his usual manner, had first recourse to lenity and argument; but finding these ineffectual, and that the *Dalecarlians* had the presumption to summon twelve persons from each province to meet at *Abroga*, to deliberate on the present state of the kingdom, he hastened to break their measures, and crush rebellion in the seed. After assembling the states at *Upsal*, he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of the provinces, explained his reasons for applying the bells to the purposes of the state; and when he found them untractable, gave a feigned order to his troops, to fire on the members of the illegal assembly, with which they were so intimidated, that they fell at his feet and implored his mercy. Upon their solemnly promising eternal fidelity, he once more pardoned the *Dalecarlians*, at the intercession of the senate; but was no sooner departed, than, unmindful of their obligations, they had again recourse to arms, engaging not to lay them down until his majesty should promise not to approach their frontiers with above a certain prescribed number of attendants.

*Further disturbances raised by the clergy, and one raised by the superstition of the people.*

His majesty was diverted from punishing the perfidious *Dalecarlians* by a treaty of marriage, in which he was engaged with *Katharine*, daughter of *Magnus*, duke of *Saxe-Lunenburgh*. This lady he espoused before the public tranquillity was restored, installing *Laurence Petri*, a protestant, in the archbishopric of *Upsal*, that the ceremony might be performed with the more dignity by a prelate of the reformed church, and giving him at the same time a guard of 500 men, to render him more respectable to the canons and chapter. By this means the canons were not only humbled in a short time, and obliged to surrender all their plate and lands, but turned out of their places, and supplanted by young students of the protestant religion.

*CHRISTIAN*, in the mean time, was making preparations to recover his throne. He had formed a powerful interest in *Norway*, and was at the bottom of almost all the tumults excited in *Sweden*. By the intrigues of *Gustavus Trolle*, he became so formidable, as to require his majesty's serious attention, having put to sea with thirty ships and ten thousand land-forces, with intention to invade *Sweden*.

*Christian makes preparations to recover his crowns.*

His fleet was, however, over-taken in a violent storm, in which ten ships perished, *Christian* being forced with the rest to the coast of *Norway*. From thence *Trolle* wrote to the *Dalecarlians*, beseeching them to take arms against *Gustavus*, as a person determined to root out the true religion, and destroy public liberty. He besides intrigued with the inhabitants of *Nylofe*, about surrendering their city to *Christian*, whose troops had already gained possession of the citadel of *Olufsburgh*, in the province of *Wyck*.

THESE attempts were alarming, as there could be no security for the affections of a people who had so often rebelled, and who were now recalling a tyrant dethroned by the unanimous voices of the whole kingdom. *Gustavus*; therefore, resolved upon vigorous measures. He sent the grand marshal *Sigefon* and *Soren Kyl*, with a considerable body of troops to *Lodefe*, to cover that frontier. These generals attacked and defeated *Christian's* army near *Babus*, which so incensed that prince, that he bitterly reproached *Thure Johanson*, with misrepresenting the state of affairs in *Sweden*; and three days after that nobleman's body and head were found separated in the streets, by order, as was supposed, of the bloody *Christian*. After this cruel action he gained a considerable advantage over the *Swedish* army, by means of a stratagem, which proves that he possessed the abilities of a warrior and soldier. *Sigefon*, however, stopped his progress, and blocked up the passes to *Halland* and *Schonen*, which obliged him to return to *Norway*, where he capitulated with the *Danish* generals, surrendered himself to them, and was treated by *Frederic* as a prisoner, without regard to the articles of the treaty<sup>f</sup>.

He is made  
prisoner.

*GUSTAVUS* seeing himself thus happily delivered from an enemy that had always raised apprehensions in his mind, cost much trouble, and occasioned various insurrections in the kingdom, took the *Dalecarlians* once more to task, seized the chief mutineers, put some to death, and shut up the rest in dungeons in *Stockholm*; after which we hear no more for some time of their seditious humour.

It was about this time that disputes arose between the *Flemings* and *Hanse* towns, about the commerce of the *Baltic*.  
A. D. 1532. The former rose in wealth and power, in proportion as the latter declined, and from the same reasons. The *Hanse* towns were in a manner the carriers of *Europe*, supplying all the southern and western states, with not only the commodities of the north, but those of the east likewise. The disco-

<sup>f</sup> LOCZEN. lib. vi.

eries made in navigation not long after, the compass, the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the vast improvements in the art of sailing, in geography and astronomy, first led the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, the *English*, and other nations, to share the trade with the *Hanse* towns and free states of *Italy*. The *Dutch*, in particular, pushed the advantage with that spirit of perseverance peculiar to this people. They carried on an immense trade, not only to the east and west, and even at this time endeavoured to share the trade of the *Baltic* with the *Lubeckers*, which the latter regarded as an encroachment on their rights. Hence arose new matter of trouble to *Gustavus*. The *Lubeckers* demanded the sole privilege of this commerce, and insisted upon the *Swedes* excluding the *Flemings* in particular. This *Gustavus* refused, as unreasonable in itself, and prejudicial to his subjects. The *Lubeckers* were incensed and disappointed; they demanded the remainder of the money due to the republic, and *Gustavus* desired they would prove their claim. Matters rose to such a height, that the haughty *Lubeckers* publicly declared, that as they were the instruments of his election, so they would now punish his ingratitude by dethroning him. Accordingly they made preparations, united themselves with the disaffected *Swedes*, and entered into every cabal and intrigue formed against the king. They corrupted certain burghers of *Stockholm*, conspired with them against the life of this great prince, and in the design of rendering this capital a free state, united in interest, and upon the same footing as the *Hanse* towns. The scheme was to place a train of powder under the king's throne in the great church, to blow him up, together with the principal personages of his court, and to put the city under the government of the regency of *Lubec*, until a proper scheme of administration was devised. Happily the plot was discovered, the conspirators seized, and punished with the severity their crime merited. Lastly, the republic invited *Suante Sture*, of the family of the late administrator, then at the court of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, to conduct the enterprise against *Gustavus*, imagining that his presence would bring a great number of persons to espouse their cause. On his refusal, they addressed themselves to *John* earl of *Holstein*, who harboured some discontents against *Gustavus*; and he, fired with ambition and revenge, listened to the proposals of the regency.

*FREDERIC*, king of *Denmark*, was now dead, and his successor thinking an alliance with *Sweden* necessary to insure peace to the first years of his government, sent ambassadors to *Gustavus*, by whom he was informed of the com-

A. D.  
1534.

bination against him. A treaty of alliance was accordingly concluded between the two courts, after which *Gustavus* ordered all the *Lubei* merchantmen in his ports to be seized. The *Danes* perceiving that a war between *Sweden* and the *Hanse* towns would necessarily involve them likewise in disputes, offered their mediation, which the *Swedish* monarch accepted. As to the republic, so assured was she of the great monarchy sketched out for herself in the north, that she sold *Denmark* to *Henry VIII.* of *England*, that prince actually advancing 20,000 crowns, and stipulating to pay the remainder as soon as the conquest was completed and delivery made. The projects of the republic being so vast and extensive, no wonder the mediation of *Denmark*, deemed already a conquered country, should be rejected. To prosecute the plan, it was necessary *Christian* should be set at liberty, as that prince had still a great number of adherents both in *Sweden* and *Denmark*. For this purpose *Christopher*, earl of *Oldenburgh*, who was entirely ignorant of the private designs of the regency, was chosen to set his kinsman free by force of arms. Their operations were to begin with *Denmark*, not doubting but *Sweden* must necessarily follow the fate of that kingdom. At first the *Lubeckers* met with considerable success; but the *Danes* electing *Christian III.* who was married to the sister of the queen of *Sweden*, that prince demanded assistance of his brother-in-law, and was powerfully succoured. Thus *Sweden*, instead of being principal in the war, became only an auxiliary; and *Denmark*, that seemed to be entirely out of the quarrel, and was acting the part of mediator, now became principal.

As we have already fully related the particulars of this war, we shall here touch upon such circumstances only, as immediately concern the kingdom of *Sweden*. *Gustavus* lent a reinforcement by sea and land to *Christian*. The former was unfortunate; several of the transports fell into the hands of the enemy; and admiral *Fleming*, in particular, with five hundred sailors, was made prisoner and carried to *Dantzick*. The land-forces met with better success. They marched through *Halland*, took the cities *Helmstadt* and *Labolin*, besieged *Waerberg*, passed through *Schonen*, and joined the inhabitants to make head against earl *Christopher*. They engaged that prince, took *Mark Meyer*, burgo master of *Lubei*, prisoner, confined him in *Waerberg*, where by stratagem he made himself master of the citadel<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. de Dan. tom. v.

IN the mean time, *Gustavus* received advice from several of the German princes, of a conspiracy formed against him by the burghers of *Stockholm*. Incensed at this second attempt, he ordered the conspirators to be seized and put to death. It is said that *Olaus Petri* had learnt the particulars of the plot, from a person who came to confess himself; that he communicated it to *Loez Anderson*, chancellor of the court, but that neither of them discovering it to the king, both were condemned to death as accomplices, but redeemed their lives with a great sum of money. This story, inconsistent in itself, was probably propagated by the *Romish* clergy, in order to prejudice the reputation of these two favourites; we say inconsistent, because both the chancellor and *Olaus* were protestants, and neither could receive information by auricular confession <sup>a</sup>.

*A conspiracy formed against the king's life.*

THE war still went on, and the *Lubec* fleet was defeated by the combined squadrons of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

AFTER this success, *Christian III.* contrary to the advice of his council, made a voyage to *Stockholm*, with intention to discover to *Gustavus*, the intrigues of *Charles V.* who, under pretence of seating *Frederic*, count palatine, on the northern thrones, had no other view than to gain the superiority of the northern and *Baltic* seas. He was likewise desirous of expressing his gratitude to *Gustavus*, for the powerful succours he afforded, and of inducing him to continue his good offices. His reception was such as might have been expected from a great and magnanimous prince, too generous to seize all the advantages which the occasion offered, or to distinguish himself a deep politician, by approving himself a bad man. The *Danish* writers, indeed, drop obscure hints, which seem to reflect on his character, or deprive him of the virtue of hospitality at least; but had they known any thing to his prejudice, they would have certainly expressed themselves more distinctly.

IT was some time after that *Gustavus* had reason to be displeased with his *Danish* majesty, when he struck up a peace with the city of *Lubec*, without acquainting the king with his intentions, or so much as once mentioning his name in the treaty. This it was that obliged him to recall his forces and fleet from *Denmark*, that set *Christian* upon making apologies, and convinced *Gustavus* that his designs were no less than effecting the conquest of *Sweden*. To prevent his being surrounded by enemies, his *Swedish* majesty concluded peace for sixty years with the *Russians*. At the same time he mar-

*Jealousies between Denmark and Sweden.*

A. D. 1536.



tied *Margaret*, daughter of *Abram Erickson*, governor of *West Gothland*, whose interest was very powerful, with intention to establish the external tranquillity of his kingdom. His former queen had been dead some time before, and he preferred this to foreign alliances with good reason, as afterwards appeared from the services done to duke *Jahn*.

HITHERTO the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* preferred the exterior of friendship, but there were secret jealousies and suspicions, which broke out into open war at the death of *Gustavus*. *Denmark* could never forget its former superiority, nor lay aside all thoughts of re-annexing *Sweden* to that crown; but the character of *Gustavus* intimidated the *Danish* monarchs from attempting it openly. They satisfied themselves, therefore, with intrigues and cabals to disturb his peace, and alienate the minds of his subjects. An instance of this now occurred in *Smaland*, where the inhabitants were excited to revolt by the intrigues of *Christian*. Their rebellion, however, did not remain long unpunished. *Gustavus*, with his usual rapidity, marched against them, obliged them by the terror of his name to lay down their arms, and then granted an amnesty.

Gustavus  
forms an  
alliance  
with  
Francis I.

A. D.  
1542.

As the emperor *Charles V.* had openly espoused the cause of count *Palatin*, son-in-law of *Christian II.* then prisoner in *Denmark*, *Gustavus* endeavoured to fortify himself against all attempts, by foreign alliances. After casting his eyes all around, he perceived none more favourable to his designs than the friendship of *France*, says *Puffendorf*; though we confess we cannot see what expectations he could have from this alliance. Thither *Gustavus* sent his secretary to pave the way for a treaty, by proposing certain commercial regulations for the mutual advantage of both kingdoms. The ambassador was instructed to offer, that the *Swedes* would trade directly to *France* for wine and salt, instead of taking them as usual of the *Flemings*, his majesty intending to establish magazines, and sell these commodities at a certain price to his subjects. This project never took place, but we are left in the dark with respect to the causes of its miscarriage. The *French* court received his majesty's propositions favourably; the *Swedes* were permitted to buy salt, without paying the usual duties, and a treaty of trade and navigation was concluded. Afterwards *Francis I.* made a particular enquiry into the state of *Sweden*, a kingdom very little known at that time among the southern states of *Europe*; and being well informed of the character of *Gustavus*, and of the warlike dispositions of his subjects, he readily consented to the alliance proposed. *Gustavus* in consequence sent

sent a magnificent embassy into *France*, in order to impress a high opinion of his power; both kings engaged mutually to assist each other against all their enemies, with 25,000 men and 50 ships of war; and a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was solemnly executed.

THIS very useless treaty being finished, *Gustavus* again resumed his great design, of confirming himself and his family in the throne. Assembling the states at *Westeraas*, he prevailed on them to make the crown hereditary in his house, and found no great difficulty in obtaining whatever he desired. He had before made overtures to the same purpose, but the situation of affairs at that time was unfavourable. Now his power was established, the nation sensible of his merit, and their own obligations. He had delivered them from the cruel yoke of *Denmark*, he had rescued them from the tyranny of priesthood, rendered *Sweden* happy at home and respectable abroad; they could not therefore refuse to reward these services by an act of gratitude, which should at the same time most effectually exclude all future claims of the *Danish* monarchs, and attempts to unite the crowns. Thus it was that the young prince *Eric*, then eleven years of age, was chosen successor to his father's throne, and with this extraordinary privilege, that his descendants in the male line should successively inherit the crown; with this restriction, however, that whenever the male line became extinct, the election of a new king should devolve on the senate and states. In this assembly the states took an oath, constantly to maintain the true evangelic religion, according to the tenets of the reformed church, and never to tolerate any other in the kingdom; so that from this time we may date the entire extinction of the *Romish* religion in *Sweden*.

THE king of *Denmark* received with chagrin and astonishment the news of the act of hereditary union, as it was called. It absolutely cancelled the treaty of *Calmar*, and cut off all prospect of reuniting the crowns; yet could not *Christian* persuade himself altogether to relinquish his claims. He therefore ordered the *Swedish* arms to be quartered with his own, as a public declaration of his right. *Gustavus* sent ambassadors to him to complain of this insult; but he could procure no redress from this young and ambitious prince, elated with the late advantages obtained over the *Lubeckers*, by which he gained entire possession of *Denmark*. His *Swedish* majesty, far advanced in years, and broke with care and fatigue, dissembled his resentment. Unwilling to enter upon a new war in the decline of life, he chose to preserve

his authority rather by his reputation, than by arms. He knew how vain the pretensions of the *Danish* monarch were, without the power of enforcing them, and contented himself with fixing the crown, by a solemn act of the diet, in his own family. It was necessary, however, that some measure should be taken to quiet the jealousies that threatened a rupture between the two kingdoms. Accordingly a negotiation was set on foot, the two kings had an interview at *Bromsebroo*, and it was agreed to defer the decision of their differences, or the renewal of their disputes, for the term of fifty years.

*He applies  
his mind to  
the pacific  
arts.*

*GUSTAVUS* having now established the public tranquillity on a solid foundation, applied his mind to the arts of peace, the encouragement of science and commerce. The cities were beautified by useful edifices, men of genius in every profession patronised, ships built and constructed upon a new plan, merchants of every country invited to trade with *Sweden*, the army and navy put on a respectable footing; in a word, every measure sedulously pursued that could render his people happy, and himself powerful. To settle the affairs of his own family on the best footing possible, he assigned portions for the younger children. To *John*, the second son, he gave *Finland*; to *Magnus*, the third, the province of *West Gothland*; and to *Charles*, his fourth son, *Nericia*, *Sundermannia*, and *Wermeland*, were given, as the portions, for which they did homage to the crown. Each of the children had 100,000 crowns in money, besides other valuable moveables. To *Eric*, his eldest son, he assigned the province of *Smaland*, to maintain his household until he came to the throne; after he had first signed an instrument, promising fidelity and obedience to his father and the states; to employ all his power in defending the frontiers of the kingdom; to form no alliances but with the consent of the king and the states; to communicate all letters he should receive from foreign princes and states; with a variety of other articles, which shewed the caution and prudence of *Gustavus*.

NEXT he thought of strengthening his family by some considerable alliance. He apprehended that the powerful interest of the younger children, and the promising genius of duke *John*, in particular, might one day create trouble to *Eric*, and excite civil commotions. To preserve them in their obedience, he imagined no step would be more conducive than marrying prince *Eric* into some powerful family, whose interest and connections should be able to suppress all attempts to disturb the government. In this view, no alliance

alliance was so desirable as that of *Elizabeth* queen of *Eng- He proposes*  
land. Her great qualities, her dignity, and dominions, made a treaty of  
this princess the object of the ambition of every aspiring marriage  
young prince in *Europe*; but none stood a fairer chance between  
than *Eric*, on account of the reformed religion now esta- prince  
blished in *Sweden*. *Philip* of *Spain*'s dominions were vast; *Eric* and  
but this very circumstance, together with his religion, were queen *Eli-*  
unfathomable objections. The same objections might be zabeth of  
made to the duke of *Anjou*; but with respect to *Eric* there England.  
could be none, except what depended on her own inclinatio-  
ons, abstracted from motives of policy. *Eric*'s person too  
was graceful; an air of empire and majesty distinguished his  
gait; every action was performed with peculiar fire and ar-  
dour; and a certain impetuosity in his disposition might  
easily be mistaken for valour and courage. However, his  
father had private reasons for not permitting him to pay his  
addresses in person to the queen of *England*. *Gustavus* was  
extremely jealous of the honour of his family; and he per-  
ceived somewhat in his son's temper, which rendered it ne-  
cessary to keep him at home. In fact, his good qualities  
were obscured by violent gusts of passion, which sometimes  
rose to a dangerous height, obliterated every trace of reason,  
and rendered him little better than a maniac. This had  
once made *Gustavus* resolve to bestow the crown on his se-  
cond son; from which he was only deterred by the fear that  
a civil war might ensue. It now, however, determined  
him, to refuse his son's earnest request to go personally to  
*England*; and rather to negotiate the marriage by ambassa-  
dors. However, to satisfy the prince, he consented that his  
brother duke *John* should visit *London*, under pretence of  
travelling for his education, pay his compliments to the  
queen, and obtain a positive answer. The ambassadors had  
before spent some time at the court of *London*, without  
making any progress in the treaty of marriage. The artful  
queen had treated them, in her usual manner, with the ut-  
most civility and most gracious affability, but industriously  
avoided an explanation on the subject of their embassy.  
All kinds of diversions were contrived to divert their at-  
tention from this object; while the queen gratified her own  
vanity, with entertaining lovers at her court, and at the  
same time regarded her interest too much to share her power  
and authority with a husband.

PRINCE *Eric*, growing impatient at the little success of  
the *Swedish* ambassadors, duke *John*, the king's second son,  
was sent to *England*, to expedite their measures, and give  
weight to the embassy. On his arrival he was carelessly

mag

A. D.  
1560.

magnificently entertained, and treated with the utmost respect, by *Elizabeth*. The young prince shewed equal liberality. His public entrance was extremely pompous; and, not contented with the magnificence and splendor of his appearance, he threw large sums of money among the populace, to impress them with a high opinion of the power and generosity of his country. After a short residence, he returned to *Sweden*, assuring his brother, that nothing more was wanting to complete his desire, than personally to appear at the *English* court; however, as he brought with him no sort of proofs in writing, nor a single clause concerning a treaty so important, the penetrating king soon discovered, that his son had mistaken compliments for the queen's real sentiments, and was, in fact, the dupe of her superior policy.

WITH these thoughts he assembled the states, to deliberate on a matter so important to the kingdom; and here he confirmed not only the succession in his own family, but likewise the will he had drawn out in favour of his younger children. As the nation had been at great expences in the late embassies to *England*, *Eric* was constrained to promise to the states, that, provided he ever became king of *England*, he would always support *Sweden*, when attacked, with all the power of that kingdom; and that, in case he failed in his pursuit of obtaining the queen's consent, he would reimburse his brothers in the sums expended in this design, as soon as he came to the throne of *Sweden*. Encouraged by these promises, the subject of a treaty of marriage was again resumed, great sums were advanced to support the prince with splendor at the court of *England*, and he proceeded on his journey as far as *Lodese*, where he proposed to embark for *England*, when the melancholy news of the king's death made him lay aside all thoughts of the voyage and marriage. *Gustavus* was attacked with a slow fever at *Stockholm*. His strength declined insensibly; but after the change in his constitution became visible, he could never be persuaded to relax in the least in his attention to public affairs. As if he had foreseen how short he had to live, his application was redoubled, to leave the kingdom in the best condition possible at his death. Determined to reign to the last moment, he sent for *Eric Stenon*, secretary of state, and related to him some matters that concerned the most secret affairs of his government. He then ordered his children to be called; strongly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection to them. To the younger sons he said, that obedience to their brother *Eric*, now about to succeed to his

CROWN,

crown, would be the truest test of their wisdom; after which he dismissed them with his blessing, to prevent their being disturbed with the tears and cries of his attendants. He ordered his physicians, who flattered him with the hopes of recovering, to be discharged. The last moments of his life were employed in prayer, and he died a Christian, as he had lived a hero, on the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year 1560, aged seventy. His body was interred at Upsal, and his funeral obsequies celebrated by the tears and praises of his subjects, and the remembrance of all the heroic transactions of his life<sup>i</sup>.

Death of  
Gustavus.

THUS died the great *Gustavus Vasa*, after obtaining the crown by his valour, and rescuing the nation from slavery, by his perseverance in virtue and patriotism. To the freedom and independency of his notions, rather than to the piety of his sentiments, we may ascribe the revolution he effected in the church. After disposing at will of the laws, religion, and property of his subjects, he died universally adored and regretted. His character was indeed very extraordinary, if we consider the circumstances of the times when he flourished. In an age of ignorance he became learned; in a country the most barbarous, perfectly civilized; in every thing he excelled the rest of mankind, uniting all the accomplishments of the gentleman, soldier, and statesman. His person was graceful, his air noble and majestic, his eloquence rapid and nervous, and his address irresistible. The stream of his policy flowed clear, and unpolluted with mean intrigue and low cunning, in which too frequently consists the wisdom of princes. In a word, he found the nation enslaved to Denmark, he restored public liberty; he set the consciences of men free from the tyranny of spiritual bondage. He made commerce and arts flourish, raised the power and reputation of his crown, rendered his people happy, secured their affections, and acquired the esteem of all Europe. He lived the admiration of mankind, and died the idol of his own subjects, founding the surname of *Great*, not in blood, but on all those noble arts that ennoble humanity, and truly constitute the hero.

His cha-  
racter.

<sup>i</sup> LUGGEN. lib. vi. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 384. VERTOT, tom. ii. p. 249.

## S E C T. VI.

Containing the reign of king Eric XIV.

Eric succeeds to the throne.

His character.

**E**RIC ascended the throne of Sweden at the age of twenty-seven years, after having compleated his education, and gained the reputation of a finished gentleman. His accomplishments were rather striking than solid. He spoke the modern languages, danced gracefully, performed the manly exercises like a prince, was eloquent, easy, and polite; but withal so imprudent, that his misconduct cost him his crown and scepter. Scarce were the remains of the great *Gustavus* interred, when *Eric* incurred the displeasure of the younger children, by refusing to refund, according to agreement, the money expended in embassies to *England*. He likewise disputed resigning the lands assigned them by their father, under pretence that they had already received more than an equivalent, by the sequestration of church-lands, which properly belonged to the crown, as they originally flowed from the liberality of his ancestors. Even the duchies specified in the will of *Gustavus*, and confirmed to them by an act of the diet, *Eric* clogged with certain disagreeable restrictions and limitations, that could not but prove displeasing to the dukes, notwithstanding they were constrained to sign them at a general diet at *Abroga*.

A. D. 1561.

Now the treaty of marriage with queen *Elizabeth* was again resumed, and considerable sums granted for his majesty's voyage to *England*, where he proposed appearing with all the magnificence becoming a prince. The diet entered the more chearfully upon this resolution, from an apprehension that the king might be prevailed on to marry one of his mistresses, a woman of beauty, ambition, and intrigue, but of mean extraction. In the next place, regulations were made concerning the government of the kingdom in his absence. He endeavoured to abolish certain superstitious ceremonies still remaining in the church, and condemned by the reformists. This was done at the persuasion of his tutor, *Dennis Beurre*, and of certain *English* gentlemen, with whom he had contracted an intimacy. Possibly it might have been with a view to compliment queen *Elizabeth*; but he could not succeed, so powerful was the opposition of the bishops.

AT his coronation, *Eric* created several earls and barons, the first known in *Sweden*; giving for a reason, that as the crown was become hereditary, it was requisite that other dignities should be the same (A). The visit to *England* was postponed, on account of some troubles that arose about the commerce of *Livonia*. The *Lubeckers* and *Russians* came to blows, and this province was made the scene of bloodshed and confusion. In these circumstances, the bishop of *Oesel* surrendered his diocese to the king of *Denmark*, who presented it to his brother duke *Magnus*; and the grand master, having ceded *Livonia* to *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, reserved only *Courland* to himself, which he held as a fief of that crown. The city of *Revel*, perceiving itself unprotected, both on account of the distance of these princes, and the impossibility of carrying on trade in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, already engrossed by *Riga*, formed the resolution of declaring to the grand master, that as he was in no condition to afford their city longer protection, they would chuse the king of *Sweden* for their patron; a proposal to which the nobility of *Esthonia* immediately consented. The grand master refused to comply, and *Eric* determined to support the city *Revel* and *Esthonians* with a fleet and army, which he dispatched under the conduct of *Nicholas Horn*, with instructions immediately to invade the grand master's territories. *Horn* was received with great joy by the burghers of *Revel* and the *Esthonians*, who immediately united themselves to the crown of *Sweden*. However, *Gaspar Oldenbach* refused to surrender the cathedral church of *Revel*. It was attacked, and forced in the space of six weeks to capitulate<sup>b</sup>.

Some alterations made in the constitution.

War in Livonia.

His *Polish* majesty beheld with jealousy these changes. He sent count *Lunsky* to *Stockholm*, to demand restitution of *Revel*; but *Eric* replied, that he had the same right to protect *Revel* and *Esthonia*, as his *Polish* majesty had to the rest of *Livonia*. Upon this the grand master besieged the city, with a view to reduce it under the power of the crown of *Poland*; but he was forced to relinquish the enterprize. The *Swedish* garrison made so vigorous a rally, that one wing of

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 390.

(A) This is the assertion of *Puffendorf*, to which we do not altogether accede. The word *Comes* occurs in all the ancient *Swedish* historians; and we know that these dignities are of a northern extract; whence it is highly probable, that, with some variation of name, they were known in all the northern kingdoms, long before this æra.



his army was wholly defeated, his camp and artillery taken, and himself obliged to retreat with precipitation<sup>c</sup>.

*Eric sets sail for England, and is shipwrecked.*

THIS advantage encouraged *Eric* to fresh attempts. He complained to the king of *Denmark* of the presumption of quartering the *Swedish* arms with those of *Denmark*; but, obtaining no redress, both courts began making preparations for war. Unseasonable as the occasion might appear, *Eric* now determined to set out for *England*, and accordingly embarked with his brother *Charles*, and several persons of distinction, while the world imagined he intended to invade *Denmark*. He never once reflected on the prejudice public affairs must sustain from his absence, nor on the uncertainty of succeeding in his pursuit. All advice was disregarded; he set sail, was overtaken in a furious storm, and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, forced into the first port the ship could make. As the convoy was numerous, amounting to forty ships, most of them ships of war, the loss and damages were considerable, and the king was ever after deterred from the thoughts of committing his life to the capricious elements. Whether this accident had cooled his passion for *Elizabeth*, or whether the inconstancy of his disposition made him drop the pursuit, certain it is, that he thought no more of her; but began now, and with more reason, to entertain a passion for *Mary* queen of *Scots*, the most beauteous and accomplished princess of that age.

*Eric incurs the displeasure of the nobility.*

ABOUT this time, the king assembled the states at *Jene-coping*, where he passed a decree that proved highly displeasing to the nobility. It was to regulate the time each was to serve in the field, the sums he was to advance, and the force he was to maintain for the king's use, in case of any domestic or foreign war, of a dangerous and pressing nature. The nobility looked upon this act as servile, and derogatory of their dignity; but they could not prevent its passing. It must be owned, that several strokes of spirited conduct appear in the short course of *Eric's* government. One instance of this is the vigour with which he treated the *Lubeckers*. They demanded an open trade to *Sweden*; it was granted, on condition they allowed the same privilege to the *Swedish* merchants. They insisted on having the whole trade of *Russia*; they were refused, and confined to that branch of commerce by the way of *Revel* and *Wiburgh*. They carried their complaints to the emperor, and *Eric* put to sea a squadron to support his refusal, with orders to take all the *Lubeck* vessels that should presume to trade directly to *Russia*, or by

*He quarrels with the city of Lubec and the Danes.*

<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 391.

any other method than what he allowed. Thus a war was kindled with *Lithuania*; *Denmark* took part with the king's enemies, and made use of a trivial pretext, which demonstrated the inclination of his *Danish* majesty to come to a rupture. Duke *John*, the king's brother, had, in the heat of youth and passion, broke in pieces a looking-glass on the stern of a *Danish* ship in the port of *Skaneateles*, because it had quartered the *Swedish* and *Danish* arms, which he deemed an open insult. Some persons imagine, that *John* had deeper designs in this action; that he wanted to involve his brother as much as possible, in hopes of lifting to advantage in troubled waters. It is certain, there was no good understanding between the king and him, and that he was strengthening his interest by all the powerful alliances he could make<sup>d</sup>.

*ERIC* no sooner found himself engaged, than he chose to divert his thoughts from that object, by substituting one more agreeable. With the senate's consent, he dispatched ambassadors to *Scotland*, to demand queen *Mary* in marriage; but, from a surprising inconstancy in his temper, scarce were the ambassadors gone, when he sent other ministers to the emperor, to demand the princess of *Lorraine*, daughter to *Christian II.* with whom he fell in love from the description of some of his courtiers. The last ambassadors returned with a favourable answer; but *Eric* had changed his mind before their arrival. His passion for the princess of *Lorraine* and queen of *Scots* was vanished, and he resumed the affection he before possessed for *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. In this manner did he incur the contempt of all men, and squander in fruitless negotiations the vast treasures which *Gustavus* had amassed with such care and prudence. Duke *John*, in the mean time, displayed more steadiness of conduct. His interest induced him to seek in marriage the princess *Catherine*, daughter of *Sigismund* king of *Poland*; his address and policy obtained her. He set sail for *Dantzick*, arrived at *Cracow*, and had their nuptials solemnised with great pomp<sup>e</sup>.

This marriage widened the breach between the king and duke *John*. His majesty harboured suspicions, and these were heightened by the artful insinuations of his creatures, who pretended to discover a dangerous intention in this last measure of the duke's. *Eric* complained bitterly of his brother; and imagining a war with *Denmark*, as well as dis-

A. D.  
1562.

*Infamous*  
*Eric's*  
*in-constant*

*He comes*  
*to a rupture*  
*with his brother duke John.*

<sup>d</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. vii. p. 349.  
tom. i. p. 400.

<sup>e</sup> Idem. ibid. PUFFEND.

A. D.  
1563.

putes with duke *John*, would follow, he exacted from the nobility the money and services imposed by the late decree of the states. Nothing could be more unseasonable than a step that must provoke this powerful body, when he most wanted their attachment and loyalty; but *Eric*, pursuing only his own passions, and the counsels of worthless minions, shut his eyes to all consequences. The quarrel with *John* rose to so great a height, that the duke was cited to *Stockholm*, to vindicate his conduct, particularly his allying himself with *Poland*, and disposing of certain castles in *Livonia* to that crown, for the sum of 20,000 crowns. *John* gave a short and spirited answer to the ambassadors, refusing at the same time to obey the citation, unless proper security was given for his safety. In a word, perceiving that matters were come to a crisis, he fortified himself by all the alliances possible; put his castles in a state of defence; and received an oath of fidelity from the *Finlanders*, who were attached to his interest <sup>f</sup>.

*ERIC* endeavoured, on the other hand, to form powerful connections; but he could not succeed. His unsteadiness frustrated the effect of every negotiation, and princes were afraid to place confidence in a monarch so fickle, that he seemed not to know his own sentiments. The czar of *Muscovy* refused his alliance, even against their common enemy the king of *Poland*. He was bubbled by *Frederic* king of *Denmark*, and his ambassadors detained by violence at the court of *Copenhagen*. His *Danish* majesty excused this breach of the law of nations, by asserting, that the *Swedish* ambassadors were so insolent and outrageous, that it was necessary to put them under arrest, for the security of the state, and the safety of their own persons. *Eric* demanded their liberty; but the king of *Denmark*, instead of complying, ordered all the *Swedish* merchants and ships in his ports to be seized; and to support this violence, he equipped a formidable squadron, and formed an alliance with the czar of *Muscovy*, the king of *Poland*, and the city of *Lubeck* <sup>g</sup>.

*A confederacy formed against Eric.*

THIS confederacy was formidable, but it did not dispirit *Eric*. He wanted indeed nothing but steadiness and uniformity of conduct, to withstand, and even break the combination against him. He began the war in *Livonia*, and had the good fortune to deprive *Sigismund* of eight cities and castles, all garrisoned with *Polish* troops. An army was sent to *Finland*, with orders to seize duke *John* and his wife, to bring them living or dead to *Stockholm*, and to reduce

<sup>f</sup> LOCZEN. lib. vii. p. 353.      <sup>g</sup> Id. ibid.

the inhabitants of that province. But unhappily, *Eric* must *He de-*  
 embark in new exploits of gallantry while he was thus deep- *mands the*  
 ly engaged in war. He must needs send ambassadors to *princess of*  
*Hesse Cassel*, to demand the landgrave's daughter in marriage; *Hesse Cas-*  
 a prince whose alliance could be of little service at this junc- *sel in mar-*  
 ture. The ambassadors were charged not to return without *riage.*  
 the princess; and to escort her with safety, a squadron of 12  
 men of war were put to sea under the command of admiral  
*Jacob Bagge*. This admiral met the *Danish* fleet off the island *His fleet*  
 of *Borkholm*, an engagement ensued, and after an obstinate *defeats the*  
 conflict, the enemy were defeated, though greatly superior *Danes.*  
 in number, the *Danish* admiral, seven captains, and nine  
 hundred men made prisoners, four ships taken, and about  
 six hundred officers and marines killed. The remainder of  
 the *Danish* fleet, greatly shattered, was forced to put into  
 the first port; and the *Swedish* admiral having sent his booty  
 to *Stockholm*, proceeded on his voyage, without offering the  
 least violence to the *Danish* commerce <sup>b</sup>.

*ERIC* was no sooner informed of this action, than he  
 sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*, to complain of the violence  
 offered to the *Swedish* flag, previous to any declaration of  
 war, and while the nations lived in profound peace. The  
 ambassadors were likewise instructed, to end the dispute in  
 the way of negotiation, and favour an exchange of prisoners;  
 but the *Danes*, piqued at their defeat, continued their pre-  
 parations for war. A great number of *German* troops came  
 to their assistance; the *Lubeckers* joined the *Danish* fleet with  
 twelve men of war: in a word, an army of 30,000 men  
 took the field, and a fleet of fifty ships covered the ocean.  
 An irruption was made by the *Norwegians* into the provinces  
 of *Dale*, *Wermland*, and *Helsingia*. Matters took a serious  
 turn, and the *Swedish* ambassadors strove in vain to accom-  
 modate them amicably. The landgrave of *Hesse*, who did  
 not relish the terms proposed to his daughter, desired the  
 treaty of marriage might be deferred to a more seasonable  
 and pacific occasion; but he readily offered, in conjunc-  
 tion with the duke of *Saxony*, to interfere as mediator to  
 reconcile the courts of *Sweden* and *Denmark* <sup>c</sup>.

In the mean time, the *Swedish* troops reduced *Abo* by a *The*  
 stratagem; and duke *John*, his wife and family, were con- *Swedes*  
 ducted prisoners to *Stockholm*; himself, and all his domestics, *reduce*  
 accused of rebellion, and condemned to death, without hope *Abo, and*  
 of pardon, except from the king's clemency. The states *duke John*  
 were obliged to sign this sentence. Almost all the native *is made*  
 prisoner.

<sup>b</sup> LOCEN. lib. vii.<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. p. 394.

domesticks suffered the punishment decreed, the foreigners were sent out of the kingdom; and as for the duke himself, his life was saved, but his whole estate was confiscated, and his person condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which his duchess voluntarily accompanied him, and continued near four years. Here he passed every day in imminent danger of his life; for *Eric*, who pretended to a smattering in astrology, prognosticated, that the pardon which he granted to his brother, would one day become fatal to himself. It is reported, that the king went frequently to the prison with intention to murder his brother, but was always upon seeing him melted into pity, which made him throw himself at the duke's feet, and confess his bloody intention. Often had he told the duke, that the crown of *Sweden* was destined for him, and intreated that he would pardon his errors whenever that event happened. Hence we may collect the weakness of his disposition, the truth of that suspicion of insanity harboured by *Gustavus*, and the eternal apprehensions he ever was under that his brothers would rebel. We may likewise perceive, that his natural disposition was humane and tender, though perverted with superstition, and a prey to the evil counsels of certain intriguing worthless minions and favourites. His misfortune was, that the nobility, disoblige with the late act against them, and connected by alliance with the duke, refused to communicate their advice to the king, which forced him to throw himself into the arms of those pests of society, the sycophants and parasites of his court<sup>d</sup>.

*Further  
success  
of the  
Swedish  
troops.*

THE *Swedish* arms were extremely successful in *Livonia*. After the reduction of *Abo*, the king's admiral surprised and defeated the armament sent by his *Polish* majesty to relieve that place. Almost the whole province was subdued; but the same good fortune did not attend his majesty's enterprises against *Denmark*. King *Frederic* encamped before *Elfsburgh*; some say he besieged that place, but was forced to raise it. Certain it is, that, disappointed in his expectation of exciting a revolt in *West Gothland*, he discharged his choler upon the unfortunate inhabitants, with a fury fatal to them, and prejudicial to his own character, however the *Danish* writers may palliate his conduct. He used every expedient to draw *Eric* to a battle; but that prince contented himself with harassing the *Danish* army, until an opportunity should offer of attacking to advantage. To effect this purpose, he divided his army into three bodies; one he sent

<sup>d</sup> Loccen. *ibid*.

to *Wernland* and *Daly*, under the command of *Peter Broke*; another was detached under the conduct of *Gustavus Steenberg*, with orders to enter *West Gothland*; and the third he led in person to *Smaland*. About the same time a faithful person was sent to his brother duke *Magnus*, to prevail on him to sign the sentence passed on duke *John*. That prince at first refused to comply from some scruples of conscience, which were soon quieted, upon *Eric's* assurance, that in case he died without male issue, *Magnus* should succeed to the crown. *Magnus* signed the sentence; but it is said, he could never get over the pangs of conscience, which wore out his constitution, and brought on his death prematurely.

It appears that the operations of the war, between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, went on with vigour for the whole summer-season, though nothing can be more obscure and unsatisfactory, than all the relations of their historians, who content themselves with relating a few unimportant events, and fill up the remainder of the year with *Eric's* gallantries and courtships, which he never once relinquished amidst the tumult of arms and din of war. The *Swedish* garrison at *Elfsburgh* surrendered that place upon *Swedes* honourable terms, after making vigorous resistance; but the approaching winter, and march of the *Swedish* army, stopt burgh. the progress of the *Danes*, and obliged them to go into winter-quarters in *Schonen*.

To revenge the loss of *Elfsburgh*, *Eric* made an attempt on *Bahus* and *Heimstadt*, but succeeded in neither. The garrison of the latter place amused *Eric* so long with the hopes of surrendering, that the frost coming on, obliged him to raise the siege, and return to *Sweden*. In his march he divided the army into two columns, the left of which was attacked by the *Danes*. The *Swedish* infantry faced about, and fought with the utmost gallantry; but being deserted by the cavalry, they were compelled to retreat, with the loss of three or four hundred men. *Eric* was enraged at this insult, and to revenge it, he entered *Halland* and *Bleking*, which provinces he ravaged without mercy. His troops, *Advantagewise*, gained possession of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, the castle *tages* of *Stenswickholm*, with the adjacent territory; but he did not long maintain his conquests, the vice-roy coming against *the Swedes* in *Norway* with a greatly superior force.

*FREDERIC* began to think, that the little success which had hitherto attended his arms, boded but trifling advantages from the continuance of the war. He therefore

• Idem. ibid.

† Hist. de Dan. tom. iv.

A. D. 1564. wrote to king *Eric*, to propose ending their disputes by negotiation. In concert with the regency of *Lubec*, he invited the emperor, the *French* king, the elector of *Saxony*, and duke of *Brunswic*, to intercede as mediators. In effect, a congress was appointed, but acts of hostility did not cease. *Eric* laid siege to *Elfsburgh* with a powerful army, and put to sea a fleet of forty ships, which was entirely dispersed in a storm, and not more than two ships, besides the admiral's, saved. These small remains fell in with the enemy's squadron off the island of *Oeland*, and finding it impossible to escape, resolved upon a gallant defence. After fighting with the most desperate fury for several hours, against a squadron ten times their own number, they were surrounded by the enemy, forced to strike, and the brave admiral *Bagge* was taken prisoner. It is reported by the *Swedish* writers, that *Bagge* would have extricated himself, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, had not the powder-room unfortunately taken fire, which obliged him to quit the ship\*. She blew up a few minutes after, and the *Danes* lost the most important consequence of their victory, the finest ship at that time in *Europe* (A).

*The Swedish fleet  
lost in a storm, and  
the brave  
admiral  
Bagge  
taken by  
the Danes.*

THE more inclined *Eric* perceived his *Danish* majesty was to an accommodation, the less disposed did he seem to terminate their disputes by treaty. His ambassadors never appeared at the congress, which he excused by the frivolous apology, that he had mistaken the time. He likewise alleged, that it was not customary to conclude treaties between crowned heads in any of the *Hanse* towns, but that congresses for this purpose ought to be held on the frontiers. Thus the negotiations were broke off, and *Frederic* resumed his military operations, by prevailing on the emperor to prohibit the *Hanse* towns from supplying *Sweden* with warlike stores. The city of *Lubec*, connected with *Denmark* by treaty, alone obeyed his imperial majesty's edict; the rest of the cities in general replied, that as *Denmark* had

\* LOCCEŒ. lib. vii. ibid.

(A) The *Swedish* writers relate another gallant action of *Andrew Beronis*, one of their sea-captains, that deserves to be recorded. Strefs of weather obliging him to put into the mouth of the river *Warnow*, the senate of *Rostock* invited him to come nearer the city, to avoid

being insulted by the *Danes*. This he avoided, as derogatory of his character. He was attacked by sea and land, defended himself obstinately, but finding resistance vain, he blew up the ship, and perished with her. *Puffend. p. 410.*

begun

begun a war upon a slight foundation, it was unreasonable the free cities should be deprived of the right of commerce, merely for the sake of a people with whom they were no way allied or connected.

ERIC, assured of receiving supplies from the *Hanse* <sup>Eric's vast</sup> towns, resumed the war with a full intention to enlarge his <sup>projects.</sup> dominions. He resolved first to reduce the isle of *Gothland*, and re-annex it to the crown. Next *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, were the objects of his ambition. Then he thought of nothing less than conquering *Norway*, a kingdom which the *Danes* had violently wrested from *Charles Canutson*. To accomplish these great designs, it was necessary to extricate himself from a war with *Poland*, in which he was engaged; but the negotiations on this subject were fruitless, because the king of *Poland* made it a necessary preliminary, that duke *John* and his wife should be released.

THE first military operations of the summer happened at <sup>Success of</sup> sea. *Nicolas Horn*, the *Swedish* admiral, fell in with a fleet <sup>the Swedes</sup> of *Lubec* merchantmen, richly laden, of which he took six, <sup>at sea.</sup> together with 300 seamen. He next gave battle to the *Danish* fleet off the isle of *Oeland*, and after a sharp engagement obliged the enemy to sheer off, with the loss of four capital ships. Pursuing his success, *Horn* made great havock among the *Danish* merchantmen. At last, he was a second time attacked by the royal squadron, and with the same success as before. Nor was *Eric* idle by land; perceiving the difficulty of reducing *Elfsburgh*, he turned his arms against *Bleking*, and took the city of *Lyckeby*. He summoned the inhabitants of the province to submit; but they refusing with contempt, he ordered, that all who were arrived at the age of manhood should be put to the sword. Next he pillaged and laid waste *Schonen*, after which he returned to *Sweden*.

THE *Danes* profited by *Eric's* retreat. They soon retook *Lyckeby*, and demolished the fortifications the *Swedes* had erected. They attempted penetrating into *Smaland*, but they were driven out by the peasants with great loss. On the other hand, the *Swedes* committed cruel ravages in <sup>Ravages</sup> *Norway*, having pillaged *Drontheim*, *Uddewalla*, and *Kongsal*, <sup>committed</sup> without meeting any opposition. Towards the end of this <sup>in Nor-</sup> year, his *Danish* majesty sent plenipotentiaries to *Calmar*, <sup>way by</sup> to treat not only of a peace, but of *Eric's* marriage with the <sup>the Swedes</sup> princess of *Hesse*. The *Swedish* ambassadors likewise attended, but the conference was broke off without concluding either business; and the princess was soon after married to the duke of *Holstein*. Thus every attempt to procure *Eric* a queen in foreign countries proving abortive, the states as-



A. D. 1565. sembled at *Upsal* consented that he should marry a lady of his own country. However, he seemed to relax in his violent inclinations for matrimony, in proportion as he found obstructions to it removed<sup>h</sup>.

EARLY the next year *Eric* marched his army, in three divisions, towards *Norway* and the province of *Holland*. They carried fire and devastation wherever they went. The enemy made reprisals, laying *Smaland* waste, with the same barbarity. This was a horrid and cruel method of waging war, happily abolished among the more civilized nations; but it struck at the sinews of the state, and by disabling the peasants, destroying the corn, and ruining the husbandman, frequently put a speedy issue to the shedding of blood. The *Danes* attempted to raise the siege of *Elfsburgh*, which was again renewed; but after being twice repulsed, they at last threw in a strong reinforcement into the place, having forced one of the *Swedish* posts (B).

THE Swedes are masters at sea. DURING the spring, *Nicolas Horn* put to sea, with a squadron of forty sail. Near *Stralsund* he met some of the enemy's ships, which he would have infallibly sunk, had not the duke of *Pomerania* strongly interceded for their safety, promising to detain them in his ports, until the war should be ended. After this, *Horn* directed his course towards *Falsterbo*, where the *Lubec* squadron lay waiting to be joined by the *Danes*. On sight of the *Swedish* admiral, they made all the sail they could for *Copenhagen*; and the *Swedes*, now masters of the sea, entered the *Sound*, and took 250 merchantmen, homeward-bound from the western ocean. At length the *Danish* fleet being ready to put to sea, resolved, in conjunction with the *Lubeckers*, to go in quest of *Horn*, and revenge the insults and losses lately sustained. An engagement between the fleets. *Horn* did not refuse battle, but waiting for the enemy between *Wassena* and *Rosstock*, both fleets began a furious en-

<sup>h</sup> Loccen. lib. vii. p. 364.

(B) About this time *Steen Erickson*, the *Swedish* ambassador, detained prisoner in *Denmark* since the commencement of the war, was now set at liberty. This excited the king's jealousy. He thought it extraordinary that he should be released so suddenly, and could only account for this conduct, by supposing that *Erickson* had entered upon

private engagements with his *Danish* majesty, to excite troubles in *Sweden*, by procuring duke *John's* liberty. This presumption determined *Eric* to confine his brother more closely, and likewise to commit *Erickson* to prison; but his suspicion was soon removed, and that nobleman again restored to his favour. Loccen. lib. vii. p. 361.

gement

agement on the fourth of *June*, which continued all day, without any apparent advantage on either side. The calm that ensued next morning prevented their renewing the fight; and on the third day, as the *Swedish* fleet was bearing down to engage, the *Danes* returned to the *Sound*. Such is the account given by the *Swedish* historians; and it is supported with probability, as the *Lubeckers* shewed but little inclination to renew the combat, and the *Danish* admiral *Trolle* was dangerously wounded. Notwithstanding the loss was very considerable on both sides, and particularly on that of the *Danes*, nothing decisive flowed from this battle. *Horn* indeed, after giving chase to the enemy, made a descent on the island of *Mona*, and put all the inhabitants to the sword<sup>1</sup>.

IN *Livonia* the *Swedish* affairs went less successfully. They *Progress* lost *Pernau*; but had the good fortune to raise the siege of *Revel*, on which the *Poles* made several abortive attempts. *in Livonia*.

In the winter, negotiations for a peace were renewed as usual; but *Eric's* advantages lately obtained, made him rise so much in his demands, that his *Danish* majesty resolved to continue the war. Upon this, *Eric* marched to give battle to the *Danish* army in the neighbourhood of *Elfsburgh*. The *Danes* retreated at his approach, and *Eric* poured out all his vengeance on *Warberg*; however, the first assault, which the garrison withstood with infinite spirit, cooled his ardour, and determined him to pass to *West Gothland*, *Eric besieges Warburg*. to view at a distance the operations of that siege. His retreat greatly dispirited the soldiers, persuading them either that the danger was very great, or his majesty too careful of his own person; but the arrival of duke *Charles* restored their spirits, and encouraged them to push on the siege with vigour. The whole town was set on fire with bombs and ignited balls, the breach in the wall stormed, and after an obstinate dispute, for the space of five hours, carried with great slaughter. Notwithstanding the place was taken by assault, the *Swedes* gave quarter to all who threw down their arms; and, from their humanity, five hundred *German* foot, and an hundred *French* and *Scotch* volunteers, received their lives<sup>2</sup>. *It is taken by storm*.

ALL the northern quarter of *Halland* was thrown into the utmost consternation by the loss of *Warberg*, and submitted to *Eric*. The citadel, however, still made a gallant defence; but was likewise forced to surrender, after the defeat of the

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. ibid.  
GEN. lib. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. de Dan. ibid. Loc-

*Sea-fight.*

forces sent to raise the siege. The *Swedish* writers alledge it was taken by assault, and the officers, who sought refuge in the womens apartments, saved at their intercession. These signal advantages were followed by other successes at sea. The *Danish* fleet was defeated off *Bornholm*; the admiral and chief officers were taken prisoners, and several ships sunk and destroyed; but not without the loss of many men and ships on the side of the *Swedes*. That victory declared evidently in favour of the latter, appears from the retreat of the *Danes*, the capture of their admiral, the pursuit of the *Swedes*, and the superiority at sea they maintained during the season.

*Swedes defeated.*

AFTER taking *Warberg*, the *Swedish* army retired to *Sunder*, and the *Danes* laid hold of that opportunity to lay siege to the place, with a view to re-conquer it, before the breaches made in the late siege could be repaired. But the vigorous conduct of *Mornay*, the governor, who repulsed them in three successive assaults, and the approach of the royal army, obliged them to relinquish the enterprise. A detachment from the king's army, having intelligence of their rout, resolved to intercept them, which they did as they were attempting to cross the river *Swartera*. This threw the enemy into despair, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, imploring the divine protection; and the *Swedes* construing this behaviour into fear, and relying on their own superiority, made no doubt but they would all surrender. The post the *Swedes* occupied was advantageous; but their security made them leave it with indifference, in order to attack the enemy on more equal terms. Instead of throwing down their arms, the *Danes* began the engagement, and fought for several hours with such desperate fury, that the *Swedes* were forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation, having left about 6000 killed, wounded, and prisoners upon the field<sup>a</sup>.

*The king's behaviour to Nils Sture.*

*ERIC* was extremely irritated at this defeat, owing to the cowardice of the *German* cavalry, as well as to the imprudence of his general. To punish the former, he ordered *Nils Sture* to put all to death who had fled out of the field before the retreat was sounded, and to destroy the houses of certain bailiffs in *West Gothland*, who had shewn, by their conduct, a secret partiality to the *Danes*. *Sture* refused to obey such rigorous orders, and drew upon himself the royal displeasure. All the king's suspicions against this only remaining branch of the ancient family of the admi-

<sup>a</sup> Auct. supra citat. ibid.

nistrators was roused, and he persuaded himself that *Sture* was engaged in a conspiracy to release duke *John*, and place him upon the throne. He ordered this nobleman to be conducted in the most ignominious manner to *Stockholm*, mounted upon a peasant's horse, with a crown of straw upon his head, and exposed all the way to the scoffs and derision of the populace. From this imprudent conduct we may date the source of his misfortunes, and of those domestic broils which again brought the nation into great danger. Such an indignity to the character of a nobleman of the first rank and merit, alienated the minds of great numbers of men, and was never to be erased out of the memory of his friends, notwithstanding the king so far restored him to his favour, as to send him ambassador to *Lorraine*, to negotiate a marriage with a princess of that house.

THE late advantage gained over the *Swedish* troops had so Negotiated the king of *Denmark*, that, at the conference held in tions for a the winter, he proposed such terms of accommodation as it peace. could scarce be expected his *Swedish* majesty would have complied with, after repeated losses. They could not therefore fail of appearing ridiculous to a monarch, who regarded himself as victorious, upon the whole, notwithstanding this check to his conquests: they were therefore rejected with disdain; upon which his *Danish* majesty repeated his instances to the imperial court, to prohibit the *Hanse* towns from supplying *Sweden* with ammunition and warlike stores. The emperor, in consequence, wrote to king *Eric*, pressing him to listen to terms, and accept of him as mediator between the northern crowns. The messenger, sent with this letter, being detained in *Sweden*, he then published the prohibition required by the king of *Denmark* and regency of *Lubeck*, but to no effect<sup>1</sup>.

THE following year was ushered in with unhappy pre-  
sages to *Eric*. He lost a great number of troops before *Pernaw*, which place he was desirous of retaking; and a plague creeping into his army, made terrible ravages, and swept off the greater part of his forces. Nevertheless, his fleet put to sea in quest of the enemy, and to open the passage of the *Sound*, which the *Danes* had blocked up. The enterprise was successful; many ships were taken in sight of the enemy's fleet, who durst not hazard a battle; and the *Swedish* merchantmen convoyed safe under the very flag of the *Danish* admiral. Off the island of *Mona* the *Swedes* met a fleet of 200 merchantmen, which they forced into the

A. D.  
1566.

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. ibid.

*Advantages gained by the Swedish fleet.*

ports of *Sweden*, to sell their goods, and particularly salt, at the market-price. At last the two fleets came to an action, which terminated to the disadvantage of the *Danes*, who were forced to sheer off with considerable loss. To complete their ruin and disgrace, they were soon after overtaken in a storm, several ships were cast away on the rocks, among which were the *Danish* and *Lubec* admirals, and the whole loss amounted to about 9000 men and 16 large vessels; in consequence of which the *Swedes* rode the ocean triumphant for the remainder of the year.

NOR were the *Danes* more fortunate by land. A detachment from the main army made an irruption into *West Gothland*, where, after ravaging certain places, they were attacked by *Mornay*, governor of *Warberg*, defeated with the loss of 2000 men slain, an equal number of prisoners, and of all their booty. *Mornay*, flushed with success, ventured to lay siege to *Helmstadt*, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt on the approach of the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers. Thus ended the campaign of 1566, in which the advantage by sea remained wholly on the side of the *Swedes*, while that by land was pretty equal; so that upon the whole *Eric* seemed to have the better, and accordingly raised his terms at the negotiation introduced upon the carpet in winter. It is probable indeed that he would have extricated himself with honour out of this war, but for the unfortunate expedition to *Norway*, undertaken at the persuasion of *Ennon Brunck*, who passed for one of the principal personages of that kingdom, and pretended that he was sent with an invitation to *Eric* from the chief inhabitants of the country. He said they were earnest to shake off the *Danish* yoke, and would receive him with open arms, as their deliverer. *Eric*, without further enquiry, ordered his army to march through *Dalecarlia* to *Norway*, under the conduct of *Sigefson*, over the high mountains that divide that kingdom from *Sweden*, and through woods almost impenetrable. On the arrival of *Sigefson* in *Norway*, he found the people disposed very differently from what was represented. He was every where attacked and harrassed by numerous troops of peasants; the country was laid waste before, and his army reduced to great extremities. Fortunately he surprised *Hammerhusz*, where his troops found some subsistence, after which he undertook the siege of *Azle*, but was obliged to relinquish it for want of heavy artillery to make approaches in form. In a word, the *Swedish* army returned home, disappointed, harrassed, fatigued, and broken\*.

*An unfortunate expedition against Norway.*

A. D.  
1567.

\* LOCEN. lib. vii. PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 432.

Now domestic troubles grew to such a height, that *Eric Domestic* had no time to attend to foreign wars. We have already recited many occasions of secret discontent, and into what contempt *Eric* brought himself by his fickleness and gallantry, and by his amours and courtships, at almost every court in *Europe*, where there was a princess arrived at the age of maturity. Among his concubines was *Catherine*, daughter to a peasant of *Medelpad*, who had gained an entire ascendancy over the king. When a little girl she used to sell fruit about the city, and being one day observed by *Eric*, he was so struck with her beauty, that he took her under his care, and had her genteelly educated. At a proper age he made her his mistress, and grew so passionately fond, that he not only dismissed all his other women, but at last made *Catherine* queen of *Sweden*. It was reported she had given the king philters and love-potions; a notion that arose from his unaccountable and blind passion for a woman descended from the very dregs of the people. These violent transports of passion, which often rose to insanity, were attributed to these potions; though in fact this misfortune had been taken notice of very early by his father *Gustavus*. Others imagined that the king's intense application to astrology, and the ridiculous whims and superstitions adopted from this vain science, had impaired his natural faculties, and disturbed his reason. Certain it is, that he became obstinate, suspicious, jealous, and vindictive, furious in the paroxysms of jealousy, and so outrageous, that constraint on his person was often found necessary.

Among the many extraordinary prejudices entertained by *Eric*, the most unfortunate was his hatred to the *Sture* family. He had but lately taken *Nils Sture* into favour, and sent him, in quality of his ambassador, to *Stralsund*; now he again became his abhorrence, and probably because he was jealous of the favour shewn him by *Catherine*. To this were added a thousand other whims, all arising from the same cause. He conceived that *Sture* was conspiring against his life and crown, in order to enjoy the latter with *Catherine*; though in fact *Sture* heartily despised that favourite lady. He laboured to convince the states, that *Sture* carried on dangerous intrigues at *Stralsund*; that he was ambitious of recovering the dignity possessed by his ancestors, and earnest to revenge the late affront given to his pride. His old governor *Beurre*, who hated *Sture*, confirmed his suspicions, and told him, when the body was too full of blood, phle-

The king  
persecutes  
the Sture

family.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

botomy was necessary, meaning that *Sture* ought to be put to death. It was not difficult to determine the king to extirpate the *Sture* family. He put every expedient in execution to find foundation sufficient for a process. After having long tried in vain, at last a page of *Sture's* was found armed with a pistol at court, upon which he was seized, put to the torture, and every means practised to force him to acknowledge that he was employed by his master to assassinate the king. The faithful domestic, however, continued firm; and neither promises nor the power of torments could prevail on him to accuse his master; upon which he was put

*Eric's vile* to death.

*stratagem*  
*to ruin*  
*this fa-*  
*mily.*

THIS scheme being frustrated, *Eric* fell upon another stratagem, equally mean. He corrupted a young *Pomeranian* merchant to declare, that he was told by a gentleman of that country, that *Nils Sture* was taking measures to dethrone the king. This attestation was confirmed by the testimonies of a doctor of physic, and the king's organist; to which were added several specious and forged letters, supposed to be written by *Sture* and his adherents. Full of expectation from such undeniable documents, *Eric* assembled the states, under pretence of consulting upon measures for suppressing the many alarming conspiracies now forming in the kingdom. He removed his court to *Swartso*, as if he did not think himself secure at *Stockholm*, and to give an air of credibility to the pretended conspiracy. Soon after, he had *Suante Sture*, with his sons *Eric*, *Steen Ericson*, *Steen Banier*, and *Ivar Ivarson*, arrested. Several other lords, whom the king suspected, underwent the same treatment. *Suante Sture* was examined before the king at *Swartso*, and circumstances appeared so favourable, that *Eric* could not avoid declaring him innocent; notwithstanding which he was cited, with several other persons, to plead his defence at *Upsal*. With respect to *Nils Sture*, every circumstance appeared so clear, so open, and candid, that the king complimented him on the occasion, and hoped he would endeavour to forget the suspicion entertained against his loyalty. He visited *Suante* and *Eric Sture* in prison, and apologised for his conduct; but a few days after he stabbed *Nils Sture* with a poignard, who, pulling the weapon out of his side, killed it, and presented it to the king. This moderation, however, did not prevent his being put to death by the guards, who were ordered by the king to fall upon him with their halberds. All the rest of the prisoners were cruelly massacred, and their death carefully concealed, until *Ivar Peerfon* had obliged the states, to condemn capitally those persons who  
were

were already dead, by which he hoped to save the king's honour <sup>a</sup>.

*ERIC*, notwithstanding this success, could not resist *Eric runs* the pangs of his own conscience. He grew frantic, and in *mad.* a fit of despair took shelter in the woods, where he prowled about like a savage, in the habit of a peasant. At last he was found, and brought back by the influence of his wife *Catherine*, who prevailed on him to take some food and repose. A new scene now opened. He distributed large sums of money among the states, to engage them in his interest by his liberality. He poured out all his generosity on the friends and relations of the deceased, and laid the whole blame of his cruelties on *Peer-son*, who had seduced him to this bloody action. Upon this *Peer-son* was tried, and condemned for this and other high crimes and misdemeanors; particularly for having put to death 26 persons, without consulting the king or the senate <sup>a</sup>.

HOWEVER the friends of the deceased lords might pretend to be satisfied with the atonement made by *Eric*, they still harboured an implacable resentment, and watched the opportunity for revenging the injury. Nor did *Eric* much rely on external appearances; he knew that his crimes were of such a nature as could not be heartily forgiven. To try their sincerity, he put the government into the hands of a regency, chosen out of the senators, pretending he would no more intermeddle in public affairs. This, he imagined, would furnish them with an opportunity of expressing their resentment, if they harboured any, of forming conspiracies, and entering upon intrigues, which he might quash, by resuming the reins of government <sup>o</sup>.

His *Danish* majesty beheld with pleasure these rising commotions in *Sweden*, which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He made all possible preparations for attacking *Eric* as soon as the season permitted, in expectation that his attempts would be greatly assisted by the strong party of malecontents in *Sweden*. *Eric* penetrated his designs, and believed they could only be frustrated by plucking up the roots of civil discord, and reuniting himself to his brothers. In this opinion he was confirmed by the perpetual exhortations of his brother duke *Charles*, his mother-in-law, his wife, and the noblesse. The friends of the deceased lords, though they mortally hated *Eric*, yet joined in this request, as imagining it necessary to the public security,

<sup>a</sup> Hist. de Dan. tom. v. p. 92.

<sup>o</sup> Loccen. lib. vii.

<sup>o</sup> PUFFEND. *ibid.*



*Duke John* Persuaded by their arguments, the king agreed to set *John* at liberty, upon certain conditions, with which the duke complied without hesitation. Accordingly the duke was released, to the great joy of the *Swedish* nation, who had always expressed the utmost affection to this prince, the favourite of their darling monarch, the great *Gustavus*.

*The king's intrigues with the czar of Muscovy.* To understand the king's proceedings on this occasion, it is necessary to have a retrospect to his negotiations with the czar of *Muscovy*, at the beginning of the war. *Eric* had often solicited the czar to form an alliance against *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, to whose daughter duke *John* was married. The *Russian* had before paid his addresses to this princess, but met with a repulse. He now demanded as a preliminary article of the treaty, that she should be restored to him; and this *Eric* knew he could not perform without endangering a civil war, and the life of the duke his brother. Unable to determine how to act, the negotiation was protracted for some years. At length he resolved to gain the czar at the expence of his honour, his natural affections, and humanity. He agreed to surrender the duchess, and for this purpose a splendid ambassy arrived from the czar. The massacre at *Upsal* had so embarrassed him, that he thought he should stand in need of the powerful alliance of that prince, to defend him against his own subjects. When the ambassadors arrived, *Eric* began to meditate how he should fulfil his engagement. He was still more disconcerted by intelligence that the *Danish* army was approaching the frontiers; which he feared would excite an insurrection, in case he detained duke *John* in prison. This was a very critical situation, and to make the most of it, *Eric* removed the duke from *Göteborg* to *Wentholm*, obliging him to sign an instrument, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown, and acknowledged *Eric*'s son by *Catherine* the legitimate heir; to swear, in his own and his duchess's person, to forget all injuries done to either; to promise that he would always pay that fidelity and obedience that was due to the king his elder brother; to use his whole interest in mediating a peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*; constantly to oppose *Denmark* with all his might; and in case *Frederic* and the regency of *Luke* were comprehended in the treaty of peace, to resign the provinces of *Halland* and *Schonen*, with his conquests in *Livonia*, to the crown of *Sweden*. He likewise obliged him to engage, that *Poland* should not conclude a peace with *Russia* without comprehending *Sweden* in the treaty. *John* acceded to all the conditions, with a full determination to break them as soon as an opportunity offered. His conscience could

could easily answer an infraction of terms, unjust in themselves, imposed by force, and accepted through necessity. However, he renewed his promises without scruple in the king's presence, and no sooner obtained his liberty, than he proceeded to acquit himself of a part of his engagements, by endeavouring to bring the king of *Poland* to consent to a peace with *Sweden*. *Peerſon*, however, who was also set at liberty, notwithstanding the sentence of death passed upon him, began his old practices. He again insinuated himself into the king's favour, and obtained such an ascendancy, that when his secretary *Martin Heſſing* honestly advised his majesty to beware of this artful person, the king stabbed him with his own hand. At *Peerſon*'s persuasion, it was that the king proposed assigning his brothers certain lands in *Livonia*, as an equivalent for those granted them by their father *Gustavus*; as it was in their refusal to accept of his proposals, that he finally resolved to surrender the duchess *Catharine*, *John*'s wife, to the *Muscovite* ambassadors. This design he determined to execute on the day appointed for the solemnization of his marriage, with his mistress *Catherine*, for hitherto he had not publicly acknowledged that lady for his queen. His intrigues were discovered by the dukes, and they immediately deliberated with the friends of the lords massacred at *Upſal*, in what manner they could avert the blow. At last it was unanimously resolved to dethrone *Erik*; and to prevent the *Danes* from traversing their designs, an ambassador was sent to *Copenhagen*.

A. D.  
1568.

*ERIC* was all this while bent on the execution of his project, which he imagined lay concealed, and the solemnization of his nuptials. When the day arrived, he espoused his mistress *Catharine*, but failed in the attempt to spirit off the duchess, who had taken effectual measures to disappoint him. In the mean time, the dukes *John* and *Charles* having raised a considerable force, and made themselves masters of sufficient treasure to prosecute the war, attacked the fortresses of *Wadſtena*, *Steksburgh*, and *Leckoo*, which they took, obliging the garrisons to swear allegiance to them. At the first of these places they seized the treasure of duke *Magnus*, which they recoinced in their own names. After this they wrote to the king, demanding the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting him to govern the kingdom with more wisdom, and conduct himself with more prudence and circumspection than he had lately shewn. They particularly entreated him to remove *Peerſon* from

P. LOCCEN. et PUFFEND. *ibid*.

his councils; but the king returned a haughty answer, they declared war, and published their reasons for this proceeding, in a strong well drawn manifesto<sup>a</sup>.

*ERIC* finding himself involved in domestic troubles, when he expected a perfect reconciliation with his brothers, determined to put an end, if possible, to the foreign wars in which he was engaged. With this view he assembled the states, and communicated several proposals for accommodating all differences with *Denmark*. But so rapid was the progress made by the dukes, that the king found no leisure to enter upon negotiations with foreign powers. Full of hope to crush *Eric* at one blow, they were in rapid march at the head of a powerful army towards *Upsal*. His majesty immediately put himself at the head of a body of troops to oppose them. He several times attacked the enemies advanced guard, and burnt *Nioping*, which belonged to duke *Charles*.

A. D.  
1568.

Stock-  
holm be-  
sieged.

THIS, however, was all the advantage he could obtain. The dukes, after traversing *Sundermania*, and dispersing all the detached royal parties, appeared before *Stockholm*. Numbers of the inhabitants and soldiers of the capital came out to join them, and among the rest the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh*, lately married to the king's sister, upon information that *Eric* had formed a design against his life. His majesty finding that force would not avail him, had recourse to other expedients, which proved equally ineffectual. When the dukes army was seen encamped at *Norder Malm*, *Joran Peerfon* told the king, "If your majesty had followed my advice with respect to duke *John*, you would not now be besieged in your capital." Previous to opening the trenches, several overtures for a peace were made from one side and the other, which all came to nothing, as the dukes made it an essential article of their agreement, that *Peerfon* should be surrendered to justice, to suffer the punishment due to the crime of misleading his sovereign, to the destruction of the commonwealth. At last, however, *Eric* perceiving matters pushing to a crisis, consented that he should be delivered up to the dukes. *Peerfon* was instantly seized, with his mother, who passed for a witch; and he now behaved as abjectly, as he had before done insolently, while he basked in the sunshine of the royal favour. When he was put to the torture, he confessed the most abominable crimes, and among others a project formed by himself and the king, of pillaging *Stockholm*, stripping all the wealth of the city on

<sup>a</sup> Loccen. lib. vii. p. 374.

putting it on board vessels in the harbour, to which they proposed setting fire, and then steering with the rest of the squadron for *Narva*. This determined the dukes to break the treaty, and push the siege with vigour, in hopes of saving the city. The trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with fury; but the king opposed all their attempts with equal skill and intrepidity. Brisk sallies were made every night, and the camp of the besiegers kept in perpetual alarm. His majesty sent an express to demand succours of his *Danish* majesty, and offered very advantageous terms; but the express was taken at sea and put to death, after having thrown his dispatches over-board<sup>c</sup>.

*ERIC*, now destitute of succours and advice, began to despair of his affairs. He secreted 150,000 crowns, with intention to levy forces to reconquer his dominions. He formed a thousand other ideal projects, but was in the mean while forced to yield to the inclination the people expressed *Peerfon* of opening their gates to the dukes. His majesty now lost *beheaded* all hopes upon seeing *Peerfon* executed on a high gibbet before the walls, and proclaimed a robber, adulterer, assassin, incendiary and traitor; crimes but too clearly proved. He endeavoured, however, to pacify the senate and inhabitants, and encourage them to support the fatigues of a siege some days longer; but they had agreed to admit the enemy privately in the night. A postern gate was opened to duke *Charles*, who entered with a body of troops, and immediately pillaged the house of *Peerfon*, from which he could not restrain the soldiers. His design was to seize the king's person; but the alarm raised by the pillaging of *Peerfon's* 28th Sept. house, gave his majesty the alarm, and enabled him to escape to the citadel. Here he was immediately invested, and forced to capitulate, after a very short defence. He consented to yield up his crown, and desired no other terms than that he might be confined in a prison suited to his dignity. Upon this he was given to the friends of the nobility massacred at *Upsal*, who it was supposed would guard him with the utmost vigilance; the senate renounced their allegiance, their resolution was soon followed by the states, and duke *Jahn* solemnly elected king. Thus ended the glory of *Eric*, a prince doomed by the fickleness and inconsistency of his nature to misfortune; and yet endowed with talents which might render himself and people powerful and happy. In one circumstance there appeared a steadiness of disposition; namely, in chusing favourites hateful to his subjects, and

*The king  
surrenders,  
and is de-  
posed.*

<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. tom. i. p. 446.

skreening them from the just punishment of their crimes the resentment of their injured fellow subjects <sup>d</sup>.

## S E C T. VII.

Containing the reigns of John, Sigismund,  
Charles IX.

Duke John  
elected  
king.

**J**OHN had no sooner ascended the throne, than he ordered the authors of the horrid massacre at *Upsal* tried, condemned and executed. He raised his uncle, *Ericson*, to the dignity of baron, which he extended to his heirs male. Among the first proceedings of his reign the embassy sent to the czar *John Basilowitz*, to announce elevation, and acquaint him with the resolution he formed of concluding a peace with *Denmark*. Finally declare, that his inclination to enter upon a good understanding with the czar, had prevented him from using ambassadors found in *Stockholm*, in the manner they served, considering the pernicious designs they were plotting against him <sup>a</sup>.

Disputes  
with Den-  
mark.

In the next place an embassy was sent to *Copenhagen* to finish the peace between the two crowns, which had some time been in agitation. The conduct of his misdeeds reflected dishonour on *John*; they signed a peace at *Roskilde*, shameful to *Sweden*. Here it was stipulated that *John* should pay the *Danish* forces for the whole time they refrained from hostilities against *Sweden*; that all the *Danish* shipping should be restored; that *Femseland*, *Oesel*, *Sonneburg*, *Leahe*, *Sal*, *Lode* and *Warberg*, should be ceded; that *John* should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of *Norway*, the isle of *Gothland*, and the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*. Finally, that he should quietly permit his majesty to wear the arms of *Sweden*; that he would indemnify his losses during the war, and pay an old debt due to the regency of *Lubeck*, from his father *Gustavus*. These terms which necessity only could grant, and a series of victories impose. The people suspected the ambassadors were corrupted, and *John* was so displeased with their conduct, that after receiving them coldly, he assembled the states to deliberate, whether so injurious a treaty to the kingdom ought to be ratified <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. ii. p. 3. et seq. LOCCEŒ. lib. vii. ibid. <sup>a</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. vii.

<sup>b</sup> LOCCEŒ. lib. vii.

THE first proceedings of this assembly were formally to renounce their allegiance to *Eric*, and swear obedience to *John*; to destroy all the writings and instruments, whereby they were bound to fealty; to condemn that unhappy prince to perpetual imprisonment; to declare his children incapable of succeeding to the crown; to reverse all his judgments and decisions, and to oblige him to appear publicly in the high court of justice to hear his sentence passed (A). As soon as this business was finished, the treaty of *Roschild* was canvassed, when, after mature deliberation, it was resolved rather to renew the war than ratify a peace so injurious and disgraceful to the kingdom.

IN the mean time the czar *Basilowitz* treated *Sweden* with great respect, and sent passports to the *Swedish* ambassador; but he was secretly labouring to seduce the magistrates of *Revel*, and gain possession of that city. His endeavours, however, were frustrated by *John's* policy, who in spite of the civil factions then within the walls, kept the inhabitants firm in their allegiance. It was the principal object of the king's administration, to confirm his authority in all the provinces. With this view he sent ambassadors to *Denmark*, to solicit terms of peace more equitable than those signed at *Roschild*. To gratify duke *Charles*, he granted him *Sundermania*, *Nericia* and *Wermland*, agreeable to the will of *Gustavus*, reserving only to himself the right of sovereignty. Lastly, he ordered himself and queen to be crowned with the usual solemnity at *Upsal*.

The *Swedish* ambassadors were no sooner arrived with their rich presents at *Moscow*, than they were arrested by the czar's orders, imprisoned, and confined to live on bread and water; nor was *John* more successful on the side of *Den-*

A. D.  
1569.

(A) When *Eric* came into court, he maintained long disputes with his brothers, before the states denounced sentence, and discovered a subtilty and keenness of wit, that astonished the whole assembly. His behaviour on this occasion gained him at least the compassion of a great part of the audience; but it could not alter the intention of his judges. They proceeded formally to renounce their allegiance and pass sentence; upon which he was recommitted to

prison, where he was used with great severity by his keepers, the friends of those persons massacred at *Upsal*. Besides the opprobrious language, the scoffs and insults, they were brutal enough to bestow, they likewise made him feel cold and hunger. *Oluf Steenbock* proceeded even to beat and wound him, afterwards refusing his king the assistance of a surgeon, leaving him for several hours weltering in his blood. *Loccen. ibid. Puff. ibid.*

*mark.* Frederick haughtily refused to relinquish any of the articles of the treaty of *Roschild*. Instead of listening to any new propositions, he laid siege to *Warberg*, which was vigorously defended by the *Swedish* garrison, but at length taken by treachery; after the *Danish* general had been slain before the walls. Duke *Charles* in revenge made an irruption into *Schonen*, where he committed terrible ravages, which were at last ballanced by the cruel depredations of the *War with* enemy in *West Gothland*. There was besides a *Danish* army *Denmark.* in *Smaland*, where among other places they reduced *Wexlo* to ashes; while the *Swedes* retaliated by carrying the torch of war into *Norway*, burning, pillaging, and destroying all before them; a savage method of carrying on war, happily extinguished among the more civilized nations. It produced one happy effect, by obliging *Frederic* to hearken to more reasonable propositions, and relax from the severity of a conqueror, which before he assumed. But the desire of both kings to put an end to this destructive war, met with a variety of obstructions. A new subject of contention arose; the duke of *Holstein* endeavoured to annex *Livonia* to the crown of *Denmark*, and his intentions were seconded by the eager inclinations of the people, who expected the return of the golden age under a *German* king. The opposition given by the *Swedes* and the city *Revel*, to the duke of *Holstein*, created king of *Livonia* by the czar, excited new troubles in that quarter, obliged the czar to raise an army in support of the new king, and afforded *Frederic* a prospect either of continuing the war with success, as great part of the *Swedish* forces must be employed in *Livonia*, or of ending it advantageously. However, a congress was agreed upon and appointed in the city of *Stetin*, at which attended ambassadors from the emperor *Maximilian*, from *Charles IX.* of *France*, *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, the czar, the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the elector of *Saxony*, and several other princes. After warm altercations had been carried on for the space of five months, neither side would relinquish certain points insisted upon by the opposite party. His *Swedish* majesty demanded restitution of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, and that the king of *Denmark* would no longer quarter the *Swedish* arms. *Frederic* would not accede to these propositions; and while the two kings were disputing, the *Russians*, under the conduct of the duke of *Holstein*, laid vigorous siege to *Revel* and *Wittenstein*, refusing to admit any propositions made by king *John*; upon which he sent a squadron

The czar  
besieges  
Revel.

to attempt raising the siege, or at least throwing provisions into *Revel*. The duke, however, pushed his operations forward briskly, and fired with such fury upon the city, that *John* finding himself hard pressed on one side by the *Russians*, and on the other by the *Danes*, resolved to stop the progress of misfortunes, by the best peace he could obtain. Accordingly the negotiations were recommenced, and *John* ceded his right to *Norway*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Femmland*, and *Termdalen*. As to the disputes about *Livonia*, these were referred to a future discussion, since adjusting points so intricate, required time and deliberation<sup>d</sup>.

Peace  
with Den-  
mark.

In this manner was the peace of *Stetin* huddled up, that *John* might be at liberty to push the war against the *Russians*, and take ample vengeance on the czar for his usage of the *Swedish* ambassadors, and irruptions into *Livonia*. It was likewise discovered, that the czar was managing certain intrigues to procure king *Eric's* liberty, and reinstate him in the throne. This obliged *John* to remove the unfortunate prince to the citadel of *Abo*, for the greater security, where he was more closely confined than before, watched with more vigilance, and used with more rigour, if possible.

WHILE the czar was preparing a mighty army to invade *Livonia* and *Finland*, the *Tartars*, at the instigation of his *Polish* majesty, entered *Russia*, took, pillaged, and laid the city *Moscow* in ashes, after having put above thirty thousand souls to the sword. This produced a negotiation, but the czar's haughty insolence was not subdued; he still talked high, made unreasonable demands, and threatened, if they were not accepted, to over-run, not only *Finland* and *Livonia*, but all *Sweden*. *John* made all possible preparations to resist the fury of this *Barbarian*. He sent *Mornay* to solicit assistance from queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and the king of *Scotland*; but this embassy had almost proved fatal to his interest. *Mornay* was secretly a partizan of the late king *Eric*, he ardently wished for his restoration, and found the queen of *England* in the same sentiments. Intrigues were carried in between them; and *Puffendorf* scruples not to affirm, that the queen endeavoured to animate the ambassador to assassinate king *John*: but this assertion wants proof; though we may venture to affirm, that her majesty seemed to return, by gratitude, the passion which the unfortunate *Eric* entertained for her in his youth. The same author adds, that *Mornay* would have executed his design by means of his majesty's fencing-master, with whom he used

A. D.  
1571.

John so-  
licit assistance  
from queen  
Elizabeth.

<sup>d</sup> LOCZEN. *ibid*.

<sup>e</sup> PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 17.



to play for exercise; but the man struck with horror at the attempt, withheld the blow he meditated, just as it was ready to fall. Some time after the plot was discovered to the king by a *Scotchman*; but as the accuser could corroborate his assertion by no kind of proof, he was beheaded for endeavouring to traduce a faithful servant in high employments, and the particular favourite of his majesty.

*JOHN*'s embassy to *England* and *Scotland* producing no effect, he determined to rely upon his own subjects, and accordingly sent strong detachments to *Livonia*, which at first acted with great spirit and success against the *Russians*; but the czar in person entering the province, at the head of a numerous army, stopped their conquests, took *Wittenstein*, plundered, destroyed, and put to the sword all before him. Next he took *Karckhusen*, made an irruption into *Esthonia*, laid the province waste, defeated a sally from the city *Revel*; but was at length attacked by 600 *Swedish* horse and 1000 foot, who fought with such desperate valour, that they defeated the whole *Russian* army, and struck the czar with so much consternation, that he immediately sued for peace, and wrote to the king in the most humble and obliging strain <sup>f</sup>.

The czar  
sues for  
peace.

A. D.  
1573.

*JOHN* received the czar's letter with the due respect, returned an answer, that he was ready to accommodate matters; but insisted that their negotiations should be in some frontier town, and at the same time reinforced his army with 5000 *Scotch*, whose arrival obliged the czar to renew his solicitations, and supplicate peace in the most abject manner. One peculiarity in his temper appeared amidst his consternation. Eager as he was for a peace, he would listen to no terms, unless *John* consented that the treaty should be negotiated at *Newogarte*; whereas the king was equally determined the ambassadors should meet at *Sofierbeck* upon the frontiers. Both maintained the dignity of their crowns with such obstinacy, that the flames of war were again kindled in *Livonia* with redoubled fury. The *Swedes* besieged *Wisenbergh* and *Telsburgh*, but were foiled in the enterprise. Another accident of a more fatal nature contributed to the king's losses. A quarrel arose between the *German* cavalry and *Scotch* infantry in his service. Both flew to arms, and engaged with so much fury, that out of 500 *Scotch*, not 25 came off the field. Happily, however, the main body of the *Scotch* was not present, or it is probable the affair might have still been more bloody. This was followed by divers

An accident in  
John's  
army determines  
the czar  
to continue  
the war

<sup>f</sup> LOCZEN. lib. vii.

misfortunes, which entirely altered the face of the sign, and turned the advantage wholly on the side of *Russians*. A body of *German* and *Swedish* cavalry was sed and cut to pieces by the enemy; the *Russians* and *rs* ravaged *Esthonia*, and the king's fleet suffered greatly *rm* before *Narva*.

*HILE Livonia* felt all the horrors of war, ambassadors both sides were negotiating a peace. The czar at last stated that a congress should be held on the frontiers; s demands rose so high with his prosperity, that nowas concluded except a truce, to which the *Russians* very little regard. Nor did this truce extend farther o *Finland*, the czar refusing to include *Livonia*, which ibted not must soon come into his possession. What sted king *John* from pushing the war in this country, ie change he endeavoured to effect in religion, at the ition of his queen. *Lutheranism* had for some years univversally embraced in *Sweden*, but the court now ited the restoration of popery, merely on the queen's it; for his majesty as yet had not publicly professed *wn* sentiments. The clergy, who hoped to regain former authority, readily joined with the court, and plan plausible enough for accomplishing their end, be- it proposed gradual measures, and rejected all violence. archbishop drew up certain articles, in which he as- that *Anascarius* and his disciples had preached the doctrine of Christ in *Sweden*; that his tenets, abstracting few external ceremonies, were the same now taught church of *Rome*; that the fathers were the best inter- s of the sacred writings; that faith and good works inseparable; that auricular confession and mass were ury; that, in administering the sacrament of baptism, sms, the sign of the cross and white surplices, ought be neglected or laid aside; that the host was a cere- which produced a happy effect on the minds of the , with a variety of other particulars, the aim and inten- which were very apparent. These articles were read general assembly of the clergy, and approved: in a the form of worship proposed by the archbishop was d to be observed in all the churches. It was on the ing year that *John* formed the resolution of bringing a change in religion; which proceeded from reading wrote by the *Romish* clergy, and the conversation of een: he became in fact a convert, and warm advo- or that religion. He was for purging it of certain itious ceremonies; but he believed, that at the bottom

*John en-  
deavours  
to effect  
changes in  
religion  
favour-  
able to po-  
pery.*

it was the true primitive faith, and hoped to reduce the religion of *Sweden* to the simplicity of the earlier ages of the gospel. However, these notions he carefully concealed from the clergy, whom he proposed making the instruments of his design. To execute this vast project, *John* called in the assistance of his secretary *Peter Fellen*, and of certain learned jesuits who remained in disguise in the country. As soon as he thought matters ripe for execution, he assembled the clergy, under pretence of filling some vacant sees, and particularly the archbishopric, void by the death of *Neritius*. He opened the assembly by a pathetic speech, representing the fatal consequences of the growth of heresy and schism over all *Europe*, particularly *Germany*, *England*, and the *Netherlands*. He said that with respect to the confession of *Augsburgh*, theologians themselves were of very opposite sentiments; it was therefore the most safe to adhere to the catholic and apostolic faith, confirmed by the testimony of sacred writ, and the blood of so many martyrs. He said, that when their predecessors endeavoured to destroy the errors of the church, they at the same time abolished good and wholesome ordinances, and picking off the lace tore the garment. *Luther* had besides, he said, established a great number of articles of faith not at all consonant to the true christian religion, and quite opposite to the liturgies of *St. James*, *St. Basil*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Gregory*. He concluded that it was therefore necessary to restore some fundamental articles abolished by *Luther*, and to deduce the just ceremonies from a pure and unpolluted source; namely, the writings of the fathers, and not the muddy rivers that flowed from modern enthusiasts and religious projectors.

His majesty's address, the ambition of the clergy, the queen's influence, and a variety of other circumstances, all contributed to gain the ready assent of the clergy to his propositions. Several of the ancient customs and ceremonies of the church were restored, and the king, to reward the zeal and obedience of the ecclesiasticks, suffered them to proceed to the election of prelates to fill the vacant sees. But he artfully declined confirming the new bishops, until they had first signed certain articles, serving to promote his general scheme of restoration, or rather of reformation.

AFTER this several meetings of the bishops, and general convocations of the clergy, were held by the king's order, and certain disputed points among the different sects of christians taken into consideration. For the space of three years the kingdom was in the utmost confusion with theological disputes,

putes, and common sense seemed to be wholly extinguished by the violence of bigotry and enthusiasm. Instead of effecting the scheme of pure reformation intended, the *Romish* religion, and all the superstitious ceremonies, abolished by the sensible and free-spirited *Gustavus*, were again creeping in, and daily gaining ground. The old archbishop dying, his brother, tutored at *Rome* in all the cunning and intrigue of the apostolic court, was elected in his room. Duke Charles and his dependants opposed the measures of the king. All the clergy within the jurisdiction of this prince held an assembly, and signed articles whereby they declared never to abjure or depart from the confession of *Augsburgh*. Party-heats were pushed to violence, and probably would have terminated in a civil war, had not the queen wisely interposed, and consented rather to permit liberty of conscience, than involve the kingdom in scenes of blood and confusion. The duke found means to influence the states; for when they met, a remonstrance, in very strong terms, was made to the king upon his scheme of restoring popery. They requested his majesty to confirm publicly the doctrines of the church of *Sweden*, as established by their glorious monarch *Gustavus*, in order to stop the rapid progress of schism. They entreated, that to avoid suspicion of favouring popery, he would prohibit the importation of the writings of the *Romish* clergy; that he would place in all the schools able masters attached to the established religion; and that he would place the prince apparent under protestant tutors, to be educated agreeable to the confession of *Augsburgh*. This alone, they said, would confirm him in the affections of the people, and quiet the apprehensions, lest on his coming to the throne he should endeavour to restore popery. Besides, the states admonished the king to conclude a peace with the *Russians*, and to be careful lest the *Poles* might anticipate him, by signing a separate treaty.

Duke  
Charles  
opposes the  
king.

*JOHN* received their advice and remonstrances with deference; but he pursued his first intentions, though in a more cautious manner. A nuncio from the pope was admitted, and a great number of jesuits privately introduced into the kingdom, to poison the principles of the people. What the consequence might have been, had it not pleased the Almighty to remove the queen by death, is hard to conjecture. This event, however, produced an immediate change; the *Romish* religion fell into disrepute, the king pushed his project with less ardor, and the states resumed their remonstrances, in behalf of the reformed religion, with more zeal and spirit. They exhorted prince *Sigismund*

to

to declare openly in favour of the established religion, and even to abjure popery, the better to secure his right of succession; but his constant answer was, that he preferred a crown in heaven to all earthly honours. The queen his mother had bred him up in the superstition of her own faith, and besought him, with tears in her eyes, on her death-bed, never to relinquish the *Romish* religion. The states again exhorted the king, not to destroy the tranquillity of the kingdom, by innovation, and the introduction of religious disputes, which generally ended in persecution, and the ruin of public virtue. Their admonitions were now heard with more attention, and better regarded, because his majesty perceived the powerful influence of duke *Charles* his brother, and apprehended the consequence of the negotiations that prince was carrying on for the support of protestantism, in which he saw *England*, the *German* princes, and all the reformed states, combined. He observed how seldom he lately appeared at court, and the popularity which he daily acquired. This determined him to end the dispute about religion, the war with *Muscovy*, and by every means possible to confirm himself in the esteem and affections of his people. Accordingly, he openly discountenanced the *Romish* clergy, banished all the jesuits, and prolonged the truce with *Russia*, which had for several years been very indifferently observed<sup>b</sup>. Such were the public transactions and the state of the kingdom for the space of twelve years, except a few occurrences, which we could not mention without interrupting our narrative.

John resolves to put an end to the civil divisions occasioned by religion

AMONG the principal of these was the death of king *Eric*, which happened on the 22d of *February* 1578, in consequence of a dose of poison administered by the king's order, who apprehended that the religious contentions might excite a desire in the people to restore him. Another remarkable event was, the execution of *Mornay*, upon some proofs which had lately appeared to confirm the accusation of the *Scotchman*, beheaded some years before. He had likewise attached himself to duke *Charles*, and thereby incurred the king's resentment. It ought not to be passed over, that notwithstanding the truce between *Sweden* and *Russia* respecting *Finland* in particular, the czar had made frequent irruptions into that province at the head of numerous armies, laying all waste with a truly savage barbarity. He had likewise excited the *Tartars* to over-run the province, and that lawless

<sup>b</sup> LOCZEN, li. vii. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 28. et seq.

people poured in with such impetuosity as bore down all resistance. This, among other reasons, it was, that induced the king to enter upon fresh negotiations with the czar, and tie him down by more explicit and strong articles, than those of the former truce.

WE now return to domestic affairs, and a further view of *The dis-* the growing differences between the king and duke *Charles*, *puts about* as well as the circumstances which opened a path for that *religion,* prince's elevation to the throne. Duke *Charles* seeing the *the quar-* king rid of all foreign enemies, and assiduous to gain the af- *rel be-* fections of his people, sent ambassadors to court, to solicit a *tween the* reconciliation, without which, he foresaw his own ruin *king and* would ensue. King *John*, however, either disapproving of *his brother* the overtures made by his brother, or unwilling, for some *renewed.* private reasons, to heal up their divisions, convoked the states at *Wadstena*, and summoned his brother there to justify his conduct. Upon this occasion he made use of a stroke of policy that had not the desired success. Apprehending that so ignominious a citation would greatly affect the people, who strongly espoused duke *Charles*, and be looked upon as a snare to get him into his power, he ordered it to be published in all the churches, that the sole intention of the summons was to oblige the duke to declare the cause of his discontent, and the reasons that induced him, in contempt of the royal authority, to fill up certain vacant sees, over which he usurped a sovereignty, and right of patronage. Notwithstanding this public declaration, and several other assurances, *Charles* disobeyed the summons, and immediately assembled a body of troops to oppose any violence that might be offered to his person. With these he marched to the neighbourhood of *Wadstena*, and thereby obliged the king also to levy troops, to protect himself and the diet assembled at that place. The states upon this interposed. They besought the duke to appease the king by craving his pardon, and prevailed on his majesty to pass over all that was passed, and grant a general amnesty to his brother and army, provided he would sign the terms imposed by king *Eric* on his brothers *John* and *Magnus*, in 1561. His majesty expected that the duke might now be brought to accept the new liturgy; but he, with all his clergy, positively refused subscribing to it, upon any consideration.

IN this situation stood the affairs of *Sweden*, when the king of *Poland*, brother-in-law to *John*, yielded up his last breath. His queen, sister to her *Swedish* majesty, laboured with all possible diligence to fix the crown on the head of prince *Sigismund* her nephew. As soon as she had gained

Prince Sigismund stands a candidate for the crown of Poland; an event which proved the source of all the misfortunes that befell the kingdom.

gained a sufficient number of the nobility, and particularly the chancellor and great marshal, she dispatched an account of her proceedings to Sweden. Upon mature deliberation, John sent an embassy to Poland, to solicit the payment of an old debt, and the election of his son. Their instructions, however, were, to mention nothing of the money, in case they found the other object of their embassy in a favourable train. On their arrival, their success was so extraordinary, that prince Sigismund was elected by a great majority, and on the following conditions; that there should subsist a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the crowns of Poland and Sweden; that prince Sigismund should, at the death of his father, succeed to the crown of Sweden; that on urgent occasions he might, with the consent of the states, return to that kingdom; that he maintained, at his own expence, a fleet for the service of Poland, when required; that Sigismund should cancel the old debt due from the crown of Poland to that of Sweden; that, with the consent of the states, he should build five fortresses on the frontiers of Poland; that he should have liberty to introduce foreign soldiers into the kingdom, provided he maintained them at his own expence; that, after his accession to the crown of Sweden, he should not make use of Swedish counsellors in Poland; that he should have his body-guard entirely of Poles and Lithuanians; and that he should annex to Poland, that part of Livonia now subject to Sweden.

THUS we see honours conferred on prince Sigismund at the expence of the kingdom of Sweden. Advice of his election was no sooner arrived, than king John sent notice of it to duke Charles, in order to sound his opinion. He likewise ordered, that not only the duke, but the states should take a fresh oath of fidelity, the better to secure his own family in possession. To this the duke declared, that he was ready to pay all due respect to the prince; but as to the obligation required, he was at a loss for the proper form: that for the rest, he would never consent that Esthonia, and the Swedish possessions in Livonia, should fall into the hands of foreigners. At the same time he sent ambassadors to prince Sigismund, to congratulate his accession to the crown of Poland. Charles's declaration obliged the king and prince Sigismund to protest to the Polish ambassadors, that they never would consent to alienate any of the Swedish dominions, or to accept of the crown of Poland upon terms in the least prejudicial to Sweden: But this protest was not made before advice was received, that the Poles had elected the archduke Maximilian. It was, however, determined, that Sigismund should support his e-

lection

lection by a fleet, provided the *Poles* would give up that article of the conditions respecting *Esthonia*. A fleet was accordingly equipped, and just as the prince was ready to embark, the *Swedish* senate perceiving to what a height of power he was likely to arrive, persuaded king *John* to join with the prince in signing the following articles. That on the prince's arrival in *Poland*, he should maintain no greater number of *Romish* priests about his person than he was allowed in *Sweden*. That they should be suffered to enjoy no greater privileges than what were granted in *Sweden*. That they should give no disturbance to his protestant servants in *Poland* on account of religion. That he should promote none but natives to posts in *Sweden*, unless they embraced the established religion. That he should introduce no innovations in the present established mode of worship. That he should retain in his service the same priests that attended him in *Sweden*. That he should persecute no one on account of his religion. And, finally, that the pope should exert no spiritual power, and have no supremacy over the church of *Sweden*. To these articles, in support of their religion, they annexed several others for the security of their property, prohibiting the prince from alienating the crown-lands; establishing a perpetual alliance between the two kingdoms; obliging him, in case of marriage, to settle the queen's jointure mutually at the expence of *Sweden* and *Poland*: with a variety of other conditions, which we need not recite. Sufficient it is, that many were deemed unreasonable, and thought to indicate the senate's design of excluding the prince from the succession, under pretence that he had broken some of the articles. It was indeed universally suspected, that the *Sture* family secretly aspired at the crown, and first suggested these hard conditions.

*Difficulties  
about his  
election.*

ON the prince's arrival in *Poland*, great disputes arose. The *Poles* insisted upon his ceding *Livonia*, and granting the articles specified in his election. *Sigismund*, and the *Swedish* ambassadors, absolutely refused this, as inconsistent with the conditions imposed by the *Swedish* senate. At last it was proposed, to defer the dispute until *Sigismund* should, at his father's death, succeed to the crown of *Sweden*; but even this expedient was not satisfactory to king *John*'s ambassadors. They therefore intreated the prince to give them a letter, declaring that he would never consent to annex *Esthonia* to the crown of *Poland*; and that his sole aim in thus accommodating matters, was procuring peace and the quiet possession of that crown. They requested, that he should send written orders to all the governors in *Esthonia*, not to obey



obey his orders in case they should be inconsistent with the interest of *Sweden*. *Sigismund* consented to all they required; notwithstanding which, king *John* was highly incensed at the conduct of his son, for ballancing a minute between the interest of his native and a foreign country. The young king, to satisfy his father, declared publickly to the *Poles*, that he had rather abdicate their throne than surrender the smallest village belonging to *Sweden*; what then must they think of his relinquishing a large province that had cost such seas of blood.<sup>b</sup>

*A weak  
and arbitrary  
edit published  
by king  
John.*

SATISFIED with these excuses, *John* now renewed the subject of the new liturgy, and published manifestoes, declaring all the clergy who should oppose it, guilty of high treason. This was in particular levelled at the clergy of the duchy, who had all, to a man, refused to subscribe to the new form of worship. He went further, calling them servants of the devil; he threatened to banish them, unless they retracted their errors, and submissively asked pardon for their disobedience.

A. D.  
1589.

*JOHN* never deviated so much from true politics as in this declaration. He treated men of spirit with too much haughtiness, and prescribed with a despotism he ever had reason to repent, to the consciences of men born to freedom, and who had but lately abjured the slavish doctrines of the church of *Rome*. The clergy of the duchy immediately wrote to duke *Charles*, desiring to know if they might vindicate their conduct in a public manner; and told him, they were ready to answer the king's accusation, before the states, senate, and throne. The duke's answer was favourable; upon which they refuted, in public writings, all the calumnies laid to their charge; refused again, with more solemnity, their assent to the new liturgy; appealed to the scripture, the confession of *Augsbург*, and the catechism of *Luther* for the truth of their doctrine, and prayed his majesty, to revoke the severe and unjust sentence passed upon a body of men, equally loyal in their politicks, and conscientious in their religion. However, their remonstrances served only to increase the king's indignation. He resolved to recall his son *Sigismund* to his assistance in so difficult a conjuncture, and deeply regretted that he should have parted with his only son, to make way for the intrigues and cabals of his brother the duke. The conduct of the clergy, and the hard conditions imposed on *Sigismund* by the senate, the king

<sup>b</sup> Vid. auct. citat. locis citat.

charged

charged wholly on duke *Charles* ; and thus the rupture between the two brothers grew every day wider <sup>i</sup>.

THIS year the truce between *Sweden* and *Russia* expired ; *The truce* upon which *John* assembled the states, to deliberate whether *with Mus-* he ought to renew it. The czar refused to conclude per- *covy ex-*petual peace on any other terms, than his majesty's re- *pires.*signing the province he had conquered ; and the states offered to afford his majesty the means of recommencing the war, if he thought it advisable. On the other hand, as civil dissensions daily increased, the king thought it necessary to provide against consequences. He sent a message to his son, *Intrigues* desiring an interview with him at *Revel*. He had only, he *with re-*said, to desire him to come to that city, from whence he might *speed to Po-*easily pass to *Sweden*, and never more to return to *Poland*, *land, and* the possession of which crown, he feared, would deprive him of that of *Sweden*. *Sigismund* followed his father's advice ; *the king's* the two kings met at *Revel*, spent a month there together *interview* in that city, and then *Sigismund* acquainted the *Poles* of his *with Si-*intention of making a visit to his native country. The *gismund.* *Poles* were dissatisfied ; they recollected the affront given them by the abrupt departure of *Henry de Valois*, and positively opposed the king's resolution. King *John*, in order to satisfy them, gave the most solemn assurances, that the whole design of the journey was to secure his succession, by going through the ceremony of the coronation ; but the *Poles* would by no means consent, until he had solemnly sworn he would return within a limited time <sup>k</sup>.

WITH respect to the *Swedish* senate, they requested that his majesty would defer the king of *Poland's* return to a more seasonable opportunity. They promised, that as soon as they found a person who would accept of the crown of *Poland*, they would send an embassy to solicit *Sigismund's* return, to assist in his majesty's counsels, and comfort his old age. They represented, that if his majesty insured his return in the manner proposed, it could not fail of incensing the *Poles*, obliging them, perhaps, to chuse the czar of *Muscovy* for their king, or at least of forming an alliance with that prince, highly prejudicial to *Sweden*, in the present state of the kingdom, loaded with debts, rent with civil dissensions, threatened by *Denmark*, and now on the eve of a war with *Russia*. They proved to a demonstration, the inconveniences which would attend this measure ; but perceiving their arguments made no impression on his majesty, they so incensed the officers of the army against the king,

<sup>i</sup> PUFFEND. tom. ii.    <sup>k</sup> LOCCEN. lib. vii.

that

that they went in a body, and threw down their commissions before the palace, protesting they would never take up arms in his service if he recalled the prince, at a time so critical and dangerous to the state.

*Both are recalled to their dominions.*

AN incursion which the *Tartars* made into *Poland*, the pressing instances of his subjects that *Sigismund* would return to the defence of the kingdom; the resolute conduct of the *Swedish* senate, and in particular, this last act of the officers of the army,\* obliged the two kings to lay aside their schemes; and take a last farewell. One circumstance, in particular, compelled king *John* to return with the utmost expedition to *Sweden*. He received letters from *Hogenschild Bielke*, appointed regent during his absence, that duke *Charles* had broke out into open rebellion; but finding on his arrival at *Stockholm*, that this was only a feint to recall him, he poured out his vengeance upon *Bielke*, and accused him and other senators of high treason. They had conspired, he said, against the royal family, and with that view advised his sending prince *Sigismund* to *Poland*. They had fomented divisions between him and the duke, in hopes of disappointing *Sigismund* of the succession, after the two brothers had weakened themselves by civil wars. Fully persuaded of the justice of these sentiments, his majesty recalled the duke, invited him to *Stockholm*, and after being perfectly reconciled, intrusted him with a share of the government<sup>1</sup>.

A. D.  
1590.

BY the duke's advice the king assembled the states, to deliberate on the punishment to be inflicted on the accused lords, and the measures to be taken with respect to *Russia*. The czar had offered to purchase all the conquests made by *Sweden* in *Livonia*; but finding that, notwithstanding the truce had been prolonged for three months, the *Swedish* army continued their ravages, he raised a powerful army to oppose them, and marched at the head of one hundred thousand men to *Narva*. With respect to this last affair nothing could be determined in the assembly; but the accused lords were stripped of all their preferments, and rendered incapable of serving the king in any public employment. On this occasion his majesty likewise revoked the edict passed against duke *Charles*, under pretence that it was suggested by the senate, in order to sow dissension between him and his brother. He continued him in the government of all *Sweden*, and passed an act, confirming the succession in the male line; whereby *Charles* should succeed to the crown, in case *Sigismund* died without male issue. Just as the assembly was on

*Progress of the Russians.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem. *ibid*.

int of breaking up, the news arrived of the surrender of the *Swedish* fortresses in *Ingermania*. *Jahn* resolved to retake them by force of arms, and for this purpose hired a number of *Germans*, who all deserted a few weeks after, for want of their pay. Thus duke *Charles*, who entered the field at the head of these auxiliaries, was forced to retire without retaking a single town. About the same time the *Russians* invested *Narva*, and battered it with great fury. The *Swedish* garrison behaved with the utmost gallantry; but numbers daily decreasing, *Horn* the governor entered into an agreement with the enemy, whereby he surrendered their hands *Ivanagorod* and *Corporie*, on condition that he raised the siege of *Narva*. Thus it was that the *Russians* came into possession of the *Swedish* fortresses in *Inger-*

The senate was incensed at the loss, at the disobedient conduct of duke *Charles*, and the conduct of *Banier*, who commanded the *Swedish* army, and of *Horn*, governor of *Esthonia*. *Banier* was accused of affording no assistance to the garrison, and making no attempts to relieve the garrison; and was blamed for surrendering two cities to the enemy before he had consulted the senate, and was himself condemned to the last extremity. *Eric Sture* was also accused, for having promised the province of *Esthonia* to the *Poles*, on condition that they would elect prince *Sigismund*: and these three gave in such answers to their accusation, as prevented being either condemned or acquitted. Duke *Charles* pardoned them all that was possible, king *Sigismund* intended for them, and the king, at last, consented they should be released; but he was taken off by a sudden death, before the law for their enlargement was passed (A).

Certain  
Swedish  
noblemen  
accused.

The king's death was sudden: he was seized with a rupture in his bowels, a few hours before, and fell a victim to the ignorance of the physicians and apothecaries round him. At that time, philosophy and physic were but little

King  
John's  
death and  
character.

We should mention with-  
ransactions of this year,  
s to the king's death, the  
re of duke *Charles* with  
va, daughter to the duke  
tein. The alliance was  
means agreeable to king  
both on account of his  
's having promised not  
y, and because he feared  
the children of this mar-  
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riage might possibly dispute the  
succession with the children of  
*Sigismund*. The young king of  
*Poland* had paid his addresses to  
this princess, and made her con-  
siderable presents; but the  
lady preferred duke *Charles*.  
Upon this *Sigismund* espoused  
*Ann*, daughter to the archduke  
of *Austria*. *Loccen. ibid. Puffend.*

ibid.

P

under-

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arrival of  
Sigismund

FOR two days the king's death was kept concealed, to furnish those about him with an opportunity of pillaging the treasury; the reproach of which fell chiefly on the queen. Even duke *Charles*, then at his seat at *Tellie*, was not made acquainted with an event so important to the kingdom. Before his arrival at court, every thing was plundered, the wardrobe quite despoiled; nor could all the diligence of the duke recover the losses. *Charles* highly blamed the senators for their conduct, and insinuated, that they had concealed the king's death from him, only to make a prey of the public money. He began his administration as regent, with releasing the imprisoned lords, and granting a general amnesty; he took an exact inventory of all the king's remaining effects, and having put the public affairs on the best footing possible, he acquainted king *Sigismund* with his father's death, desired he would return with all possible expedition, and promised to govern with the utmost fidelity, until he should arrive to direct the reins with his own hands. At the same time that he was shewing his obedience to *Sigismund* as king of *Sweden*, he did not forget that he was king of *Poland*, in which capacity he might be induced to oblige that nation at the expence of *Sweden*. To prevent his ceding *Esthonia*, he wrote to the governors, that should they receive orders from the king to open their gates to the *Poles*, they were upon no account to obey commands so prejudicial to their country; but that he might not seem to act clandestinely, he made *Sigismund* acquainted with his proceedings. However,

<sup>a</sup> LOCEN. lib. vii. PUFFEND. tom. ii.

count *Axel Lewenhaupt* regarded this action of the duke's as a signal of his intentions to aspire at the crown, took occasion to admonish the *West Gothlanders* to remain steady in their allegiance to *Sigismund*, and laboured to alienate their affections from the duke. He proceeded in the same manner in *Finland*, and obliged *Charles* to threaten punishing him, as a disturber of the public tranquillity, if he did not immediately repair to *Stockholm*, to make the proper submissions. But the count, not caring to put himself in the duke's power, fled to the king to *Poland*, and returned with a letter of protection from his majesty. As the duke now apprehended that the king might create the count governor of *Finland* and *West Gothland*, he wrote to the principal inhabitants not to acknowledge his commission, in case he were appointed to that government. *Olof Skenbock*, in like manner, fled for the king's protection, and obtained it. He had endeavoured to infuse suspicions into his majesty's mind, and to excite jealousies of the duke's ambition. The duke summoned him to answer his conduct in a public trial; he refused; and from hence we may date the first appearance of the trouble that soon broke out.

AFTER the regent had performed the funeral obsequies of his late majesty, he entered upon a treaty with the senate, whereby, on account of prince *John's* minority, he was declared the most ancient of the royal line (B), and in that quality acknowledged regent in the king's absence. The senate promised obedience, and to assist him in every undertaking for the glory of God, the protection of the established reformed religion, the preservation of the rights and privileges of the nation, but without prejudice to the allegiance sworn to king *Sigismund*. On the other hand, the duke gave the strongest assurances, that he would enter upon nothing of importance, without their advice and consent. An agreement to this purpose was signed and sealed, after which, in conjunction, they convoked the states, to deliberate by what means they could entirely put an end to the scheme of introducing a new liturgy, and stop the growth of popery. This they believed was absolutely necessary before *Sigismund's* arrival, who, as he embraced the *Romish* religion, would probably endeavour to restore it. A convocation of the clergy was likewise assembled, and an

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(B) This prince was the son of king *John* by his second queen, born not long before his father's death, and at this time but a few months old.



archbishop, sincerely attached to the protestant religion, elected. His majesty, being acquainted with these transactions, sent over letters, filled with promises that he would preserve the people in all their rights, and suffer no one to be oppressed for the sake of conscience; in a word, that he would introduce a second golden age. He enjoined them to obey the duke in whatever respected his majesty's and the people's interest; but being informed by the duke's enemies of the letters he sent to *Finland* and *West Gothland*, he dispatched certain *Swedish* lords, attached to him, to take the command of the fortresses in *Sweden* and *Esthonia*; at the same time he sent *John Sparre*, to exact an oath of fidelity from the *Finlanders*. These orders were the sparks which soon lighted up the torch of discord, and enflamed the whole kingdom<sup>b</sup>.

Sigismund obtains leave of the Polish diet to return to Sweden.

THE diet of *Poland* being met, *Sigismund* obtained leave, without much difficulty, to return to *Sweden*; but on condition that he staid no longer than was necessary to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would afterwards fix his constant residence in *Poland*. This last article proved highly displeasing to duke *Charles*, and is said to have furnished him with the first thoughts of aspiring at the crown. *Thuron Bielke* was sent to *Poland*, with orders to obtain from the king, in writing, a full and explicit confirmation of the privileges of the state, and security of the protestant religion; he had likewise directions to advise the king to bring with him as slender a retinue as possible, on account of the miserable state of the *Swedish* finances. Secretary *Suercherfon* likewise presented to his majesty the acts passed by the states and synod of the clergy, for the security of their privileges and religion; but the king declared, that, as they were made without his consent, so they could not now meet with his approbation; an answer that gave great offence to the states and clergy. However, he said he was determined to act agreeable to what was required in those acts, although he would ratify nothing passed, from a diffidence in his conduct. He gave notice to the senate of his intention to begin his voyage on a certain day; upon which a fleet and ambassadors were sent to receive him at *Dantzick*. On the 30th of *September* he arrived in *Sweden*, and was met by the duke and the senate. All ranks of people were delighted with seeing their king; but it threw a considerable damp over their joy, that they saw him accompanied by *Mala-*

He arrives in Sweden, but soon excites great disturbances.

<sup>b</sup> LOCEN. lib. vii.

*spina*, the pope's nuncio, to whom he presented 30,000 ducats, to defray the expences of his journey to *Sweden*.

AMONG the first acts of his reign he betrayed his affection for the religion in which he had been bred; by insisting warmly, that one church for papists should be permitted in every town and city; by annulling the decrees of the synod of *Upsal*, disputing the election of the present archbishop, under pretence that he was an enemy to the late king, and chosen without his consent; and lastly, by refusing to be crowned by a protestant bishop, and insisting that ceremony should be performed by the pope's nuncio. The states and senate violently opposed the king's resolution, and the convocation of the clergy sent to entreat his majesty to desist from a design that would prove fatal to the tranquillity of the state; but he was deaf to their entreaties. The clergy, knowing they would be protected by duke *Charles*, began to declaim against *Sigismund* and his council from the pulpit; and *Suercherson* helped to blow the coal of dissension, by revealing in the consistory all that passed in the palace. On the other side, the jesuits and popish clergy, about court, declaimed and preached against the protestants, which produced no other effect than to enflame the nation against his majesty.

AMIDST these altercations some acts of violence occurred. *The sources of the civil dissensions.* When any of the *Poles* died, the protestants allowed they should be buried in the church of *Riddersholm*, a privilege that was denied the *Svedes* in *Poland*; but the popish clergy, not satisfied with this indulgence, demanded the use of the pulpit, to pronounce the funeral orations of the deceased. When this was refused, they endeavoured to extort it by force. At a certain burial they appeared in arms, seized the pulpit, and wounded some persons who opposed them. This occasioned such tumults and riots among the populace, that the king was forced to reprehend the papists for proceedings equally illegal and ungrateful, considering the little indulgence shewn to the protestants in *Poland*, and the civilities afforded to the natives of that kingdom in *Sweden*. In vain, however, did the nobility exhort him to execute more severe justice on the criminals; this he refused, under pretence that all the churches had been built and adorned by the papists, who had consequently a right in them. In vain did the states remonstrate to the same purpose, and request that he would give ample security for the safety of the protestant religion, before his coronation; the king declined their entreaties, and put them off with general assurances. Hence his coronation was a long

A. D. 1594. time deferred, while the king listened every day with more attention to the counsels of his *Polish* ministers, who flattered him, by insinuating, that he was above the laws, and born to govern without controul <sup>c</sup>.

ALL this time duke *Charles* kept aloof, expecting the issue of these dissensions; but as the states were well assured of his sentiments, it inspired them with courage and resolution in opposing the king. Every one perceived that this young monarch was plunging headlong into destruction; yet had no one the honesty, prudence, or courage, to warn him of his danger, and direct him better, except *Livin de Bulsu*, a page, who presented several sensible and loyal memorials, which were disregarded and thrown aside. About the beginning of the next year the states sent deputies to duke *Charles* at *Gripsholm*, praying him to use all his influence with the king, to prevail on him to grant their just and reasonable requests, and to come in person to *Upsal*, to assist at the diet, and their endeavours to promote the peace and felicity of the kingdom. *Charles* was sensible that nothing could be expected from gentle remedies; however, he did not care to refuse a request made by the states. He counselled the king, by letters, to grant the entreaties of his faithful subjects, and in particular to secure their religion, without which it was to be feared they would come to extremities. The king answered his letter in very polite terms; he exhorted him to stand up in defence of his nephew and the royal family, and not listen to the false accusations, the complaining and murmuring of a turbulent and aspiring faction; but the duke's reply was by no means agreeable to his wishes. His advice came now accompanied by menaces; and the king, hearing that he was assembling troops, was resolved to go to *Upsal* at the head of a strong corps. From this, however, *Banier* dissuaded him, by representing that so numerous a retinue could not find subsistence in the city. The king went only with his usual guard, and next day the duke arrived with a few attendants, but left orders for his troops to follow with the utmost secrecy and expedition.

THE states, now pushed their pretensions with great warmth; and the nobility presented strong remonstrances, which regarded their own peculiar privileges. *Sigismund* promised to give them satisfaction upon certain conditions. He demanded that both the states and nobility should implicitly rely on his pleasure, and be directed by his will; and

<sup>c</sup> LOCCEŒ. *ibid.* PUFFEND. tom. ii.

that, if for the present they would not tolerate the *Romish* religion, they should at least promise to suffer it to be preached, conjointly with the *Lutheran*, as soon as they were better instructed in the principles of that faith. But the states would hearken to no conditions that tended to abolish the established form of worship, and introduce innovation; and the king persisted in requiring those concessions, before he granted any favours. Upon this the states began to deliberate whether they should acknowledge his sovereignty. Many were immediately for offering the crown to duke *Charles*, and in case of his refusal, placing it on the head of the infant duke *John*; but duke *Charles* and the senate rejected this opinion. The former charged himself with the important business of prevailing on the king to give satisfaction to the states; and went with this view to the palace, where the high words between him and the king must have ended in blows, had they not been parted by some of the nobility. This, however, made such an impression on the king, that he was perfectly reconciled to the duke, before the departure of the latter. He promised all that was required; but as he had no intention to perform his promises, it was not possible their agreement could be of long duration.

As soon as the duke perceived the king's real intentions, he entered upon a treaty with the states for the preservation of their rights and the security of religion; after which he reviewed the troops and militia at *Upsal*. Besides, the senate desired an interview with the *Polish* lords about his majesty; and to them they complained so pathetically of the king's obstinate temper, of the absurdity of his designs, and the fatal consequences of his perseverance, that the foreigners unanimously resolved to enter into their measures, and use every expedient to prevail on his majesty to grant their just requests. To succeed the better, they told the king, that promises extorted by force were not obligatory; he might therefore revoke them as soon as he found himself in a condition to support his design by force. Persuaded of this truth, *Sigismund* granted every thing required; but stipulated that he should have the free exercise of the *Romish* religion, which might likewise be publicly preached in his own chapel<sup>d</sup>.

WHILE matters were thus happily compromised, to *The civil* outward appearance, the king had formed the base design *divisions* of murdering duke *Charles* at the *Italian* comedy, acted the *seemingly*

<sup>d</sup> LOCZEN. lib. vii.

*quieted,  
but soon  
renewed  
with  
more vio-  
lence.*

night after his coronation; but the duke, having intimation of the plot, escaped. The disappointment irritated the king so much, that, without reflecting on his own power, he resolved to use force to accomplish his designs. His scheme was to introduce a *Polish* army, and he accordingly gave orders for the march of the troops. Relying upon their speedy arrival, he broke through all his engagements to the states, and began building *Romish* churches in divers parts of the kingdom.

In the mean time the states met again at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on a proper form of government in the king's absence, as he now talked of going to *Poland*; and the prolongation of the truce with *Russia*. The bad understanding between them and the king made these points of great difficulty and importance. The *Poles* round his majesty's person advised him to leave the kingdom in its then present disorder, and renew the war in *Russia*; to prevent the *Swedes*, encumbered with a powerful foreign enemy, from dividing into factions, and taking measures against his government. In this situation of affairs the *Polish* army arrived on the frontiers, directing their march strait to the capital. However, as the force was not considerable enough to undertake any enterprise of importance, the states seemed but little alarmed. The *Poles*, perceiving no attempts to resist them, grew more daring; they pillaged, plundered, and laid waste all before them, as if they had penetrated into an enemy's country. Complaints being made by the protestant clergy to the senate, no other reply was made, than to abstain from those bitter reproaches and invectives which had incensed the catholicks, until the king's departure, when they should be at liberty to act with more freedom. At length this period arrived; the king set sail for *Dantzick*, leaving the administration in the hands of duke *Charles*, and the citadel of *Stockholm* under the command of *Eric Brabe*, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the senate against placing a papist in a trust so important.

*The king  
returns to  
Poland.*

A. D.  
1595.  
*The origin  
of the ci-  
vil com-  
motions  
preceding  
Sigif-  
mund's  
deposition,  
and the*

The senate gave immediate notice of the king's departure to duke *Charles*. They acquainted him with the king's intention that he should direct public affairs during his absence; they set forth the confusion in the government, and the necessity of an able head and steady hand to regulate the helm of state; they promised to lend him all possible assistance, and concluded with requesting, that he would immediately take upon him the administration. The duke politely declined a burthen too great for his strength; the truth is, there were certain restrictions imposed by the king,

which

weren disagreeable to him. Upon this the senate *accession*, that the form of government prescribed by his ma- *of his uncle* to be observed during his absence, and the limitations Charles the regent's authority, were directly opposite to the oath *to the throne*. taken, of governing by the advice of duke Charles *throne*. the senate. They also resolved, that every article of the treaty with the king should be rigidly executed, and in consequence the popish religion abolished. *Stockholm* first began in enforcing the decrees of the senate. Here the commons absolutely refused to acknowledge the governor's authority, or regard his commission, because he professed the *Roman* religion. They forbid, under severe penalties, the exercise of that worship, within the jurisdiction of the city and suburbs; while duke Charles was at the same time caressing the protestant clergy (A).

The assembly of the states at *Sunderköping*, the public quarrel began to break out with greater violence. The senate and duke had apprised the king of the necessity of consulting the states; but receiving no answer, writs were issued for that purpose, without his consent. After voting that meeting was necessary to the welfare of the kingdom, conformable to the constitution, to ancient custom, and their late engagements with the king, the states proceeded to the business of religion, resolving, that no other sort of worship should be tolerated, except that professed in the confession of *Augsburgh*; that no natives of a different religion should be capable of holding posts and preferments; that all *Romish* priests should quit the country in the space of six weeks; that all children should be educated in the protestant religion; that children nurtured in different religions, whether born in or out of the kingdom, should be considered incapable of inheriting; but that with respect to those who had professed the *Romish* faith before the accession of *Sigismund*, they should be allowed to remain in the kingdom, but without exercising their religion, or holding preferments under the government. It was further resolved, that the duke should be made governor of *Sweden*,

) We may observe, that as sovereign, though he had declined the regency. It is said, upon the king's departure, that the nativity of the young crown the renowned *Gusta-Adolphus*, son of duke prince was cast by the famous *Adolphus*, which afforded the astronomer *Ticho Brabe*, who the satisfaction to the *Swe-* declared he would one day ascension of the throne. *Loccen. lib.* nation, as thereby the suc- vii. p. 420. cession was strengthened, and Charles now looked upon

upon

upon such terms as he thought equitable; that no appeals should be made to the king, during his residence in *Poland*; that no edicts or ordinances sent by his majesty from *Poland*, should be valid before they were approved by the duke and the senate; that all vacancies should be filled up by the duke and senate jointly; that the king should have power to turn no person out of his place, before the affair was approved by the duke and senate. To take away all suspicion of their having rebelled against the king, the states again renewed their professions of fidelity, in confidence that his majesty would rest satisfied with their assurances and verbal promises of loyalty. Then they obliged this resolution to be subscribed by all men, under pain of being treated as traitors to their country, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. Many of the nobility accordingly signed it, tho' they avoided being present at the vote, from an apprehension of incurring his majesty's displeasure. By the duke's order it was published in *Latin*, *Swedish*, and *German*, with intention that the whole world should be acquainted with the equity of the proceedings of the diet.

It was not long before all these spirited resolutions were put in execution. First, the *Romish* clergy were banished, and kindly received by *Nicholas Flemming*, governor of *Finnland*, promoted by the king to the dignity of veldt marshal, in reward of his services on this occasion. He likewise gave him the command of the forces that had served against the *Russians*, whom he ordered to be quartered upon the peasants. This produced great disorders. The soldiers behaved with all the licentiousness of troops, who imagined themselves necessary to the sovereign, and protected by him; while the peasants, ruined by their tyranny and pillaging, carried their complaints to the duke. *Charles* took the peasants under his protection, and made the circuit of the kingdom, to see that the decrees of the states were rigorously observed in every province. His majesty was highly offended at the expulsion of the clergy, and, to regain the affections of his people, wrote letters to the inhabitants of *Uplandia*, requiring them to pay no duties or taxes, but by an order from him. He exhorted them to defend the honour of their sovereign, to adhere to their loyalty, and to pay no obedience to the duke; adding, that he hoped soon to reward in person their zeal and fidelity. As he inherited the wealthy treasury of the princess *Anne* his aunt, he determined to enter immediately upon coercive measures, and to reduce the power and insolence of the duke and senate.

DURING

A. D.  
1596.

DURING these transactions the duke was taking the necessary steps for restraining the insolence of the soldiers in *Finland*, and reducing *Flemming*, as well as punishing his attachment to the king. The senate, dreading a civil war, opposed his design, and the duke highly resented their conduct. He suspected them of holding secret intelligence with the *Finlanders*; and this was the first spring of the discontents that ensued between him and the senate. However, to give his highness some satisfaction, they wrote in a spirited manner to *Flemming*, and threatened him, if he persisted to disturb the peace; but *Flemming* disregarded their menaces, and returned a haughty, insolent answer, telling them, their heads would pay for their disloyalty\*.

ABOUT this time ambassadors arrived from *Poland*, who bitterly upbraided the senate for the resolutions taken at *Sunderköping*. The senate endeavoured to shift the blame on the duke; and he accused the senate of having too much power; of embezzling the public money; of fomenting quarrels between the king and him; and of an intention of ruining both, in order to engross the whole authority. He added, that as his toil and labour for the service of the state was repaid with ingratitude, he would lay down his commission. None of the senators attempted to dissuade him from this resolution, and their coldness still more irritated him, insomuch that he retired to *Gripsholm* in disgust. However, that he might not leave the state entirely without a pilot, he sent *Olof Suercherfson* to assist at the conference appointed between the *Suedes* and *Russians*, about the cession of *Kexholm*. This *Suercherfson* was a cunning, artful person, who balanced between both sides, and trimmed with so much address, that while he appeared the most faithful of the duke's servants, he was betraying his secrets to the king. To him it was owing that the breach between the duke and senate became so wide, that several of the nobility fell off from his party; that the archbishop in particular sided with the senate, and was restored to the king's favour; and that the embers of discord were again raked, and blown up to a civil war in several parts of the kingdom. The first insurrection appeared at *Osterborn*, where the peasants took arms, massacred the troops quartered upon them, entered *Garelia*, pillaged all before them, and burnt the villas belonging to *Flemming*.

THE king was no sooner informed of the quarrel between the duke and senate, and of the resolution of the former, *The king devolves*

\* LÖCCEN, *ibid.*

than



*the administration on the senate.* than he devolved the whole power on the latter, absolutely excluding the duke from any share in the government, and strictly enjoining all his subjects to aid and assist the senate, in case the duke made any attempts to subvert or oppose their authority. In opposition to this measure, the duke called an assembly of the states at *Abroga*, and declared all who absented themselves guilty of high treason against their king and country; notwithstanding which many of the principal members did not appear, and of the whole body of the senate only *Axel Lewenhaupt* attended. The assembled states passed a decree, confirming the decrees of the synod of *Upsal*, with respect to religion, and the treaty between the duke and the states at *Sunderkoping*. They also declared his highness sole governor of *Sweden*, without a rival in power, during the king's absence. They resolved to send an embassy to his majesty, to devise means for checking the insurrection in *Finland*. Finally, they resolved to make a tender to the absentees, of confirming the above resolutions, and of declaring all who rejected them, culpable and punishable according to the duke's pleasure. Before the diet broke up a league was formed, whereby they agreed to stand by each other, in case any of their number should be molested, on account of their attending at this assembly.

WHEN the duke proposed the articles of the assembly to be confirmed by the senate and absentees, they fled out of the kingdom, believing that their persons were in danger if they staid, and that their loyalty would be questioned if they accepted the terms proposed. The chancellor, *Bra Sparre*, was the first who retired, with his wife and family. The rest staid for some time, amusing the duke with fair speeches, and at the same time secretly exhorting the king to send them succours. His highness the duke extremely resented the chancellor's retreat. One of that lord's domesticks being seized, informed the duke, that all the other senators and noblemen, who absented themselves from the diet, were likewise on the point of quitting the kingdom, with intention to return with a powerful army. A servant of *Flemming's* declared, that his master had 2500 horse on foot, with a fleet of ten sail, expecting every day to be joined by a powerful reinforcement from *Poland*; and that with these forces he proposed invading *Sweden*, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of friends, particularly *Arfwed* and *Steen Beeck*, governors of the *Two Gothlands* and *Smaland* &c.

<sup>f</sup> Idem. *ibid.*

UPON this notice the duke assembled some forces, and marched directly to *Gotbland*, to found the disposition of the inhabitants. After taking some fortresses, he assembled the states of the three provinces, and exacted an oath of fidelity from them. Notwithstanding these hostilities, he still wrote to the king, requesting him to compose the troubles of the kingdom; but he never received one answer. On the contrary, his majesty complained bitterly to the senate of the duke's conduct, and even authorised them, if other methods failed, to take up arms to suppress his licentiousness, defend the honour of the sovereign, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. But as these menaces had no effect on the duke, the other absentees pursued the safest method, that of quitting the kingdom. Upon this they were prosecuted by the duke, who laid immediate siege to *Calmar*, and obliged *Steenback*, the governor, to surrender prisoner of war. In the same manner he subdued all the other fortresses of the kingdom, and then turned his thoughts to the affairs of *Finland* and *Esthonia*, resolving to oblige the states of these provinces to sign the treaty of *Sunderkoping*. To facilitate his design, he called a diet of the states at *Stockholm*, whither the absent senators were cited to appear. All the arguments contained in this citation, were answered by the king, so that it came to nothing. After the breaking up of the diet, the duke entered *Finland* and *Revel*, to oblige the inhabitants of *Esthonia* to acknowledge him as governor, and sign the treaty of *Sunderkoping*; but not meeting with the desired success, he retired with a great number of prisoners and ships, which he had taken in the different ports.

The duke  
assembles  
an army.

IN the beginning of the year following, an ambassador arrived from *Poland*, complaining bitterly of the duke's conduct in *Finland* and *Esthonia*, and requiring him to release all the prisoners. His highness cleared himself, by asserting, that all he had done was conformable to the laws, and by direction of the states. He intreated his majesty to punish, according to the oath he had sworn at his coronation, all those senators who had absented themselves from the business of their country, and deserted the bark of state in the most imminent danger, leaving it to be navigated by a single pilot, amidst the storms of faction and the shoals of treachery. He likewise wrote to the king, declaring his innocence, and attributing the whole misunderstanding between them to *Eric Sparre*. The states at the same time vindicated the duke, declaring that his conduct was in all respects agreeable to the constitution and laws of his country. They entreated *Gustavus Banier* and *Thuron Bielke* to go to his majesty,

The brothers  
come  
to an open  
rupture.

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1598.

jeſty, to endeavour, if poſſible, to conciliate the king and duke; but he declined the commiſſion, and retired out of the kingdom. At length *Sigismund* determined to reduce the duke by force, and for that purpoſe raiſed a powerful army, giving orders that it ſhould immediately be reinforced with the troops in *Finland*. It is ſaid the pope liberally ſupplied him with money upon his mortgaging the province of *Eſthonia* to the holy ſee.

*The con-  
ſequences  
of that  
rupture.*

WHEN it was known that his majeſty propoſed entering his own dominions, the governor of *Calmar* deſired to know of the duke, in what manner he was to behave, ſhould the king ſummons him to ſurrender; to which his highneſs answered, that if the king ſigned an inſtrument to ſecure the rights and privileges of the people, he ſhould then open his gates. *Laſki*, the *Polish* ambaffador, made likewise a demand, which it required great addreſs and delicacy to obviate. He told the duke, that his majeſty required the *Swediſh* fleet ſhould meet him at *Dantzick*, to convoy him to his own dominions; and to this the duke replied, that the king might depend on the fleet's being employed in the ſervice of the king and kingdom. The ſtates aſſembled at *Wadſtena*, foreſeeing the danger of being unprovided with an army when the king ſhould arrive, gave orders for levying forces with all expedition, and enjoined the duke to march at their head, to meet the king at *Calmar*, and inform him of the conditions required by his people, before he permitted him to paſs further.

*SIGISMUND*, in the mean time, met with more ſucceſs than he could readily expect. His menaces and thundering manifeſtoes ſtruck terror into the troops in ſeveral provinces. Some threw down their arms, others wavered in their reſolutions, but the greater part deſerted the duke, and went over to the king. The *Finlanders* and *Eſthonians*, in particular, paſſed with a great number of ſhips to a port not above fix miles from *Stockholm*, waiting to be joined there by his majeſty. This, however, the duke's fleet prevented, though contrary winds fruſtrated the deſign to oppoſe the king's landing at *Calmar*. Here the king erected his ſtandard, to which crowds of people from all the provinces flockd. Hoſtilities immediately commenced, *Calmar* was ſummoned to ſurrender, all the duke's domeſticks were ſeized, and *Axel Lewenhaupt*, the only ſenator who remained in the kingdom, was now baniſhed by the king's command.

STUART the duke preserved a specious outside, making use of the most gentle and persuasive language in his letters to the king. He admonished him to dismiss the foreign troops about his person, intreated that he would not listen to the idle and delusive advice of those senators, who absented themselves from the business of the nation, only to excite tumults and sedition, exhorted his majesty to assemble the states, to whom he desired his conduct might be submitted, since he first took upon him the government. Measures so constitutional might soon heal up all those sores, which by wrong treatment would certainly fester, and one day require incision. As the king paid no regard to his remonstrances, he began with putting *Stockholm*, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a state of defence. After giving the command of the capital to *Charles Carelson*, he retired to *Nicoping*; and indeed there was the greatest reason for standing upon his guard, as a prison was already provided for him in *Russia*. Here he formed a court, and drew up manifestoes, which proving ineffectual, he advanced to *Stralsburgh*, where the king was encamped, demanding, by a trumpet, an answer to the conditions of reconciliation which he proposed. Immediately the royal army flew to arms. A detachment attacked the duke's rear, while the main body charged him in front. The duke's army perceiving themselves hemmed round, began to ask for quarter after a short resistance; when the king reflecting that he was shedding the blood of his own subjects, ordered a retreat to be sounded just as victory was hovering on his standards. A negotiation was set on foot, and a suspension of arms agreed upon, until the next day. Both sides, however, adhering obstinately to their own opinions, the negotiation came to nothing, though several *German* princes offered their mediation. Skirmishes then daily passed, and at last the duke surprised his majesty in his camp at *Strangbroo*, advancing early in the morning under cover of a thick fog, and falling on with such fury, that the body-guard was entirely cut in pieces, the king's army wholly defeated, and his person in imminent danger. The duke displayed great moderation after his success. He solicited with as much earnestness that matters should be accommodated, as if he had been defeated. At last a treaty was concluded, through the mediation of certain persons, who wished well to both princes, and foresaw that the ruin of the country must be the necessary consequence of their divisions. The duke renewed his oath of allegiance to the king; and his majesty not only promised to forget all that was past, but granted several of the demands to

A. D.  
1599.

to which he before refused to listen. The treaty was no sooner signed, then the princes had a friendly interview, which raised expectations in all men, that their quarrel was entirely laid aside.

*SIGISMUND* having restored peace to the kingdom, resolved to return to *Poland*. Whatever appearances necessity obliged him to keep up with duke *Charles*, his resentment still declared revenge, and he resolved to return with so numerous an army, as must entirely crush all opposition. On his arrival in *Poland*, he published reports at every court in *Europe*, very prejudicial to the duke's reputation. He accused him of treason and rebellion, declared his resolution of breaking a treaty imposed upon him by force, and threatened to reduce the *Swedes*, by dint of arms, to their duty. As to the duke, his conduct afforded suspicions that he had no intention to keep the treaty, which he had patched up for a particular purpose. On his arrival at *Stockholm*, he ordered some of the king's adherents to be arrested; particularly the governor of the citadel; he confiscated their estates, changed several of the senators, and committed other violences, which plainly indicated his sentiments. He exclaimed bitterly against the king's leaving the state in such confusion, his fondness for *Poland*, the preference he shewed the *Polish* nobility, the carrying away violently his domesticks, and the reports propagated at foreign courts of his conduct. In a word, he openly declared his resolution to take up arms, in defence of his own character and the liberties and religion of the people.

NOTWITHSTANDING both parties secretly resolved to decide their differences by the sword, each endeavoured to manifest by divers writings and publications, their love of peace, and wishes that matters might be amicably adjusted. On the first of *February*, the states met at *Jeneköping*, whence they wrote to the king, accusing him of a breach of the late treaty, and a design of stirring up the *Finlanders* to tumults and seditions. They besought him, at the same time, to pay some regard to his engagements; to quiet the troubles of the common-wealth; to put affairs on the same footing they formerly stood; to punish the guilty according to the laws; to embrace the protestant religion, without which he could never enjoy his crown in peace, and to reside among his faithful subjects.

REMONSTRANCES made with so much spirit and freedom could not but incense the king; however, hostilities were first renewed by the duke, who made himself master of *Calmar* by force, after having first summoned the *Polish* garrison

prison to deliver up the fortrefs to natives of the country. The *Swedish* noblemen were put to death upon this occasion ; but all foreigners were pardoned, on condition they would quietly leave the kingdom. On the fourteenth of *June* the estates assembled at *Stockholm* resolved to renounce their allegiance to the king, because he had, in repeated instances, broke his coronation-oath, infringed upon the constitution, and disregarded the laws. What mostly incensed them was the countenance given to foreigners, and the design the king seemed to have formed of reducing *Sweden* to a province dependent on *Poland*. The security of religion, indeed, was the great cry ; but *John* had made stronger attempts to introduce popery than *Sigismund*, yet did the crown remain unshaken on his head to the day of his death. An offer of the crown was made to his son *Uladislaus*, on express condition that in six months he should be brought to *Stockholm*, and there educated in the *Lutheran* religion. It was also stipulated, that if this article should fail of being strictly complied with, then the prince, as well as his father, should lose his right, never again to revert to either, or to their descendants. Duke *Charles* was appointed governor of the kingdom, and the care of the affairs in *Finland* committed to him.

BEFORE the end of the season the duke marched with an army into *Finland*, the inhabitants of which province stickled hard for the king, notwithstanding the oppression from the troops they complained of in the beginning of his reign. *Sigismund* had sent powerful succours to the *Finlanders* ; but from a variety of accidents, as well as the vigorous measures of the duke, the king's affairs were every where unsuccessful. Among other places, *Wiburg* surrendered to his highness ; at the siege of which place the duke shot *Oluf Stéenboek*, the same person who had some years before wounded and insulted king *Eric*, a prisoner in his custody.

WHILE duke *Charles* was thus engaged in *Finland*, he received advice of a dangerous design formed by the king and the regency of *Lubeck*. To prevent the effects of this combination, he made advantageous proposals to the regency, and concluded an alliance with them ; the whole aim of that ambitious republic being to augment their commerce, and raise their maritime power. He next secured himself on the side of *Prussia*, by forming an alliance with the czar against *Sigismund* and the republic of *Poland*, as the common enemy of both nations. Before he left *Finland*, *Narva* surrendered ; but *Revel* and the fortresses of *Livonia* declared they would remain firm in their fidelity to the king, to whom alone they had sworn allegiance, and not to the states of *Sweden*.

A. D.  
1600.

ABOUT the beginning of the year the duke returned to *Stockholm* to attend the diet, assembled chiefly to try the prisoners made in *Finland*, and certain partizans of the king's, seized by order of his highness and the senate. Accordingly, after a very long and solemn trial, sentence of death was passed on *Gustavus* and *Stein Baniers*, *Eric Sparre*, and *Thurion Bielke*, whereby they were to suffer death for having torn letters they received, signed and sealed by the duke, out of disrespect to the regent of the kingdom; for having calumniated and propagated reports to the prejudice of his reputation; for having opposed the resolutions of the diet at *Sunderkoping*; and for having, contrary to their oath and the duty they owed to their country, excited the king to a civil war. They pleaded an exception to the *Swedish* law by which they were condemned; but no excuses or palliations would be admitted, and they all perished on the scaffold, after publicly declaring their innocence in harangues pronounced to the spectators.

ANOTHER act of this diet was not only to exclude *Sigismund* from the throne, but likewise the young prince *Uladislaus*, because the time prescribed for his being sent to *Stockholm* was expired. The duke, however, of his own free will, prolonged the time to five months longer, probably from a conviction that *Sigismund* would never send his son to possess a crown in prejudice to his own right. He knew that the government would never be intrusted to prince *John*, half-brother to the king, because the prince, seduced by his majesty, had opposed all the measures of the duke and senate; besides, his youth unqualified him for holding the reins of state in times full of trouble and danger: thus the duke was, on all hands, secure of holding the power, and in a fair way of being vested with the sovereignty, however specious a conduct and unambitious a carriage he might assume. The states, indeed, invested him with absolute power, the situation of affairs rendering it necessary; and in the space of five months after created him sovereign and king of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, fixing the succession in his issue male<sup>a</sup>. Such is the assertion of a celebrated historian, notwithstanding all other writers affirm that *Sigismund* was not dethroned in form before the year 1604, and consequently no successor chosen. Be this as it will, *Charles* certainly enjoyed all the authority of a king, and was complimented and acknowledged as such by foreign states, from the time that *Sigismund* and *Uladislaus* were excluded, soon after which prince *John* solemnly renounced his right<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Loc. l. vii.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. t. ii. p. 146, & seq.

In raising himself to the dignity and power of sovereign, duke *Charles* displayed great address and policy. His public conduct was open, candid, and moderate; while he was secretly fomenting quarrels between the king and the states, and taking every measure that could forward his ambition, without destroying his reputation. At length he brought matters to such a crisis, that his election seemed the result of necessity, produced by the king's own mal-administration. His services to the state demanded this return of gratitude: besides, he was the only surviving son of the great *Gustavus*, which circumstance alone greatly endeared him to the people. The states, after maturely considering the subject, unanimously resolved, that the crown should be given to *Charles*, his son *Gustavus*, and their issue male; but that, in case they all died, and the line was extinct, then it should revert to prince *John*, and his descendants in the male line. It was further resolved, that all who opposed this decree should be deemed traitors; that the children of those persons condemned by the diet should be rendered incapable of enjoying posts and preferments; that all natives of *Sweden*, now residing with *Sigismund*, should be outlawed, and treated with all the rigour of the law, should they ever presume to return; that all persons, whether upon business or pleasure in foreign countries, should be recalled to take an oath of fidelity to the king; and that their refusal and disobedience should be punished with great severity. This assembly of the states decreed likewise, that troops should be levied for the defence of the kingdom; that duke *John* should be put in possession of *West Gothland*, the province assigned for his maintenance when he resigned his right to the crown; that when the whole male line royal should be extinct, a sovereign should then be chosen from the *German* princes married to the daughters of *Gustavus*; that no future king of *Sweden* should marry but in a Protestant family; and that, should the hereditary prince accept of a foreign crown, he should from that instant be disqualified from succeeding to the throne of *Sweden*.

A. D.  
1604.

*CHARLES* was no sooner seated on the throne than he resolved upon an expedition to *Livonia*, to repel the encroachments of the *Poles*, and retake *Wittenstein*. His success did not answer universal expectation: on the contrary, he lost three thousand men, twenty pair of colours, and six pieces of cannon. His absence, besides, furnished king *Sigismund* with an opportunity of making an attempt on *Finland*; but the design was discovered, and its abettors imprisoned at *Stockholm*. To avenge his losses, he summoned the states, and procured supplies for continuing the war in *Livonia*. Im-

IX. raised  
throne of  
Sweden,  
and unsuccessful in  
Livonia.



diately he bent his march with a select body of troops for that country; and was just preparing to lay siege to *Riga*, when advice was received that the enemy were but a few miles distant. Upon this he determined to attack them; for which purpose he marched all night, and came up with the *Polish* general, after his army was harrassed and fatigued. This precipitation cost him dear. The enemy, superior in number, refreshed with sleep, possessed of several advantageous posts, and indeed of every other advantage, received him so vigorously, that, after a sharp conflict, the greatest part of the *Swedish* army was cut off, or made prisoners; and the rout became so general, that his majesty must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not an officer supplied him with a horse, on which he escaped. Covered with shame and grief, his majesty arrived at *Revel*, and after a short stay in that city posted to *Sweden*; but neither the absence of *Charles*, nor the decisiveness of the victory could enable *Sigismund* to pursue the advantage, on account of the disturbances in *Poland*.

THE king's disgraces in *Livonia* were soon forgot, upon finding himself in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Sweden*. *Charles* thought to make use of this opportunity to purge the church of several remaining popish ceremonies; but his design was opposed with so much heat by the clergy, that he was forced to relinquish it, after having deprived the university of *Upsal* of its privileges. He waited for a proper opportunity both for accomplishing this point, and revenging his late disgraces; and employed himself in the mean time in redressing the grievances introduced during the late troubles.

A. D. 1607. As soon as he perceived *Poland* torn with faction, he availed himself of that conjuncture to attack *Livonia* a third time, whither he sent count *Mansfeldt* with an army. This general soon recovered *Wittenstein*; and then dividing his army, left one part to carry on the siege of *Derpt*, while with the other he besieged *Wolmar*. The former party was defeated by a sally from the town; and the latter, giving up the design on *Wolmar*, invested and took *Felin*; after which the count agreed upon a suspension of arms with the *Polish* general, without consulting the king, or indeed any apparent necessity, as he was superior to the enemy, and ought to have pushed his conquests. His majesty, from this consideration, refused to ratify his agreement, and even sent him positive orders to break it; upon which the count made himself master of *Dunamund* and *Rochenhausen*. This frustrated the effects of the negotiation set on foot for a peace, in consequence of the late suspension of arms. The *Poles* were so incenced at the loss of *Duna-*

He again  
attacks  
*Livonia*  
with more  
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tage.

*mund*

*mund* and *Rothenhausen*, that they refused to treat with the *Swedish* commissaries. They besides persisted in *Sigismund's* right to the crown of *Sweden*; and openly declared, in their letters to the states, that *Charles* was an usurper. In a word, the *Poles* insisted upon restitution of the above places, as a necessary preliminary; and the *Swedes* refusing their demand, and protesting against the injustice of their proceedings, returned home<sup>a</sup>.

In the mean time the *Swedish* fleet, lying off *Dunamund* to intercept the commerce of *Riga*, sustained a considerable loss by the address of the *Riga* fleet; the admiral of which found means to send a fireship into the middle of the *Swedish* squadron, whence several ships and their crews perished.

In the preceding year a revolution happened in *Russia*. *Zuski* was raised to the imperial throne upon the murder of *Demetrius*; and king *Charles*, in consideration of having *Kexholm* ceded to him, sent some forces to assist the latter prince. *Sigismund*, on the other hand, having quieted the civil dissensions in *Poland*, applied his thoughts to raising some of his favourites to the throne of *Russia*, which he hoped would enable him to succeed easily in his designs upon *Sweden*. But king *Charles*, to traverse his schemes, and at the same time draw some considerable advantage to himself, resolved to assist *Zuski* more powerfully than before. However, the *Muscovites* suspecting that the intentions of both princes were selfish, seized *Zuski*, and delivered him up to the *Poles*. They went farther: they made an offer of the crown to prince *Uladislaus*, who accepted it, on condition he should not be obliged to reside in *Russia*. On this occasion it was that the *Poles* got possession of the capital, and by their tyranny obliged the *Russians* to revolt. This again revived the hopes of his *Swedish* majesty; but did not hinder the *Poles* from gaining some advantages in *Finland*, where they took *Pirnaus*, by means of a treacherous correspondence with one *Wachen*, a *Swede*, for which he was punished with the loss of his head at *Stockholm*. His majesty expressed great uneasiness at this loss; but the rupture with *Denmark* that ensued prevented his endeavouring to renew the war in *Livonia*<sup>b</sup>.

FOR some years there subsisted disputes between the crowns A. D. of *Denmark* and *Sweden* about *Laponia*, *Sonneburg*, and the 1609. *Swedish* arms usurped by the *Danish* monarchs. Commis- A rupture sioners had frequently been appointed to terminate their dis- commences ferences, but without effect. The *Danes*, taking advantage between of the troubles in *Livonia*, now recommenced hostilities; Sweden and Den- mark.

<sup>a</sup> Loc. l. vii.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. t. ii.

which so alarmed *Charles*, that he assembled the states at *Stockholm*. At this diet it was his majesty proposed, that young gentlemen, who had not directed their studies to the good of their country, as required by a former decree, should lose their right of inheritance; but this proposition was rejected. The states likewise refused granting the necessary supplies for defending the kingdom against foreign enemies. His majesty was so much affected with their conduct, that he was seized the day after, from perturbation of mind, with an apoplexy; or, as the biographer of *Gustavus Adolphus* asserts, a hemiplegia, of which he never thoroughly recovered.

THIS refusal determined him to procure peace on the best terms possible; but *Christian's* demands rose in proportion to his concessions. That monarch eyed with jealousy the progress in commerce which the *Swedish* nation made, since the accession of *Charles*: he could not bear to see his subjects deprived of the trade of *Riga*, *Courland*, and *Prussia*, and subjected to the caprice of the *Swedes*; and he believed this a proper occasion for resuming his former superiority, when *Charles* was involved in a war with *Poland* and *Muscovy*, in disputes with a rival to his crown, and upon very indifferent terms with the states. *Charles* remonstrated with the utmost temper; but finding that his ambassador was insulted, several of his domestics killed, and others imprisoned, he wrote in sharp terms to *Christian*, and again assembled the states, in hopes of finding them more compliant than before. Happily for him, he found the states in a disposition to support him; and the campaign in *Russia* was very successful under the conduct of *John de la Gardie*, who had defeated the *Poles* in several battles, demanded *Kexholm* of the *Russians*, and on their refusal, and insulting his messenger, and committing other outrages, he laid siege to that place, and took it in the spring of the year 1611. From thence he returned to *Muscovy*, where, without any orders from his court, he made strong interest to have *Charles-Philip*, second son of king *Charles*, elected czar, in the room of *Uladislaus* of *Poland*. Perceiving the *Russians* very fickle in their resolutions, he seconded his negotiations by a spirited attack on *Nowgorod*, which he took by assault. After this he reduced the towns of *Notenburg*, *Ivanogorod*, *Jama*, and *Coporie*; put the *Swedish* affairs upon the best footing in that country; but made little progress in the treaty for procuring the imperial dignity for prince *Charles-Philip*.

A. D.  
1610.

A. D.  
1611.

\* HART'S Life of Gust. Adolph. t. i. p. 7.

THE

THE states having granted the necessary supplies for coming to an open rupture with *Denmark*, and opposing the attempts of *Christian* to reduce *Calmar* and *Elfsburg*, to which he laid siege, previous to any declaration of war; a herald was dispatched to *Denmark* to declare war, with a long writing, specifying the injuries sustained, and the reasons for coming to a rupture. Immediately after the young prince *Gustavus Adolphus* was detached with a body of forces towards *Calmar*, the king his father following with the main army. When their forces were joined the king offered battle (*June 11*) to the *Danes*; but they declined it, chusing to keep close within their lines. Next day the enemy surpris'd the *Swedish* camp, but were repuls'd with the loss of seven hundred men and a field officer. Soon after the prince *Adolphus* attacked and took *Christiansstadt*, a strong fortress where the *Danes* kept large magazines of warlike stores and provisions (A). *Calmar* however surrendered to the enemy, rather from want of conduct and courage in *Christopher Soma*, the governor, than on account of any extraordinary efforts made by the *Danes*, or any kind of necessity within the garrison. Some writers indeed affirm, that *Soma* was corrupted, having sold the fortress committed to his care for the territory of *Kolstorp*, situated between *Lubeck* and *Segeberg*, which he received as an equivalent for the loss of honour and reputation.

AFTER the surrender of *Calmar*, the *Danes* attacked the islands of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, the latter of which was defended for some time with great spirit by *John Ulfspærre*; but desertion prevailing in the garrison, it was at length surrendered upon honourable terms. King *Charles* was so incensed at these losses, that he sent *Christian* a challenge, without collecting the disorder that deprived him of the use of one side. His *Danish* majesty, more regardful of the dignity of the monarch, declined the proposal, which he called an enthusiastic scheme of a knight-errant, and not the overture of a monarch, declaring for his own part that he must beg to be excused from lifting his hand against a prince oppressed with old age and bodily infirmity. Some of the *Swedish* writers attribute *Christian's* refusal to a deficiency in personal courage;

*Charles challenges the king of Denmark to single combat,*

(A) The author of the Life of *Gustavus* alleges, that this enterprize was executed by a stratagem, which very early displayed the genius of that prince for war. Cloathing a thousand of his men in the *Danish* habit, he ordered them to take refuge

in *Christiansstadt*, under pretence they were pursued by a body of *Swedish* horse. The townsmen seeing the horse at a distance, gave credit to the tale, admitted them, and were ruined.—  
P. 15.

and it is certain, from the consequences it produced, that the spirit of the proposal piqued his pride at the very time he made it the subject of ridicule. To prove however that he was possessed of courage, he attacked the *Swedish* camp a few days after, and pushed the attack with such resolution and vigour, that *Charles* was near being disconcerted and defeated. But the losses here received were not long after revenged upon a body of *Danish* infantry encamped before *Calmar*, which the *Swedes* defeated and dispersed. This success was followed by several others obtained by prince *Gustavus*, as presages of his future glory. Among others he invaded and reduced the isle of *Oeland*, taking prisoners near two thousand fugitives from the *Danish* army that had taken shelter in that place. He also recovered, by a spirited assault, the city of *Berkholm*, garrisoned by a strong body of chosen men from the *Danish* army<sup>a</sup>.

Death  
and character  
of  
Charles  
IX.

WHILE *Gustavus* was gathering laurels in the field, *Charles* summoned the States to meet at *Nicoping*, in order to grant supplies for prosecuting the war. On his way thither he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life in a few days, supposed to be the effects of the fatigue he underwent the preceding campaign, and of the fit of melancholy that had attacked him two years before. He yielded up his last breath on the thirtieth of *October*, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving the reputation of a prince personally brave, faithful to his allies, sincere in his friendship, generous in rewarding merit, rigorous in punishing crimes, the patron of arts and letters, the promoter and encourager of commerce and agriculture, addicted to violent but short transports of passion, the protector of the Protestant religion; in a word, a king in all respects worthy of being the parent and predecessor of the illustrious *Gustavus Adolphus*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Loc. l. vii.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. *Auct. citat supra*.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Containing an Account of the Swedish Affairs to the Year 1633, when Gustavus Adolphus was killed.*

NOTWITHSTANDING *Charles* closed the last scene of his life with obtaining considerable advantages over *Danmark*; yet the affairs of the kingdom in general were left in great confusion. Prince *Gustavus* was still in his minority,

tutors appointed him ; *La Gardie* had been successful in *sea*, but scarce any progress made in seating the young *Charles-Philip* on that throne ; the treaty concluded by magistrates of *Revel* with the *Poles* was but indifferently served ; the finances of the kingdom were entirely drained a series of wars and revolutions ; powerful armaments were paring in *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Russia* : in one word, *Sweden* was involved with potent enemies abroad, and supported at home with only weak friends, ill paid armies, and exhausted treasuries. To regulate in the best manner possible : affairs of the state, a diet met at *Nicoping* in the month *December* ; and here the first measure taken was to secure : interior tranquillity of the kingdom, by procuring a fresh unciation from duke *John* of all his rights to the throne, suading him to give up the guardianship, and allow the ung prince to take into his own hands the reins of government. The *Swedish* law required that the prince should have ained his eighteenth year before he was of age ; yet were ch striking marks of genius, prudence, and knowledge, covered in *Gustavus*, that the states supposed him equal to the weight of government at this critical juncture, even in minority. *John* indeed seemed to have the same prepos- sions in favour of *Gustavus* with the rest of the *Swedish* tion in general. He not only relinquished a claim which

*Gustavus*  
*Adolphus*  
*ascends the*  
*throne,*  
*and takes*  
*upon him*  
*the admi-*  
*nistration*  
*during his*  
*minority.*

might easily have disputed, and the guardianship of the nor ; but he remained at court, esteemed and loved the ung prince, entered into all his counsels, and was the first suppressing all plots, conspiracies, and cabals, to disturb peace of the country, the government of *Gustavus*, and place himself on the throne. From the figure which *John* d made at the head of an army, it is apparent he wanted ither courage nor ambition ; but he preferred the good of country to his own private gratification, foresaw the felicity that would ensue from the great qualities of *Gustavus*, d cheerfully sacrificed his own interest to procure that felicity. Perhaps too he made a sacrifice of ambition to love ; he was at that time enamoured of the young prince's sister, d dreaded the thoughts of losing her by kindling a war out the succession. Whatever were his motives, certain it that he made concessions upon this occasion which were emed extraordinary instances of a true heroic courage, that red to subdue and sacrifice his own passions and private interest to his affection for the young prince and the *Swedish* tion.

\* Life of *Gustavus*, vol. i.

A. D. 1612. *He resumes all the crown grants.* IN the beginning of the year, *Gustavus*, by his own authority, assembled the states, where he resumed all the crown grants, the better to carry on the war with such a variety of foreign enemies. He published an edict setting forth the uncertain returns of tithes and feudal lands, and ordering that an account of their annual produce should every year be delivered into the royal exchequer; he then granted a new confirmation of all grants which he did not propose to resume, and closed the assembly with a minute examination of the consequences which would probably ensue from prosecuting the war against his several enemies, or concluding peace on the best terms that could be obtained. But what impressed mankind with the highest idea of the young monarch's penetration and capacity, was the choice he made of a minister. The great chancellor *Oxenstiern* was placed at the head of domestic and foreign affairs; and every other post, both civil and military, were filled with persons adequate to the trust reposed.

*Pursues the war against Denmark.*

SOON after his accession *Gustavus* received an embassy from *James I.* king of *England*, exhorting him to conclude peace with his neighbours. His *Britannick* majesty's interposition was seconded by that of the states-general of the United Provinces, and the ambassadors of both were treated with great respect and frankness. *Gustavus*, tho' full of fire and the natural impetuosity of youth, gave strong proofs of his inclination to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but discovering that the king of *Denmark's* politics tended to oppress and crush a young monarch, he gave that prince to understand how ready and able he was to repel all attacks upon his dominions. The mediation of *Great Britain* and *Holland* thus met with insurmountable obstructions, notwithstanding they warmly pressed all parties, in order to obtain the free and undisturbed navigation of the *Baltick*, and it was by both powers resolved to prosecute the war. Instead of beginning with the siege of *Calmar*, which he foresaw would be attended with great difficulty and loss of time, *Gustavus* made an irruption into *Schonen*, sending duke *John* with an army he had raised to succour *Elfsburg*, and make a diversion in *Ostrogothia*. A third army, under the command of general *Crusx*, acted on the frontiers. Each pushed their views with great vigour; but that under duke *John* received a check. The king with his own army laid siege to *Elfsberg*, in order to prevent succours from joining the *Danish* army, and to cut off a retreat from the enemy that had already penetrated into *Sweden*. At the same time a strong detachment from the main body entered *Norway*. *Elfsberg* was reduced

duced by *Gustavus*, *Nilolia* by general *Crux*, *Norway* greatly disturbed by the irruption of the *Swedes*; but the invasion of *Westrogothia* by king *Christian*, and the difficulty of recovering *Jenicoping*, in some measure disconcerted the schemes of the young *Swedish* monarch. The perplexity of *Gustavus* chiefly arose from the variety of his enemies. King *Sigismund* had at this very time made an irruption into *Carelia*, whither *Gustavus* was preparing to go in person, when advice of the invasion of *Westrogothia* arrived. Upon this he sent orders to the governor of *Jenicoping* to demolish the fortifications, and make the best retreat circumstances would allow <sup>b</sup>.

THE cunning, the artifice, and judgment of *Christian* gave great uneasiness to *Gustavus*. His impetuosity was checked by the numberless difficulties and obstructions thrown in his way by that sage and experienced monarch. Finding then that he could not act in the sphere which his genius required; that the war must be carried on by irruptions, sieges, and skirmishes; and that the great superiority of the enemy by sea, gave them the utmost advantages in this kind of piratical war, he resolved upon concluding peace, until he should put his finances and navy in condition to engage them upon equal terms. The court of *Great Britain* acted as mediator, and the *Dutch* likewise offered their services; but his *Danish* majesty would not hear them mentioned. The negotiation was tedious, and the disputes high, though chiefly about matters extremely unimportant. Both kings were allowed to bear the arms of both crowns: *Calmar* was restored to *Gustavus*, and *Elfsburg* put into the hands of *Christian*, until it should be redeemed by an equivalent. *Christian* renounced all pretensions to *Sweden*, and *Gustavus* yielded up the title of king of *Lapland*.

Policy of king Christian.

Peace concluded. A. D. 1613.

ONE of the reasons that induced *Gustavus* to hurry on this peace, was the desire he entertained of pushing the affairs of *Russia* with vigour. The whole northern quarter of that vast empire was extremely earnest to have a *Swedish* prince, in hopes thereby to extend the commerce of the country. *La Gardie* wrote pressing to his court not to neglect the opportunity, while general *Horn* desired to be put in possession of *Plescow*. His request being refused, he attempted to surprize the place, but without success. The inhabitants of *Newgarte* demanding to have a *Swedish* king, *Gustavus* wrote to them in terms of the utmost civility and gratitude, assuring them that the moment his affairs were put in tolerable order,

Disputes with Russia, and Gustavus's views upon that crown.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Christian, p. 96. Hist. de Dan. t. iv. Loc. l. viii.

he



he would study to comply with their request. It is reported that *Gustavus* was irresolute, whether he should annex the *Russian* empire to his own crown, or yield it to his brother. This made him defer the prince's voyage, until *La Gardie* had urged, in the strongest terms, that some measure should be taken. The *Russians* had remarked this irresolution, and conjectured, that the design of *Gustavus* was to render their country a province of *Sweden*. They resented that his majesty should press them for a debt due to him, at the very time they were offering a crown to his brother; however, the inhabitants of *Neugarte* sent an answer filled with submission and respect. They intreated *Gustavus*, that as the affairs of his kingdom did not admit of his coming in person, he would send the prince his brother, in order to put a period to the distraction and confusion that had nearly ruined the empire. *Charles-Philip* had no ambition to become the prince of a nation of barbarians. He preferred his peaceable abode at home to the savage pomp of the imperial dignity of *Russia*; yet *Puffendorff* attributes his disappointment of the crown wholly to the jealousy of his brother, and the delays and obstructions which, in consequence, he placed in his way. At last the *Russians*, tired out with uncertainty, fixed their choice upon another monarch, and thus the affair was dropped, after having for some years been a principal object of the politics of the court of *Sweden* <sup>a</sup>.

A. D.

1614-

*Gustavus*  
applies to  
civil polity.

*GUSTAVUS* no sooner finished the *Danish* war, than he concluded a treaty of commerce with the *Dutch*, and put the interior trade of the kingdom on the best footing. To the industry of every restraint, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligation of supplying the government with horses and carriages; he admitted foreigners of every religion into the kingdom, on condition they brought testimonies of their character from proper authority; and he established a society of trade at *Stockholm*, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the king, upon his being released for the space of three years, from all taxes, duties, and imposts. Among other excellent institutions, this prudent monarch did not forget to regulate the lectures, discipline, and morality of the university of *Upsal*, and the education of the youth in general, prohibiting them to study at *German*, and other foreign universities, where they only imbibed a taste for useless wretched metaphysics, at the expence of the national treasure, and often of the public tranquillity <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. supra citat. auct.<sup>b</sup> Loc. L. viii.

THIS year *Gustavus* assembled the states at *Helsingford*, where, among other important transactions, he took the affairs of *Russia* into consideration, and concluded with an act of domestic policy of the utmost advantage to his people. An edict was published to abridge the tediousness and expence of litigation, especially in affairs of regal judicature, and a form was prescribed whereby this was to be effected, so sensible and salutary, that to this day *Sweden* enjoys the happy consequences. The states concurred with his majesty's resolution, to oblige the *Russians* to make restitution of the money lent them in their necessity. Their haughty refusal and ingratitude, together with their abrupt election of a czar, piqued the king's pride. He determined upon revenge, and with that view entered the province of *Ingria* at the head of an army. Here he took *Kexholm* by storm, and was laying siege to *Plescow*, when *James I.* of *England*, the great pacificator of *Europe*, offered his mediation to compose the differences between *Sweden* and *Russia*. The influence of his *Britannic* majesty prevailed, *Gustavus* granting peace on condition of having the money repaid, and a part of the continent of *Russia* ceded to him (A).

A. D.  
1615.

*Gustavus*  
abridges  
law-suits.

*Renews*  
*hostilities*

A. D.  
1617.

HOWEVER short a time *Gustavus* served in person in this war, here it was that he learned the rudiments of that art, which afterwards made him the admiration of *Europe*. *Gustavus* caught every opportunity of improvement, with a quickness that bordered on intuition. He not only learned at one glance, but improved the military maxims of that great general *La Gardie*, who added to experience all that speculation and study could give him in the military art, nurtured and seasoned in the *Russian* campaign that invincible body of *Finnlanders*, and brought the *Swedish* army in general to a more steady and regular discipline, than had before been exercised.

PEACE was no sooner established with *Russia* than his majesty was crowned with great ceremony at *Upsal*, amidst the sincere acclamations of his people, who beheld with joy the virtues of the great *Gustavus Vasa* renovated in his grandson *Gustavus Adolphus*. They profited by this interval of peace, every day producing some new ordonnance or regulation for the

(A) By this treaty of peace the pretensions of *Charles-Philip* were extinguished, a free intercourse of commerce restored, the prefecture of *Novogorod*, ceded to *Gustavus*, the *Russians* tied up from assisting *Poland*, and nine thousand pounds in money paid down to the *Swedes* (1).

good of the state, the increase of the revenue, the ease of the people, the augmentation of industry, arts, and commerce. *Gustavus*, at the same time that he omitted nothing that could establish a lasting and honourable peace with *Poland*, took the necessary measures for frustrating the designs which *Sigismund* still formed against *Sweden*. For this purpose he ordered *La Gardie* to acquaint the *Polish* general *Codekowitz*, that now the truce of two years being expired, he required to be upon a certainty, whether he was to expect peace or war with the king his master. In the mean time he borrowed money of the *Dutch*, to pay the sum stipulated to the king of *Denmark* for the redemption of *Elfsburg*, and had an interview with that monarch on the frontiers, where they conceived the utmost esteem for each other, and entered into the strictest ties, which the politics of their several kingdoms, and the jealousy of neighbouring states, would admit. One consequence of this interview was the promise he obtained of *Christian* no ways to aid or assist *Sigismund*, or in any respect take part with *Poland*, in case the war between that kingdom and *Sweden* should be renewed <sup>a</sup>.

*A scheme formed by the king of Poland to seize on the person of Gustavus.* *GUSTAVUS*, receiving no satisfactory answer from *Poland*, began to prepare for the actual invasion of that kingdom; while *Sigismund* was laying a scheme to seize upon his person. With his connivance colonel *Furenbach* had orders to surrender several fortified towns in *Livonia* into the hands of *Gustavus*, under pretence of obtaining peace by these concessions; but in reality to appoint a conference in some of these places, where the plan was laid for imprisoning *Gustavus*. The stratagem, however, did not escape the penetration of the *Swedish* monarch; and thus the whole negotiation vanished into threats and upbraidings, which *Gustavus* bestowed on the infamous schemes of *Sigismund*. Immediately after a tour which he made to *Germany* in disguise, and his marriage with the princess *Eleonora*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he entered heartily upon the war with *Poland*. A vast fleet, on board which he embarked twenty thousand men, was prepared at the very time when the *Poles* were busied in repelling the *Turks* out of *Walachia*. With this force he set sail for *Riga*, to which he laid siege. In this expedition the king had under him a number of eminent officers, namely *De la Gardie*, *Wrangel*, *Horn*, *Bazier*, *Oxenstiern*, *Ruthven*, a *Scottish* colonel, and count *Mansfeldt*. A line was drawn round the city, and the troops divided for their proper attacks. *Riga*, on the other hand, was well prepared for defence. It was

*Gustavus renews the war with Sigismund.* *GUSTAVUS*, receiving no satisfactory answer from *Poland*, began to prepare for the actual invasion of that kingdom; while *Sigismund* was laying a scheme to seize upon his person. With his connivance colonel *Furenbach* had orders to surrender several fortified towns in *Livonia* into the hands of *Gustavus*, under pretence of obtaining peace by these concessions; but in reality to appoint a conference in some of these places, where the plan was laid for imprisoning *Gustavus*. The stratagem, however, did not escape the penetration of the *Swedish* monarch; and thus the whole negotiation vanished into threats and upbraidings, which *Gustavus* bestowed on the infamous schemes of *Sigismund*. Immediately after a tour which he made to *Germany* in disguise, and his marriage with the princess *Eleonora*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he entered heartily upon the war with *Poland*. A vast fleet, on board which he embarked twenty thousand men, was prepared at the very time when the *Poles* were busied in repelling the *Turks* out of *Walachia*. With this force he set sail for *Riga*, to which he laid siege. In this expedition the king had under him a number of eminent officers, namely *De la Gardie*, *Wrangel*, *Horn*, *Bazier*, *Oxenstiern*, *Ruthven*, a *Scottish* colonel, and count *Mansfeldt*. A line was drawn round the city, and the troops divided for their proper attacks. *Riga*, on the other hand, was well prepared for defence. It was

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. t. ii.

strongly fortified with walls, moats, half-moons, and bastions. The citadel was garrisoned with a considerable body of veteran troops, whose attachment to *Sigismund* appeared altogether extraordinary and enthusiastic. His majesty took possession of all the surrounding eminences, and directed his batteries so successfully, that the streets were raked, and the enemy unable to appear with safety out of their houses. A prodigious quantity of bombs were likewise thrown in, and the town reduced to ashes; yet did the reliance of the inhabitants upon succours from *Sigismund* keep up their spirits, and induce them to reject all the proposals made by the *Swedish* monarch. The king, to prevent all relief by sea, stationed the fleet at the mouth of the *Dwina*, and defended the islands and the western shore of the river, by several bodies of troops under the command of colonel *Fleming*. The precautions taken by *Gustavus* rendered abortive all the endeavours of *Radzivil*, the *Polish* general, to throw in a reinforcement; notwithstanding a brisk sally was made by the besieged under one *Burk*, an *Irish* officer, to open a communication with the *Polish* army. His majesty now filled the moat with fascines and rubbish, and made himself master of the strong fortress of *Dunamund*; after which he summoned a second time the besieged, and received a rough and abrupt answer. Enraged at their insolence he attacked and took a half-moon by storm, and the garrison in return sprung a mine, that blew up an hundred *Swedes*. At last the fury with which the *Swedes* played from their batteries effected a breach; to storm which his majesty contrived a flying bridge over the moat, a project which he more gloriously executed afterwards on the *Elbe* and *Lich*. Although the ditch was filled with fascines and rubbish, it still contained too much water to admit the passage of a large body of men. The bridge was therefore laid, and the colonels *Seaton* and *Horneck* ordered to conduct the attack, which was done with so much spirit as occasioned its miscarriage. The *Swedish* soldiers crowded on with such impetuosity, that the bridge gave way, by which accident the brave *Seaton* broke his thigh, and was afterwards forced to undergo an amputation<sup>b</sup>. Not dismayed by this untoward accident, *Gustavus* resolved to reduce the city by mining; in which he employed the *Dalecarlians*, giving directions at the same time to *Horn* and *Banier*, with three thousand men to storm the sand half-moon. These officers conducted the attack with great intrepidity; but nothing could surmount the obstinacy of the besieged, who fought with a fury that soon obliged the *Swedes*

*Progress of the war.*

*Siege of Riga.*

<sup>b</sup> HARTÉ'S Life of Gust. vol. i.

A. D.  
1621.

to retreat. *Horn* and *Banier* were wounded ; and his majesty, to console them, sent both the order of knighthood. By the middle of *September* matters came to a crisis. The *Swedes* had formed their mines under the ditch, while the king threw a strong boom, and laid two bridges, across the river. It was then the inhabitants received the first impressions of fear, notwithstanding they had been closely invested for six weeks, disappointed of the expected relief, and consumed by hunger, fatigue, and the shot and bombs of the besiegers. All hope of succours from *Sigismund* appearing chimerical, they at last hung out a flag of truce, demanded terms of capitulation, and obtained honourable conditions from *Gustavus*, out of regard to the valour they displayed ; nor did he ever once upbraid them with the insolent messages returned to his summons, or the fatigue and loss of time occasioned by their obstinacy. Hostages being exchanged, *Gustavus* made his entry into the city, marching in procession to the great church, where he returned thanks to God for this signal success. He easily admitted the apology of the inhabitants, praised their intrepidity, and told them, “ he never desired or expected “ more loyalty from them than they had shewn their former “ master ; for which reason he should not only preserve but “ augment their privileges.” The only change displeasing to the inhabitants which he made was banishing the *Jesuits*, who were continually engaged in plots and conspiracies against the public tranquillity.

A truce  
concluded.

AFTER the reduction of *Riga*, his majesty entered the dutchy of *Courland*, where he soon made himself master of *Mittau* ; but ceded it, upon concluding a truce for one year with *Poland*. This truce was of but short duration ; for *Sigismund* had no sooner settled the affairs of his kingdom, than he prepared new enterprizes against the *Swedes* in *Prussia*. *Gustavus*, discovering his designs, set sail with his fleet for *Dantzick*, where *Sigismund* resided at that time ; and by this sudden and unexpected motion broke all his designs, and obliged the *Polish* monarch to prolong the truce for two years, in order to establish during this interval the conditions of a general pacification. *Sigismund*, indeed, declined all overtures on this head, though he did not absolutely reject them. His intention was to procure some favourable opportunity of attacking *Gustavus* by prolonging the truce, and thereby lulling this vigilant enemy into security : however *Gustavus*, hearing that the states of *Poland* would not agree to the prosecution of the war, demanded perpetual peace, or at least the prolongation of the truce to a more distant period. With this view he put himself at the head of a body of troops, at the expiration

A. D.  
1625.

The war  
renewed.

tion of the former truce; entered *Livonia*, with intention wholly to reduce that country, defeated *Stanislaus Sapieba*, took *Derpt*, *Hokenhausen*, and other places of less importance. Encouraged by these successes, he entered *Lithuania*, and took the city *Birsén*, where he found sixty pieces of new-cast cannon, which he shipped for *Riga*.

ONLY *Daneburg* now remained in possession of *Sigismund* of all *Livonia*; yet did *Gustavus* propose the same equitable terms of accommodation as if his conquests had been balanced by equivalent losses: but labouring in vain to terminate matters by negotiation, he had again recourse to arms, in which he was no less fortunate than before. The Swedish generals *Hörn* and *Thurn* obtained a victory over *Sapieba* in *Semigallia*; but *Sigismund* was still sanguine in his expectations, that, with the emperor's assistance, he should conquer *Sweden*. Consoling himself with these imaginary conquests, he suffered *Gustavus* to gain other new and solid advantages. That monarch had in the month of *February* assembled a considerable army, which embarking on board one hundred and fifty ships, he landed at *Pillaw*, a city garrisoned by the electoral troops of *Brandenburg*. This place he had surrendered to him after a few shot discharged without ball, the governor being corrupted by a sum of money. With the same facility he passed upon *Braunsberck* and *Frauenberg*. From thence he led his army to *Elbing*, which place the inhabitants would have defended, had not the magistrates entered upon certain engagements with the *Swedes*, whereby they agreed to surrender the town. Three days after *Marienberg* received a Swedish garrison; and in a few days following *Mewe*, *Dirschau*, *Stum*, *Wrisburg*, and other places, underwent the same fate. Thus *Gustavus* got possession of the chief places in *Prussia*, before the Polish majesty was informed that he had quitted *Sweden*. UPON advice of these successes, *Sigismund* assembled a body of forces, which he detached to recover his losses, and prevent *Dantzick* from falling into the hands of the *Swedes*. The Poles appeared before *Marienberg*, in hopes of surprising it; but the Swedish garrison sallied out so opportunely, and with such intrepidity, that they cut off four thousand of the enemy. In the same manner were the Poles received at *Mewe*, the siege of which place they were obliged to raise. Their attempts on *Dirschau* were not more fortunate; for, after besieging that town for the greater part of the winter, they were attacked by a detachment of *Swedes*, defeated, and forced to abandon their works in the utmost confusion, leaving their cannon, tents, and baggage behind.

A. D.  
1626.

A. D. 1627. *Gustavus invests Dantzick.* IN the month of *May*, 1627, *Gustavus* arrived with fresh forces before *Dantzick*; and would probably have carried that city, had he not unfortunately been wounded in the belly by a cannon-shot from *Kesemurck* fort (A). Soon after his majesty had invested *Dantzick* the enemy recovered *Meuse*; and ambassadors arrived from *Holland* to interpose their influence, and procure an accommodation between the two crowns. However, as they had first visited the *Swedish* camp, the king of *Poland* would not admit of their mediation, supposing them to have a bias in favour of his enemy. The *Spanish* and Imperial ambassadors likewise helped to frustrate the effects of this embassy, by repeating their assurances, that they would powerfully assist *Sigismund*, and send him twenty-four ships of war, fourteen thousand veteran soldiers, and thirty thousand pounds; the first and last articles of which promise were never performed. His *Polish* majesty, full of these promises, determined to make a winter campaign; but *Gustavus* was so well entrenched, and all the forts so strongly garrisoned, that he laughed at all *Sigismund's* endeavours (B). He was however greatly irritated at the resistance made by the *Dantzickers*. This city was the principal object of his attention, both on account of its wealth, and the prejudice that would result to the enemy by its reduction. Having new-modelled his fleet, he gave his admiral orders to attack the *Polish* and *Dantzick* squadrons, that were attempting to throw in succours to the city. An

(A) The reverend Mr. *Harte*, in his laboured and authentic history of the life of this prince, speaks of a wound he received in an action before *Dirschau* in the elbow. This he relates from *Loccenius*; but both writers seem to be mistaken, as the action before *Dirschau* happened in the preceding year; and yet they allow that he was wounded in 1627.

(B) It was this campaign that the irrational practice of duelling became so fashionable in the *Swedish* army as to engage the king's attention, and oblige him to suppress those false notions of honour by some very rigorous edicts. Soon after a

quarrel arose between two general officers, who agreed to ask his majesty's permission to decide their difference by the laws of honour. The king consented; but said he would be a spectator of their courage. Upon which he went to the place appointed with a body of guards, and ordered the executioner to be called, telling the officers, "Now, gentlemen, fight until one dies;" and adding, to the executioner, "Do you immediately cut off the head of the survivor." His inflexibility produced the effect: the quarrel was dropt, and no more challenges were heard of in the camp (1).

(1) *Mem. Suec. Gentis*, p. 61--63.

obstinate engagement ensued, which, after continuing the whole day, terminated in the defeat of the enemy, and the destruction of their admiral's ship. Another ship of equal size and value was just ready to fall into the hands of the Swedes, when, by an accidental shot in the powder-room, she blew up, after having defended herself with great gallantry for the space of twelve hours. Inspired by this advantage, *Gustavus* pushed his approaches with vigour on the land-side, having blocked up the harbour with his fleet. Next he made an incredible march over a morass fifteen miles broad, assisted by bridges of a peculiar construction, over which he carried a species of light cannon, invented by himself. By this motion he got possession of a forest that incircled the city, and by so unexpected an approach threw the magistrates, who apprehended an insurrection from the scarcity of provisions, into great confusion. They were actually upon the point of surrendering, when a sudden flood of rain swelled the *Kistula* to so great a height, that, overflowing its banks, it swept away the temporary bridges, ruined the Swedish works, and obliged his majesty to break up his camp, having no alternative but seeing the army drowned or starved. He made, however, the best use possible of his retreat, taking in his way the towns of *Newburg*, *Strasburg*, and *Brodnitz*, in which he found to an immense value of booty. Soon after *Sweitz* and *Massowa* were taken by storm, the garrisons put to the sword, and a body of *Polish* horse cut in pieces as they were endeavouring to cut off a convoy going to *Strasburg* <sup>a</sup> (A).

THESE transactions by land did not divert the attention of *Wallestein's* majesty from the depredations made by the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Austria* in the *Baltick*. *Wallestein*, who had procured the commission of admiral of the *Baltick*, formed designs upon *Stralsund*, which city alone he thought constructed his imaginary possession of the northern ocean. The reduction of this place would afford the opening he desired, and wealth, shipping, and necessaries sufficient to complete the ideal conquest of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all the northern crowns. The ambition of this project startled *Christian*, and induced him at first to send powerful succours

<sup>a</sup> Life of *Gust.* vol. ii. Loccen. l. viii.

(A) *Puffendorf* mentions a general action that happened on this occasion, in which *Gustavus* commanded in person, and by a stratagem obtained a complete victory; but we find no account of this either in *Loccenius* or the accurate *Mr. Hart* (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hist.* tom. ii. p. 198.



to the *Stralsunders*; but finding that *Gustavus* had the same reasons to wish its safety, he soon devolved that weight on the Swedish monarch. Sir *Alexander Lesly*, a Scottish officer in the Swedish army, was detached to succour the city with a chosen body of Scotch troops; and having joined lord *Rhea's* Scotch regiment in the Danish service, both made so stout a resistance as foiled all the attempts of *Wallestein*, after he had boasted, that if *Stralsund* was slung to heaven by chains of adamant, he would reduce it. After a siege of three months, he was forced to relinquish the enterprize, and retreat with a half-ruined army, to the great mortification of this vain-glorious but experienced officer <sup>a</sup>.

*Gustavus  
relieves  
Stralsund.*

WE now see *Gustavus* gradually engaged in the affairs of the empire, and for some time jealous of the support afforded to his enemies by the house of *Austria*, and of the ambitious projects of that grasping family. The congress held this year at *Lubeck* created him fresh matter of disgust and uneasiness. To this congress *Gustavus* sent *Oxenstiern* and *Spar*, with instructions to see the dukes of *Mecklenburg* reinstated, whom, as friends and neighbours, he had taken into his protection. Secretary *Salvius* was dispatched to *Denmark*, to obtain from *Christian* a proper introduction for the Swedish ambassadors to the congress; but his Danish majesty returned a cold answer, referring the secretary to the court of *Vienna*. *Gustavus* resented the indignity with his usual high spirit; and he retained so strong a sense of it, that it was afterwards urged as one of his reasons for marching an army into the empire <sup>b</sup>.

A. D.  
1629.  
*The affront  
put on  
Gustavus  
by the con-  
gress at  
Lubeck.*

*Poles de-  
feated by  
Wrangel.*

WHILE the king was taken up with endeavouring to procure a place at the congress of *Lubeck*, his general *Wrangel* defeated a body of *Poles* that kept *Brodnitz* blocked up. Three thousand were left dead on the field, one thousand taken prisoners, together with five pieces of cannon, and two thousand waggons laden with provision. *Wrangel* would likewise have infallibly taken *Thorn*, had not general *Dorkof* thrown himself with a chosen body of troops into the city. This advantage was succeeded by another more considerable victory, obtained by the king in person at *Stum* over the combined troops of *Germany* and *Poland*. The emperor had sent five thousand foot and two thousand horse under *Arnheim*, who joined the main army commanded by the Polish general *Coniecpolski*, and determined to attack his Swedish majesty, encamped at *Quidzin*. The superiority of the enemy was so great, that the friends of *Gustavus* representing to him the imminent hazard he run by waiting for them, were coldly answered by

*The king  
obtains an-  
other vic-  
tory in  
person.*

<sup>a</sup> Loccen. l. viii.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

that

that monarch, "Our men will take the surer aim." As soon as the battle began, the *Swedish* horse, contrary to the king's express order, charged with so much impetuosity, that, leaving the infantry behind, they were almost surrounded by the enemy, when *Gustavus* came up to their assistance, and pushed the enemy's infantry with so much vigour that they gave way, and retreated with precipitation to a bridge they had thrown over the *Werder*. *Gustavus* had taken care to secure this retreat, by a detachment he sent round to take possession of the bridge. This brought on another action, more bloody than the former, in which the king exposed his person to great danger, and twice providentially escaped being made prisoner. At last, however, the *Poles* were totally defeated, with the loss of a great many men, twenty-two pair of colours, five standards, and several other military trophies. The carnage among the *German* auxiliaries was so great, that *Arnheim* scarce carried off half the troops he brought into the field <sup>a</sup>.

But this defeat did not prevent *Conietzpolski* from attempting the siege of *Stum*, more unfortunate to his army than either of the preceding actions. Here the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that they repulsed him with the loss of four thousand men. The blame of this misfortune was laid upon *Arnheim*, who was accused of maintaining a correspondence with the elector of *Brandenburg*, whose vassal he was, by which means *Gustavus* was informed of every thing that passed in the combined camp. The *Poles* complained to *Wallestein*, and in consequence *Arnheim* was recalled, and replaced by *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, and *Philip* count *Mansfeld*. This change in the general-officers could not, however, stem the torrent of misfortune. A plague raged among the troops, and that produced a famine, the peasants being afraid to carry provision to the camp from a dread of the infection. One happy consequence, however, attended. The *Poles*, finding themselves equally reduced by the sword, by famine, and the plague, consented to a truce; to which ambassadors from *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, excited *Gustavus*, to enable him to turn his arms against the emperor. After abundance of altercation, at length a truce *A truce for* for six years was concluded, to expire in the month of *June*, *six years* 1635. The conditions were, that *Gustavus* should restore to *concluded* his *Polish* majesty the towns of *Brodnitz*, *Stum*, and *Dirschau*; with *Po-* that *Marienberg* should be sequestered in the hands of the land. elector of *Brandenburg*, to be restored again to *Sweden*, in case a peace was not concluded at the expiration of the truce.

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. l. ii.

*Gustavus*, on his side, kept the port and citadel of *Memel*, the harbour of *Pillau*, the towns of *Elbing*, *Brunsborg*, and all he had conquered in *Livonia*.

*Gustavus  
resents the  
emperor's  
conduct.*

IN this manner did *Gustavus* put a glorious end to the wars with *Muscovy* and *Poland*; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories in peace. The resentment he bore to the emperor for the assistance lent to king *Sigismund*, the eager desire he had to curb the ambition of the house of *Austria*, to succour the Protestant states of the empire oppressed by the edict of *Restitution*, to gain a footing in *Germany*, and to extend his own fame, as well as to procure *Sweden* some consideration in the ballance of *Europe*, determined this hero to march an army into *Germany*, where he occasioned a most astonishing revolution in the affairs of *Christendom*, and raised his country to a degree of military fame that will always be recorded with lustre in the annals of mankind. We need not here enter upon a detail of those religious factions that rent the empire, and inspired *Gustavus* with the first idea of an invasion. All these particulars have been already recited in a former part of the work. Sufficient it is, that, besides the motives above-mentioned, the *Swedish* monarch was strongly invited by the Protestant league, and the houses of *Hesse-Cassel* and *Brandenburg*; to which *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, joined their solicitations<sup>a</sup>.

*He forms  
the project  
of invading  
the  
empire.*

THINGS being in this situation, *Gustavus* convoked the states of *Sweden*, in order to deliberate on the propriety of a war with the emperor. As in every thing he studied the inclinations of his people, so, in a matter so important to their felicity, he passionately desired the concurrence of their sentiments with his own. Not chusing, however, to receive any public check in the diet of the states, he first assembled in his own tent the ablest men, civil and military, in his service, to be informed of their opinion. Here his majesty recapitulated, in an elegant oration, the several arguments advanced for and against the proposal; concluding however in favour of it, and obtaining a majority of voices to support his determination. The affair was then carried before the states, where his majesty pathetically enumerated the miseries of the Protestant states, the injuries and indignities he personally sustained from the emperor, the weight that *Sweden* would acquire in the scale of *Europe* from taking part in the affairs of *Germany*, the vanity and insolence of *Wallenstein*, now created duke of *Mecklenburg*, in prejudice to the rights of the legitimate heirs; with innumerable other topics, which his resentment and am-

<sup>a</sup> LOCZEN. *ibid.*

bition inspired. Warm debates arose in the diet upon the subject of the king's speech. Some pleaded, that the revenues were exhausted by a series of wars, which, though gloriously finished, could never produce any equivalent for the expence of blood and treasure; that it favoured too much of chivalry to run headlong, out of punctilio, into an unnecessary war against the most powerful sovereign in Europe; that religion was only a cloak used by princes, to cover the secret designs of ambition; that the dukes of *Mecklenburg* might more effectually be assisted by remonstrances and negotiations than by the sword; that the affairs of the empire properly belonged to the cognizance of the electors and the imperial diet, who would probably not thank a foreigner for interfering; that the protection of the reformed religion was in the hands of God, and not of men; and lastly, that as nature seemed to place the sea as a barrier to secure *Sweden* from all invasions, so this very circumstance pointed out the absurdity of her interposing in continental quarrels, from which she must ever prove a sufferer. Other arguments were likewise added, with respect to the illegality of attacking the emperor, who had given no just cause for a war; the expences which would necessarily attend such a measure; the little hope there was of succeeding; nor was the power of the emperor, the consumption of men to *Sweden*, and the present state of the kingdom, passed over unnoticed.

To these arguments *Gustavus*, and those who followed his opinion, opposed others no less convincing. All attempts, they said, to universal monarchy, in any prince, must be repressed by the neighbouring states, who in time would be swallowed up in the immensity of power such a prince might acquire: a power of that ambitious and encroaching nature must, upon every successive motion, make wider and more dangerous undulations, unless opportunely checked. The fate of a country, removed at a moderate distance from so enterprising a state, might be suspended, but not averted. That if such insults and attacks as the march of the imperial army into *Poland* were timorously connived at, the character of *Gustavus* and of *Sweden* would be very ambiguously transmitted to posterity: that invasions from foreigners, far from being objects of indifference, under certain circumstances were matters of very casual and equivocal decisions: that *Wallenstein*, stationed with a fleet at *Dantzick*, had formed projects very dangerous to the marine and commerce of *Sweden*: and that the king, in the light of a statesman and warrior, had no other alternative than immediately declaring against the emperor. To this *Gustavus* added, that he would submit

Gusta-  
vus's speech  
to the se-  
nate.

what was becoming to his own glory, and the good of *Sweden*, to the breasts of his faithful senate, giving them free liberty to canvass the expediency of the undertaking: "But," says he, with emotion, "I know as well as any person the obstacles; the perils; the fatigues, and nature of the enterprise; yet neither the wealth, the grandeur, nor the veterans of *Austria* dismay me. There are powers, even in the empire, who will receive me with open arms; and I may assert, that a certain late edict has cooled the flaming zeal of *Saxony*, if it has not wholly extinguished it. Besides, the imperial army subsists by rapine and military exactions; whereas the *Swedish* forces are regularly paid; though the revenues of the crown be small; and my soldiers are accustomed to frugality, temperance, and virtue. At the worst, my retreat is secure; and my brave troops shall never want their daily subsistence, though it should be transported to them from *Sweden*. If it be the will of heaven that *Gustavus* must fall in the defence of liberty, of his country, and of mankind, he pays the tribute with thankful acquiescence. It is his duty and religion, as a king, to obey the great Sovereign of kings without murmuring, and cheerfully to resign that authority delegated to him for the purposes of the Divine Being. I shall yield up my last breath with a firm persuasion, that Providence will support my subjects, because they are faithful and virtuous; and that my ministers, generals, and senators, will punctually discharge their duty to my child and people, because they love justice, respect me, and feel for their country."

THIS speech was decisive; the whole states wept: they beheld their sovereign as a being of superior order; were fired with his noble sentiments, and convinced by his rhetoric. Every thing he required was instantly granted: the plan for prosecuting the war referred wholly to him; and the strongest assurances given, that they would sacrifice their fortunes and lives to support the glory of a monarch so far surpassing the rest of mankind.

State of  
his fleets,  
armies,  
and finances.

It was not difficult for *Gustavus* to make the necessary preparations. It was the policy of this prince to keep his affairs on such a footing as if he expected a rupture with some neighbouring power. He retained a set of generals, distinguished for genius and valour. His troops were composed of veterans gleaned from the shattered armies of *Mansfelt*, duke *Christian*; and the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*. All were incorporated

with the *Swedish* soldiers; all admired the king's virtue, and soon became the most faithful of his subjects, from punctilio and affection. Ten thousand *English* and *Scotch* auxiliaries served under his command. Rivalship and emulation gave spurs to the natural valour of these troops. They gained the confidence of *Gustavus*, and were honoured with the execution of the most delicate and most arduous enterprizes. In his second *German* campaign one would have thought the *Swedish* army had been led intirely by *British* officers. There were not fewer than six generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one inferior field-officers. The *Swedish* troops were hardened by a succession of severe campaigns in *Russia*, *Finland*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*. They seemed expressly formed to endure labour and fatigue, no soldiers in the universe exceeding them in temperance, patience, perseverance, and subordination. On the eve of this war his whole force amounted to sixty thousand men, and his fleet exceeded seventy sail, mounting from forty to twenty guns, and manned with six thousand mariners...

SUPPORTED by such a military and naval power, *Gustavus* projected the vast design of humbling the house of *Austria* in the zenith of its grandeur, acquiring more weight in the scale of *Europe*, protecting the oppressed Protestant interest, and transmitting his own name to posterity among those of the most illustrious heroes. In a manifesto he declared his reasons for invading the empire. Here he invited the Protestant states to co-operate with his designs, and was not discouraged at the backwardness they expressed, attributing their caution to fear. He paid little regard to the negotiation on foot between the emperor and the king of *Denmark*; the motives of both were known to him, and he prosecuted his schemes with a constancy, perseverance, and circumspection, altogether extraordinary in a prince so young, so full of ardor, vivacity, and the love of glory. Embarking his troops, he arrived off *Usedom* on the twenty-fourth of *June*, and immediately effected a landing, the Imperialists evacuating *Wollin* and all the fortresses they possessed. The isle of *Rügen* had before been reduced by general *Lesly*, to secure a retreat should fortune frown upon the king's endeavours. Passing the strith *Gustavus* stormed *Wolgast*, distributing the plunder amongst his troops; another strong fortress in the neighbourhood sustained the same fate; and *Bannier*, with a garrison, was left for the defence of these conquests. His next enterprize was against *Stetin*, which he no sooner invested than the duke of *Pomerania*, consenting to receive a *Swedish* garrison, the duke's troops were incorporated with the

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1630.

*Gustavus*  
enters *Ger-*

the king's army. This was a happy stroke, and greatly facilitated the designs of *Gustavus*, by anticipating the Imperialists, who were advanced as far as *Gartz*, with a view of gaining possession of this important city. But the policy of the *Swedish* monarch went farther; he persuaded the duke to form an alliance with him; and this affair was executed so suddenly, and conducted with such address, that the emperor imagined it must have been concerted. In consequence of this alliance, the king's troops were received into several towns of the dutchy, and the most bitter animosity subsided between the Imperialists and *Pomeranians*, each refusing the other quarter<sup>a</sup>.

THESE successes overwhelmed the empire in consternation. All was in confusion by the rapidity of the *Swedish* king's motions. Distracted by civil dissention, *Germany* was in no condition to stem the torrent and resist the warlike *Gustavus*, pushed with victory and supported by the finest army in *Europe*. Besides, the Imperialists were without a general, the supreme command being disputed by a number of candidates of very unequal merit. All parties assisted in degrading *Wallenstein*; and the emperor was reduced to the necessity of paying the way gently towards his dismissal. The elector of *Bavaria* considered that general as his rival; he thought himself entitled to the chief command, and yet was too judicious to accept an employment for which he had no natural genius. Eloquent, artful, penetrating, and sagacious, he wanted that elevation of soul that constitutes the hero; yet he was ambitious of directing the army, by raising to the chief command one of his creatures, to whose capacity there could possibly be no objection. Count *Tilly* was fixed upon as the tool for executing these designs: accordingly that general was vested with the commission of veldt-marechal; and the elector was highly elated with the prospect of directing every thing agreeable to his own pleasure<sup>b</sup>.

MEAN time, *Gustavus* being reinforced by a considerable body of troops in *Finland* and *Livonia*, under the conduct of *Gustavus Horn*, resolved to drive the Imperialists out of *Mecklenburg*; accordingly he attacked and defeated them before *Griffenhagen*, and then laid siege to that place, which, after an obstinate defence, he took by assault. The plunder was given to the soldiers, but not the smallest outrage or irregularity was committed; such was the rigid discipline maintained in the *Swedish* army. By this and less considerable conquests, *Gustavus* opened a passage to *Lusatia*, *Branden-*

<sup>a</sup> LOCZEN. l. viii.<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. PUFFENB. t. vi. l. vi.

*burg*, and *Silesia*; but the advantage was not obtained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. Count *Tilly* invested *New Brandenburg*, defended by *Kniphausen* and a garrison of two thousand infantry. *Kniphausen's* instructions were to evacuate the place and join the main army; but imagining he could withstand all the efforts of the enemy, he kept his ground, and was forced by the young count *de Monseculi*, who with a handful of men rushed impetuously into the breach, drove the besieged before him, and took the town sword in hand with prodigious slaughter. Near two thousand *Swedes* perished on this occasion, and only *Kniphausen*, with a few officers, experienced the clemency of the victors. *Gustavus* was affected with the loss of so many brave soldiers; but he prevented the enemy from deriving any benefit from their conquests. He invested *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, a town strongly fortified, and garrisoned by nine thousand veterans, under the conduct of the count *Schomberg*. The king's army employed in the siege was not more than double the number; but his train of artillery was the finest at that time seen in *Europe*. It exceeded two hundred and sixty pieces of heavy battering cannon. The defence was obstinate but fruitless. *Gustavus* stormed the town, took it sword in hand, and made the whole garrison prisoners, except near two thousand killed in the breach.

THE reduction of *Frankfort* was of the utmost consequence to *Gustavus*; by means of it he commanded the rivers *Elbe* and *Oder* on both sides, and had a fair opening, not only to the countries above-mentioned, but to *Saxony*, and even the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*. The imperial general was apprised of this, and to obstruct the king's progress, resolved laying siege to *Magdeburg*, in hopes of drawing *Gustavus* to a battle; but his majesty, instead of marching to the relief of this city, laid siege to *Landberg*, and forced the garrison. It was remarkable, that the corps he employed in this siege was so inconsiderable, that he had thoughts of sending to the main army for a reinforcement before the prisoners should march out. As they were greatly superior in number, he apprehended they might possibly venture to give him battle in the open field.

ABOUT this time the Protestant princes of the empire held a diet at *Leipsick*, to which *Gustavus* sent deputies. It was the electors now that he equally displayed the talents of a soldier and a statesman. With the utmost address, and steadiness of conduct, he almost compelled the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony* to embrace his cause.

f HARTER'S Life of Gustavus, t. i. PUFFEND. ubi supra.



A. D.  
1631.

*Saxony* into a treaty of alliance; and during the negotiation levied contributions sufficient for the maintenance of his army in the marquisate. This important blow being struck, he invested *Gripfswald*, where *Perusi*, a knight of the Golden Fleece, commanded. This officer was brave to a degree of chivalry; but disliked by his soldiers on account of his avarice, which, next to the love of military glory, was his predominant passion. *Gustavus* was struck with the beautiful works erected by this officer for the defence of the place, which however proved of little service. *Perusi* made a sally, and was killed, and with him died the spirit of the garrison. The place surrendered, and by this means all *Pomerania* was reduced, for which the king ordered solemn thanksgivings to be observed in all the churches of *Sweden*. He then marched to *Gustrow*, to the relief of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, and soon reinstated them in all their dominions<sup>d</sup>. *Wallestein* had kept possession of this duchy, and exercised such tyranny, that *Gustavus* was received as the deliverer of the people; and the ceremony of the duke's inauguration performed with all possible magnificence.

COUNT *Tilly* had all this while been employed in the siege of *Magdeburg*. He now left *Pappenheim* before that city, and marched with all the rest of the army into *Thuringia*, to attack the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* and the princes of the house of *Saxony*, particularly the elector, who, in consequence of his late treaty with *Gustavus*, was regarded as the avowed enemy of the house of *Austria*. The king hearing of this motion marched towards the *Elbe*, encamped at *Werben*, where he was joined by the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was the first and most steady of all his *German* allies. The emperor began now to alter his opinion of *Gustavus*, whom he called in derision a king of snow, that would melt as he approached a warmer climate. Contrary to expectation, he found his army daily increasing, and the *Swedish* monarch at the head of a formidable confederacy of *German* princes. He was forced to acknowledge the intrepidity and policy of *Gustavus*, and he had already experienced the valour of those troops who were now about to give him more fatal proofs. *Tilly* had orders to march into *Saxony*, while *Pappenheim* was committing the most horrible cruelties in *Magdeburg*, which city he had reduced after an obstinate struggle. *Gustavus* was invited by the elector, and prepared with all expedition to follow the Imperialists into *Saxony*. He formed the design of recovering *Magdeburg*, but was frustrated by the progress

<sup>d</sup> Id. *ibid*.

*Tilly* was making in the electorate, and by *Pappenheim's* throwing himself with his whole army into the city, which must <sup>towards</sup> necessarily have rendered the siege tedious. Having relinquished this enterprize, in order to gain the command of the river *Havel*, he ordered *Bannier* to attack *Havelsburg*, which he performed with astonishing resolution, the place being forced in the space of a few hours, and the whole garrison taken prisoners. *Werben* was the next object of the king's operations. *Bauditzen* and *Ortemberg* attacked this fortress with undaunted courage, and carried it with considerable loss on both sides, after an obstinate conflict. Nothing indeed seemed impossible to the *Swedish* soldiers, fighting under the eye of a monarch whom they regarded as invincible. These advantages obliged *Tilly* to endeavour checking the progress of the *Swedes*. With this view he detached the vanguard of his army, composed of the flower of the imperial cavalry, within a few miles of the king's camp, which produced an action unfortunate to *Bernstein* the imperial general, and auspicious of farther successes to *Gustavus*. After a brisk skirmish *Bernstein* was defeated and killed, with fifteen hundred of his men; an advantage of the utmost consequence to the king, as it disheartened the enemy, encouraged his own army, and gave him time to recal all his detachments. Nothing could be more judicious than the situation upon which *Gustavus* fixed. He had it in his power to attack *Tilly*, to prevent the elector of *Saxony* from wavering from his engagements, to retreat or advance to the southward. He was supplied with every necessary by means of the *Elbe*, and the fertile surrounding countries. His circumstances were in every respect so superior to that of the enemy, that they fired *Tilly* with indignation, and made him march up to the *Swedish* lines and offer battle. *Gustavus* wisely kept within his works. He perceived that the Imperialists breathed nothing but vengeance: he knew the fire and courage of the general from whom some striking blow was expected, would induce him rather to attack the intrenchments than retire: *Gustavus* therefore carefully maintained this advantage. Every thing fell out agreeable to his conjecture: *Tilly* resolved upon making trial of his fortune against *Gustavus*; he led his troops with great intrepidity against a camp almost impreguably fortified, and continued firing at the same time with the utmost fury, from a battery of thirty-two pieces of cannon, which however produced no other effect than obliging the *Swedish* monarch to draw up his army behind the walls of *Werben*. The Imperialist placed his chief hopes in being  
able

Tilly is  
pulsed.

able to nail up the enemy's cannon, or set fire to their camp in divers quarters, after which he proposed making his grand attack. With this view he bribed some prisoners, who took his money and carried his design to *Gustavus*. The king turned the circumstance to his own advantage, with that readiness of wit peculiar to him, by ordering fires to be lighted in different parts of his camp, and his soldiers to imitate the noise of a tumultuous disorderly rabble. Tilly did not doubt but his stratagem had taken effect; he led his army up to the breach effected by his cannon; where he was received with such a volley of grape shot as cut off the fall line, put in disorder whole ranks, and rendered it impracticable to bring back the soldiers to the charge. While they were in this confusion the Imperialists were attacked in the rear by general *Bauditzén*, who sallied out of another quarter of the camp with great resolution, fought with impetuosity, and was received by Tilly with equal valour and capacity. Ordering his army to halt he brought the artillery to bear, and soon convinced the *Swedes* that he was formidable even in his retreat. The conflict was short; *Bauditzén*, in the transports of courage, pushed into the midst of the enemy and was taken prisoner, in despite of his most desperate efforts, and was soon after released by the incredibly furious push made by young *Valdestein*, with a small party which fought its way back with unparalleled resolution. Here it was that the duke of *Saxe-Weimar* first displayed that courage which burst forth in the full blaze of glory at the death of *Gustavus*. The loss on both sides was considerable. The victory was bloody to the *Swedes*, and the defeat not inglorious to the Imperialists; but the chief advantage deduced by *Gustavus* was the retreat of Tilly to *Magdeburg*, and the spirits it diffused into the *Swedish* army, who found themselves equal in valour to the enemy, and their king superior in conduct to their celebrated general. For the space of fifty years, Tilly was esteemed the greatest officer in *Europe*; a reputation founded upon a rapid course of victories obtained in thirty-six successive battles. This repulse somewhat diminished his high character, faded his laurels, and convinced the world that Tilly was neither unrivalled in the art of war, nor invincible. He even acknowledged, according to Mr. *Hartsh*, that he was excelled by *Gustavus* in the principal points of generalship, the subsisting an army, fortifying a camp, managing the artillery, and that intuitive spirit, which at one

glance comprehends the whole design of the enemy; finds the proper resources, and displays instantaneously all the correctness of study and application. Such a testimony from so judicious a rival is the highest praise of *Gustavus*.

Soon after this action the queen of *Sweden* arrived in the camp with a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, her vessel having foundered at sea. At the same time a treaty was concluded with *Charles I.* of *England*, whereby that monarch permitted the marquis of *Hamilton* to raise six thousand men for the service of *Gustavus*. By stipulation, the *English* auxiliaries were to be conducted to the main army by a body of four thousand *Swedes*: they were in every thing to obey the orders of *Gustavus*; but in the king's absence to be under the entire direction of the marquis: and lastly, the whole corps was required to take an oath of fidelity to his *Swedish* majesty. From the spirit of this treaty it appears, that *Gustavus* desired to be considered not in the light of a suppliant prince, but as the head, protector, and asserter of liberty and religion, oppressed by the pride and bigotry of the house of *Austria*. The marquis soon raised his contingent, and arriving, by orders from *Gustavus*, at *Bremen*, he found it impossible to effect a junction with the *Swedish* army, which made him resolve, without debarking his troops, to steer his course for the *Oder*, and land his forces at *Usedom*. This disconcerted the king's project, and exceedingly irritated him, as his intention was that the auxiliaries should make a diversion in the territory of *Bremen*. To make the best of circumstances he now altered his plan, and disposed the *British* corps to act on the *Oder* instead of the *Wefer*. *France* magnified this little army to triple its number. *Germany* was thrown into confusion by so inconsiderable a body as six thousand men; and *Tilly* found himself gruelled in his proceedings. Once he thought of marching in person against the marquis; but that nobleman's departure for *Silesia*, determined him to reinforce the army in that country by a strong detachment, to which we may in some measure attribute the defeat, of which we are about to speak, at *Leipsick*.

A body of English auxiliaries enter the empire.

EVER since the late action between the *Swedes* and Imperialists, *Gustavus* kept snug within his intrenchments, where his army was luxuriously provided with every necessary. *Tilly* after his repulse made several efforts to surprise the camp, and draw the king to an engagement; but finding all endeavours fruitless, he bent his march towards *Saxony*, determined either to lay the electorate desolate, or compel the elector to declare in favour of the emperor. Notwithstanding

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ing the invitation given *Gustavus*, the elector was actually negotiating a treaty with the house of *Austria*; but he dreaded lest the army under count *Tilly* should prove insufficient to protect him against the resentment of the *Swedish* monarch. On the other hand, the imperial army was no less terrible; and while he was thus balancing which of his engagements to perform, *Tilly* marched into the heart of his country, and laid siege to *Leipsick*. Nothing could be more favourable to *Gustavus* than this measure taken precipitately by the imperial general, by which the elector was in a manner forced to declare in favour of the *Swedes*, merely to preserve his country from utter destruction. The king's policy, as well as the count's rashness, contributed to determine the elector. *Gustavus* appeared all phlegm and indifference with respect to which side he took; *Tilly* was all fire, eagerness, and impetuosity: he would drive, when *Gustavus* seduced; and endeavoured to accomplish by dint of arms, what the other more effectually performed by counsels. Soured by numberless disappointments, which rendered his old age still more peevish, and incensed to see the laurels collected by fifty years faithful services, withered before the intense radiance of *Gustavus's* glory, he resolved to pour out his whole vengeance. Recalling, with this view, all his detachments, he rushed like a torrent into *Saxony*, and overwhelmed with consternation that unhappy electorate, doomed in all ages to be the theatre of bloodshed, horror, and the most tragic scenes<sup>b</sup>.

*Treaty  
with the  
elector of  
Saxony.*

A PROCEEDING so contradictory to common sense must appear very inconsistent with the general conduct of the experienced *Tilly*. Some writers for this reason endeavour to throw the blame on the court of *Vienna*, and even expressly affirm, that the count was ordered to ravage *Saxony*, and lay siege to *Leipsick*, unless the elector immediately declared against *Sweden*. No sooner was *Leipsick* invested, than the elector dispatched *Arnheim* to the king's camp, requesting him to march to his relief. Though *Gustavus* was delighted with a proposal, the happy consequences of which he foresaw, yet he received it with an air of dignity, and told the ambassador that nothing more than he had repeatedly predicted to the elector had happened. Had his highness, he said, followed his admonitions, neither *Magdeburg* would have experienced the cruelty of an incensed enemy, nor *Saxony* be reduced to its present wretched situation. He concluded with acquainting *Arnheim*, that he had formed a project of employing his troops to advantage elsewhere, and that honour

<sup>b</sup> LOCEN. *ibid.* HARTE, *ibid.*

solicited him to assist the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the princes of *Lower Saxony*. In the end however he concluded a treaty, whereby it was agreed, that the electoral prince of *Saxony* should reside as a hostage in the *Swedish* camp; that the town of *Wittenberg* should be put into his hands; that the elector should furnish his troops with three months pay; that he should produce the traitors of the *Austrian* faction, who had perverted his counsels, and submit their punishment to the king; and lastly, that a treaty offensive and defensive should immediately take place between *Sweden* and *Saxony*. This treaty was immediately ratified by the elector, and a variety of other conditions added; such as, that not only *Wittenberg*, but the whole electorate should be open to the *Swedish* troops in case of a retreat; that a month's pay should immediately be advanced, and security given for the remainder; that a list of the traitors should be given to the king, and full liberty to dispose of them in what manner he thought proper: in a word, *Arnheim* was instructed to acquaint the king, that not only the prince his son, but the elector himself, proposed residing in the *Swedish* camp, as he was determined to embark his life and fortune in the cause of *Gustavus* and of *Sweden*. It was farther added, on the part of the elector, that he would undertake to subsist the *Swedish* army during its residence in his dominions; that he would resign the chief command entirely to the king, and engage his honour not to conclude a peace without the intire consent and approbation of *Gustavus*.

In this situation stood affairs, when *Tilly* invested *Leipsick* with an army composed of forty-four thousand veterans. He summoned the governor immediately to surrender, denouncing the same vengeance if he refused that had been poured down upon *Magdeburg*. The governor requested liberty to consult the elector; but this being denied, he quietly obeyed the summons. Next day he capitulated for the castle of *Missenberg*, that might have easily stood a siege sufficiently long for the *Swedish* army to come to its relief. The elector, enraged at the loss of this valuable city, posted to the *Swedish* camp, ordered his army to join the king's with all expedition, and so pressing upon giving the enemy battle, that *Gustavus* yielded to his eagerness. *Tilly* expected to have attacked the *Saxons* separately; for which purpose he had quitted his advantageous situation before *Leipsick*, and advanced to *Brechtensfeld*. Here *Gustavus* resolved to fight him on equal terms. Accordingly he marched his army within

\* CHEMNIT. Bel. Suec. German. l. i.

*Battle at  
Leipsick.*

fight of the Imperialists, and there halted to refresh the soldiers. It was expected that *Altringer*, with a strong reinforcement, would in a few days join the count, and this precipitated the king's measures. On the seventh day of *September* he led his troops in the most beautiful order to the field of battle, marching slowly and silently, the *Swedes* forming one column on the right, and the *Saxons* another on the left, each amounting to fifteen thousand men. *Tilly*, disdaining the assistance of a second line, drew up in one vast front, in hopes possibly of surrounding the flanks of the king's army; but every experienced officer in the field prognosticated the event of the engagement, from the excellency of the *Swedish* disposition. *Gustavus*, distinguished by a green feather in his hat, led on the attack against that wing of the Imperialists conducted by *Pappenheim*; and after a violent conflict drove that brave general back to such a distance, as gained his troops a point of the wind, by which the smoke fell upon the enemy, and considerably embarrassed their proceedings. This extraordinary effort was made in order to get without the reach of a vast battery, with which count *Tilly* played furiously on the *Swedish* flank. Mean time general *Bannier* cut in pieces the troops of *Holstein*, headed by their brave duke, who being closed in between two columns of *Swedes*, received a mortal wound, upon which his soldiers begged quarter. *Pappenheim* was all the while making the most furious attacks on the *Swedish* column, in hope of regaining his former situation. Seven times he led on his troops to the charge, and was as often repulsed by the *Swedes*, though unsupported by the *Saxons*, who were soon driven off the field by count *Tilly*. Now the whole imperial strength was pointed against the *Swedish* left, where general *Horn* commanded; but he sustained the attack with admirable firmness, until he was relieved by *Gustavus*, who would seem to have placed but little confidence in the *Saxons*. Without being at all discomposed at their retreat, he ordered general *Tausch* with the centre to assist *Horn*; which he performed with such intrepidity, that *Tilly's* prudence, authority, and example, could not prevail on the Imperialists to renew the attack. Here it was that the *Scotch* regiment first practised the method of firing by platoons, to which Mr. *Harte* ascribes the astonishment and confusion that appeared in the Imperial army. In a word, the enemy were defeated, all except their centre, composed of eighteen regiments of veteran infantry, accustomed to victory, and deemed invincible. The efforts they made to maintain their reputation were glorious. Pierced through, and swept off in whole lines by the artillery, they

never

r thrunk or fell into confusion. Four regiments in particular, after their officers had been killed, formed themselves, retiring to the skirts of the wood behind, baffled the bold efforts of the *Swedish* army, and never demanded quarter but were to a man cut in pieces. *Tilly* shed tears at the fate of his brave *Walloons*, and at last retreated with a loss of triumph at the head of six hundred men, who were to be conquered. It was, however, to the darkness of night, more than their valour, that they owed their safety: had not this cover seasonably interposed, they must necessarily have been oppressed with numbers, and shared the fate of their brave companions. *Tilly* was once taken prisoner, refusing to surrender, a *Swedish* officer fired his pistol; missing his aim, was shot dead by the duke of *Saxe-Weimburg*, who had the honour of releasing his general, preventing the accumulated disgrace of imprisonment to be added to the other misfortunes of this veteran hero. Seven thousand Imperialists were left dead on the field, four thousand were taken prisoners, all were dispersed, a fine train of artillery was lost, and above an hundred standards, ensigns, and military trophies; but, what was more than all, the emperor's measures were entirely broken, and the projects of the Catholic league wholly disconcerted. The design of *Pole* likewise to break the league, and attack *Prussia*, while *Gustavus* was employed in *Saxony*, vanished into smoke. On the contrary, the *German* Protestant interest took courage, began to plan the means of totally throwing off the yoke of Imperial bondage. Such were the consequences of this brilliant victory<sup>a</sup>, which raised the military reputation of *Gustavus* to the highest pinnacle of glory, and will transmit to posterity among the greatest warriors of *Europe*.

It is however the general opinion, that *Gustavus* distinguished more genius in obtaining than judgment in pursuing victory. Had he advanced to *Vienna* during the consternation of the Imperialists, and before they had time to collect their spirits and forces, it is probable the emperor would have been forced to abandon his capital, and leave his hereditary dominions to the mercy of the conqueror. Instead of this he attacked *Musburg*, and put the garrison, consisting of a thousand men, to the sword; after which he entered the circle of *Frankonia*, while the elector of *Saxony* was laying siege to *Meissen*. Thus *Tilly* was left at liberty to unite his dispersed troops, and again to form a very considerable army, by the union of the corps under general *Altringer* and *Fugger*. The

<sup>a</sup> LOCEN. l. ix.



truth is, *Gustavus* apprehended that *Tilly* might fall upon the *Saxons*, while he was ravaging the *Austrian* hereditary dominions, by which means he might be deprived, not only of an ally, but of the free quarters provided for his troops in case of the necessity of a retreat. It was this that prevented his pursuing the enemy through *Brunswick* to the *Wefer*; which it was apprehended would be equally prejudicial to the common cause as an irruption into *Austria*, since it might draw the whole load of the war on the princes of *Lower Saxony*, and expose to the enemy's fury the Protestants of the higher circle. This circumstance, and the advice of the elector of *Saxony*, determined *Gustavus* to penetrate into *Franconia*, by which means he hoped to gain the affections of all the reformed in *Germany*. His chancellor, *Oxenstiern*, remonstrated against this measure; but the duke of *Weimar* strongly supported it, and at last carried his point.

*The progress of the Swedes.*

*GUSTAVUS* sent certain persons of credit to engage the Protestants of *High Germany* in his interest, and the scheme succeeded; all freely declared in his favour, except the town of *Nuremberg*, which raised a variety of scruples. In *Franconia* the king reduced a number of places, particularly the fortrefs of *Workburg*, to the relief of which *Tilly* marched, but too late to execute his purpose. He had by that time assembled an army of eighteen thousand infantry, and eighty-two troops of horse, and was soon after joined by *Charles* duke of *Holstein* with twelve thousand men, so that he again exceeded the *Swedish* army in point of numbers. Disappointed in his intention to relieve *Workburg*, he directed his march towards *Rottenberg*, but had the misfortune to lose four regiments, who were attacked and cut in pieces by a *Swedish* detachment. After this advantage it was that the king surpris'd *Hanau* and *Frankfort* on the *Maine*, turning from thence to the side of the *Palatinate*, at that time possessed by the *Spaniards*. On his entering the country he demanded to know of the governor *De Sylva*, whether he was to regard him as a friend or an enemy! and upon being answered, that his instructions were to assist the elector of *Mentz* against the *Swedes*, he deliberated whether he should not declare war against the *Spaniards*, or only treat them as the allies of the Catholic league, without coming to an open rupture with the court of *Madrid*, which latter opinion prevailed, from an apprehension that the *Swedish* commerce might suffer from the depredations of the *Dunkirkers*. However, he cut in pieces a corps of *Spaniards*, who endeavoured to obstruct his progress, and threw themselves in his way at *Oppenheim*. The *Spaniards* who garrisoned the city

*Mentz*, surrendered by capitulation, and were conducted to *Luxemburg*.

So rapid was the progress of *Gustavus*, that the court of *Vienna* sent every where begging assistance, and soliciting the Catholic princes to arm in support of their religion. Yet what most embarrassed the emperor was, the difficulty of finding a general capable of making head against *Gustavus*, whose name became terrible in *Germany*. *Tilly's* good fortune would seem to have forsaken him; and his imperial majesty by no means approved of the proposal made by the *Spaniards* of setting the young king of *Hungary* to oppose so masterly a genius as the *Swedish* monarch, notwithstanding he could bring powerful levies into the field. The general voice favoured *Wallestein*, an old experienced general, greatly beloved by the soldiers, and so rich that he could raise an army at his own expence. But one difficulty remained; it was a question whether that haughty officer would accept of the command of which he had been once deprived. At length this objection was surmounted; *Wallestein*, at the instigation of his friends, was persuaded to accept of the charge for the ensuing campaign, by which time he engaged considerably to augment the army at his own expence. He performed his word, and in a few months drew no less than forty thousand men out of the emperor's hereditary dominions, which may be justly numbered among the unhappy consequences of *Gustavus's* failing to pursue the blow given at *Leipsick* <sup>b</sup>.

FOR the whole winter the *Swedish* army in a manner kept the field, as they were continually sent in strong detachments to reduce certain towns, which might precipitate the operations of the subsequent campaigns; and in the spring a fruitless negotiation was set on foot by the king of *Spain* for obtaining a neutrality for *Bavaria*, and several other Catholic states. Before the summer approached, the *Swedes* had reduced *Crantzach*, *Bobenhausen*, and *Kirchberg* on the *Moselle*; they had retaken *Magdeburg* in *Lower Saxony*; *William* duke of *Weimar* had got possession of *Gozlar*, *Notheim*, *Gotingen*, and *Duderstadt*, while the landgrave *William* made great progress in *Westphalia*. *Gustavus Horn*, indeed, had been repulsed with loss before *Bamberg*; but he had his revenge by entirely destroying two regiments of Imperialists. To prevent the loss before *Bamberg* from affecting his troops, the king resolved to give battle to *Tilly*, who was marched into *Bavaria* to keep the *Swedes* from gaining footing in the electorate. He pursued the imperial general through a vast tract of coun-

A. D. ]  
1632. ]

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. l. vi. t. vi.

Count  
Tilly is  
killed.

try, came up with and defeated his rear guard, and reduced a variety of towns and fortresses on the *Danube*, penetrating as far as *Ulm*. Advancing to the *Leck*, count *Tilly* posted himself in a wood on the opposite side to dispute his passage; and the king endeavoured to dislodge the Imperialists by a terrible regular fire from the mouths of seventy pieces of cannon. The slaughter he made was dreadful: *Tilly* was wounded by a cannon ball in the knee, and died a few days before he must have sustained the disgrace of losing the chief command. On the night following the Imperialists evacuated the post, some retiring to *Ingolstadt*, and others to *Newburg*, leaving the passage free to the *Swedish* monarch. Upon this the king led his whole army into the electorate of *Bavaria*, and put garrisons into *Rain* and *Newburg*, which were abandoned by the Imperialists. *Augsburg* was next reduced with little trouble, and *Gustavus* exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants, not only to himself but to the crown of *Sweden*. What his motives were for so unpopular an act, we cannot conjecture: certain it is that the measure gave great umbrage to several well-disposed persons of the *Germanic* body, who now began to harbour suspicions that he entertained farther notions than the mere defence of the Protestant interest. From *Augsburg* the *Swedes* marched further with design to lay a bridge over the *Danube*, to chase the *Bavarians* out of their own country, and to get possession of *Ratisbon*; but this design was frustrated by means of two strong forts on the river. One of these indeed surrendered, but the *Swedes* were repulsed before the other; and the king had in the attack a horse killed under him, and the marquis of *Baden* shot by his side. After all his efforts, he was baffled in the design of gaining possession of *Ratisbon*, into which the *Bavarians* had thrown a very numerous garrison.

WHILE the *Swedes* were before *Ingolstadt*, ambassadors arrived in the camp from the king of *Denmark*, offering that prince's mediation to terminate the differences between *Sweden* and the house of *Austria*. To their proposal *Gustavus* answered, that no solid peace could be obtained, until the Protestant interest united, and obliged the Catholics to grant such conditions as might secure their future tranquillity. Something stronger was necessary to tie them down to their engagements than mere wax and parchment. As the ambassadors had no instructions to propose any thing farther, the negotiation ended as it begun. *Gustavus* resolved to set bounds to the *Austrian* ambition, and would listen to no conditions which had not that object in view. Retiring now from *Ingolstadt*, he intended to let the *Bavarians* feel the same barbari-

ties

ties which their prince had exercised for some years against the Protestants of the empire ; and accordingly laid *Morzburg*, *Freisingen*, and *Landshut*, in ashes. The inhabitants of *Munich* saved their city by their submission ; they brought the keys to *Gustavus*, and he contented himself with seizing upon forty pieces of cannon, which he ordered them to send to *Augsburg*. As the peasants collected themselves in bodies, and murdered all the stragglers from the *Swedish* camp, the king ordered their houses to be burnt, and at one time defeated a considerable body of militia, joined to the elector's regular forces.

WHILE *Gustavus* was employed in the reduction of *Bavaria*, *Wallestein* had assembled a vast army. He was intreated by the elector to come to the assistance of his people ; but in revenge of the preference he obtained for count *Tilly*, the general suffered him to remain for some time in the utmost perplexity. Instead of directing his arms to *Bavaria*, he turned suddenly towards *Bohemia*, with a view of drawing the Saxons out of that kingdom, notwithstanding they had for the season but little promoted the common cause, owing to the practices of *Arnheim*, who was the friend of *Wallestein*, and the secret enemy of *Gustavus*. He had been reproached by the king for his cowardice ; and though he had not the soul openly to resent the indignity, yet he could never forgive the king's railery, when he complained of the injury done his reputation. It was this chiefly which fixed him the inveterate enemy of *Sweden*, and set him on contriving, by every secret artifice, the means of detaching the elector from the Protestant alliance ; a project not very easy in the execution, after the important services the king had done *Saxony*. From these motives he prevented the progress of the *Saxon* army in *Bohemia*, and suffered *Wallestein* to gain an easy victory, in hopes that the elector, his master, a prince devoted to pleasure, would soon tire of so restless and warlike an ally as *Gustavus*. Others of the elector's counsellors were likewise in the emperor's interest. They continually sounded in his ears, that the *Swedish* monarch aspired at the imperial diadem ; if he succeeded they alleged, that his highness would find himself in different circumstances than at present, under the government of the house of *Austria*. The dukes of *Weimar*, who had strongly insinuated themselves into the king's good graces, would then probably lay claim to the electoral dignity. The elector of *Palatine*, they said, would doubtless endeavour one day to revenge the injuries done him by the Saxons. It was evident from his conduct at *Augsburg*, that *Gustavus* proposed annexing *Germany* to the crown of *Sweden* ; and it was an affront

out of his lines ; but failing in his purpose, he resolved to attack his intrenchments sword in hand. Most of his generals in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from this measure ; but the king was resolute. He began the attack, supported it with the utmost vigour, relieved one party by another, continued the engagement for several hours, and was at last forced to retire with the loss of two thousand men, without making the least impression. The landgrave of *Hesse*, and other *German* in the king's army, complained, that he employed their troops in those desperate attacks, as if their lives was a matter of indifference ; and indeed a general murmuring and discontent prevailed in the camp, at a step so rash, precipitate, and fatal, which might justly be deemed the greatest error in the conduct of *Gustavus* ; an error arising from the impetuosity of his courage <sup>b</sup>.

THUS stood affairs at *Nuremburg*, while *Pappenheim* was performing great actions in *Lower Saxony*. In divers encounters and bloody skirmishes, he defeated the allies. The troops of *Hesse* were put to the rout near *Walkmarsen* ; the duke of *Lunenburg*, and general *Bauditz*, were forced to abandon the siege of *Callenberg*. Next he relieved *Wolfenbuttl*, reduced *Hildesheim*, and took the route of *Thuringen*, in order to join *Wallestein*. His successes were chiefly owing to the dissensions among the confederates, the rivalship of the *Swedish* generals, and the desire each had of commanding a separate corps, which dividing their strength, rendered them an easy prey. *Bauditz* was among those whose ambition exceeded their prudence. He had acquired reputation as a general of cavalry ; but his vanity led him to desire the command of infantry. He had performed excellent service in a subordinate station : this was his proper sphere, and not what he eagerly grasped at, the command of a separate army. The misconduct and treachery of *Arnheim* rendered the confederate arms equally unsuccessful in *Saxony* and *Misnia*. They consisted of sixteen thousand men, a force sufficient to perform great actions ; yet was nothing effected besides the reduction of *Glogau*. *Arnheim* held a secret correspondence with *Wallestein*, and removed from the frontiers of *Misnia*, in order to facilitate the intended irruption of the imperial general, and dispose the elector more powerfully to pacific measures. The *Spaniards* assisted *Arnheim* in his endeavours to detach his master from the *Swedish* interest ; but *Gustavus* omitted nothing that could engage the fidelity of that prince. He sent the count palatine *Salzbach* to *Augustus*, to set before his eyes every ob-

<sup>b</sup> LOCERN. 1. ix.

act that could captivate his judgment. He insisted upon the necessity of uniting the Protestants, as a proper barrier against the house of *Austria*, and the only measure that could prevent their being enslaved singly. All the power of that ambitious family arose from the discord of the confederates. A resolution to act with unanimity would soon turn the scale in their favour, and enable them to chuse an emperor out of their own number. The count added, that considering the services performed by *Gustavus Adolphus*, in rescuing the princes of the empire from bondage, no one had so good a right to the imperial diadem. The gratitude of the electors, and his own signal merit; the power he had to defend the reformed religion, to curb the insolence of the Catholics, and to enlarge the Protestant interest, confessedly raised the *Swedish* monarch above all rivalry. Nor was the elector of *Brandenburg* less strenuous in urging the necessity of a general assembly and union of the Protestants. This prince was entirely devoted to *Gustavus*, from the prospect he had of establishing an alliance between their families, by the marriage of the electoral prince to *Christina* princess of *Sweden*. To accomplish this purpose, he laboured with the utmost zeal, from which he hoped to deduce an immediate advantage; namely, that of avoiding certain disputes likely to arise concerning *Pomerania*. However, the elector of *Saxony's* answers were general; nothing to the purpose could be extorted from him, and he declined with great address, touching upon principal business, because he proposed squaring his conduct according to conjunctures.

THESE negotiations *Gustavus* was carrying on, while he resided at the camp at *Nuremburg*. He resolved now to quit this situation, because he could neither oblige *Wallestein* to evacuate his post or give battle. Before he decamped a strong garrison was thrown into *Nuremburg*, in case of an attack; and then *Gustavus* divided his army into two corps. The command of one he gave to duke *Bernard*, with orders to remain in *Franconia*; the other he led in person towards the *Danube* and *Bavaria*. Immediately *Wallestein* broke up, and bent his course to *Misnia*, with intention to oblige the elector of *Saxony* to detach himself from *Gustavus*, and to draw the *Swedes* out of *Bavaria* to the succour of their ally. Already general *Holken* was committing dreadful ravages in *Voigtland*: this altered the king's intention of protecting the Protestant princes, to which he was strongly advised by *Oxenstiern*. Cou-

\* LOCCEN. l. ix. HARTE, ibid. PUFFEND. t. vi. l. vi.

riers every minute arrived from *Saxony*, and pressing letters from the elector, requesting his immediate assistance. Without reflecting upon the inconstancy of *Augustus*, he generously flew to his aid ; he pitied his misfortunes, while he despised his conduct. He feared lest his consternation would induce him to strike up a peace with the emperor, to the prejudice of *Sweden* and her allies ; and he hoped, that being so near might remedy the disorders that prevailed in the states of *Lower Saxony*. Leaving *Gustavus Horn* with an army in *Alfva*, where he had made considerable conquests, and *Birkenfeld*, count-palatine, in *Bavaria*, he joined count *Bernard*, and marched with incredible diligence to *Missa*, where the Imperialists were assembling their whole strength. He had recalled the duke of *Lunenburg* from *Lower Saxony*, and that prince was advanced as far *Wallemburg* to join him ; but hearing that the enemy were encamped at *Weisenfels*, and that *Pappenheim* had been detached with a strong corps, *Gustavus* resolved to attack the Imperialists before they could again effect a junction. With this intention he marched to *Lutzen*, where he fought that memorable battle that robbed *Sweden* of her greatest monarch. He attacked *Wallestein* with incredible fury ; the *Swedish* infantry behaved with astonishing valour, broke the Imperialists in despite of their utmost endeavours to keep firm, and took all their artillery. The cavalry not being able to pass the river so expeditiously as the king thought necessary, he led the way, attended only by the regiment of *Smaaland*, and the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg* ; he charged with impetuosity, and was killed, as *Puffendorff* acknowledges, by the treachery of the duke, who, being corrupted by the emperor, shot him in the back, amidst the heat of the action (A).

Battle of  
Lutzen.

Gustavus  
is killed.

#### THE

(A) With respect to the king's death there are a variety of different opinions. Some writers positively assert, that the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg* was the author : that he had entered himself as a volunteer in the *Swedish* service, under pretence of some affront given him by the emperor ; and that *Oxenstiern* cautioned the king against confiding in a prince, whose desertion shewed how little he regarded the laws of honour. *Gustavus*, however, could not conceive,

that a prince of his birth and general character, could possibly assume the character of a base assassin : he therefore suffered him constantly to attend his person, out of respect to his rank. It is the opinion of other writers, that having defeated the enemy's right wing, the king was posting with all expedition to the other wing, where the *Swedes* were put in confusion. On his way he met a company of imperial horse, who ran him down, and trampled him under their

THE report of his death soon spread itself over the whole army : the Imperialists now made sure of the victory, but they were deceived. Animated by rage and despair the *Swedes* redoubled their efforts, and determined to perish or revenge their brave monarch. Their attack was furious and irresistible; the Imperialists were broke, defeated, and driven from the field, just as *Pappenheim*, with his fresh corps, came up to their assistance. This for a time stemmed the torrent; the action was renewed, and *Pappenheim* performed miracles, but he could not resist the impetuosity of the *Swedes*. He was mortally wounded, and the Imperialists a second time were defeated and dispersed, with the loss of nine thousand men slain in the field and pursuit. However, the victory was bloody, and indeed fatal to *Sweden* and the Protestant cause, as it was purchased with the life of the magnanimous *Adolphus*, the darling of his subjects, the terror of the house of *Austria*, and the admiration of *Europe*. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character; every action of his life displayed the hero, the statesman, and the sovereign; all was noble, sublime, and generous; even the shades of his reputation proceeded from a virtuous ambition, the inseparable attendant on true elevation of soul.

\* LOCCEN. l. ix. HARTE l. ii. sub fin.

their feet. The most prevailing notion is, that receiving a pistol-bullet in the arm that shattered the bone, he endeavoured to conceal the wound for fear of dispiriting his troops; but overcome with the extremity of the pain, he was retiring from the field, when a

soldier, who did not know him, levelled his piece, and killed him on the spot. Amidst such discordant assertions, it is impossible to ascertain the truth. Sufficient it is, that all agree the Imperialists were worsted before the king fell (1).

(1) *Vid. Harte, Loccen. Puffenb. &c. ubi supra.*

## S E C T. IX.

*Containing the Reign of Christina to her Abdication in the Year 1654.*

*SWEDEN* was plunged into the deepest affliction by the death of *Gustavus*. In an instant she beheld herself hurled from the summit of glory and power, to the dreadful condition of falling a prey to her neighbours, of being oppressed, *lies*; and ruined, *of the Imperialists.*



A. D.  
1633.

ruined, and enslaved. The crown was settled upon a female infant; divisions were likely to arise about the tutelage of the queen; a foreign war exhausted the finances, depopulated the country, and destroyed commerce; and the nation was threatened with all the horrors of a tedious minority. The signal victory of *Lutzen*, and the unfortunate circumstances of the Imperialists, contributed however to support the spirits of the *Swedes*. Duke *Bernard* succeeded *Gustavus* in the command of the army; and he pursued the blow given at *Lutzen* with so much vigilance and address, that before the end of the year the enemy were almost entirely driven out of *Saxony*.

BEFORE we proceed to military operations, it will be necessary to take a view of the situation of both parties after the death of *Gustavus*. Though the Imperialists were baffled in every endeavour, subsequent to the death of the *Swedish* monarch, yet they considered the loss of that prince as a real defeat to the allies, though the consequences of it did not immediately appear. They considered that this great event would breed division in the confederate army; that the *Swedish* peasants, no longer dazzled by the virtues of their monarch, would refuse paying the heavy taxes with which they were loaded, for the support of the war; that the *Swedish* troops perceiving themselves destitute of a head vested with sovereign authority, would relax in their discipline, grow turbulent and mutinous, and at last disperse themselves, wherever inclination, or the hope of plunder directed; and that *Denmark* would gladly seize this opportunity of resenting the distance at which she had long been kept by *Gustavus*. *Wallenstein*, however, knew the valour of the *Swedish* troops, and the great abilities of the duke of *Weimar*. He foresaw, that if the issue of the war proved fortunate, yet it would probably be tedious and bloody: he therefore advised the emperor to propose an armistice, in order to settle the preliminaries of a general pacification. Instead of giving ear to this prudent advice, his imperial majesty, full of hope that the occasion now offered of completing all his designs, made vigorous preparations for continuing the war. The *Spaniards* and the elector of *Bavaria* entered into his sentiments, and new levies were directly set on foot in every quarter.

ON the other hand, the Protestants of *Germany* were all in consternation: they had flattered themselves with the hope of securing their religion and liberty by means of *Gustavus*; they had even been so sanguine as to think of settling the imperial diadem on the head of a Protestant; but now the founda-

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* PUFFEND. l. vi. t. vi.

lation of that edifice, which they had reared with so much care and labour, was destroyed; their hopes were disappointed, because they saw no person capable of filling the vast chasm left by *Gustavus*. All the dissensions between the *Swedes* and *Germans* would be renewed; the latter could not think of giving the lead as usual to the former; yet they were sensible of the impossibility of succeeding without their assistance: they even saw unavoidable destruction before them, unless seconded by *Sweden*. Some were for profiting by the *Swedish* troops, keeping them in good humour until their views were accomplished, and then sending them back to their own country. Others pretending that the alliance with *Gustavus* was dissolved by his death, proposed treating separately of their affairs, which was the more necessary as the success which had hitherto attended their affairs, was not owing to the power of *Sweden*, but to the personal valour and abilities of *Gustavus*.

As to *Denmark*, the policy of that court was very different from what the emperor expected. *Christian*, instead of giving ear to the proposals of the aulic council, flattered himself with the thoughts of reuniting the northern crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with the young queen of *Sweden*. *France* was secretly pleased with the death of *Gustavus*; but cardinal *Richelieu* still desired the continuance of the friendship of *Sweden*, as a proper balance to the power of the house of *Austria*. He knew that the diversion made by the *Swedes* alone, withheld the emperor from attacking *France* with all his forces. Besides, this minister regarded the troubles in the empire as a happy opportunity of extending the *French* dominions from the *Rhine* to the *Moselle*. By these, and a variety of other reasons, the king of *France* was induced to write to *Oxenstiern* and the *Swedish* generals, exhorting them steadily to pursue the plan so nobly laid, and hitherto so bravely and vigorously prosecuted, assuring them on his part of all possible assistance. Similar promises were made by *England* and *Holland*; and as to the king of *Poland*, he conceived some hopes of conquering *Sweden*; and he might perhaps have tried his fortune, had he not been harrassed by the *Muscovites*, who obliged him to defend his own dominions. But of all the powers in *Europe*, the *Russians* alone sincerely regretted the loss of *Gustavus*, whose virtues they admired, whose friendship they cultivated, and whose assistance they had reason to expect against the *Poles*, their ancient and inveterate enemy.

SUCH was the situation of *Europe*, with respect to *Sweden*, *Christina* when *Christina*, at the age of six years, ascended the throne, proclaimed  
queen of  
Sweden.

\* LOCSEN. *ibid*. PUFFEND. *ibid*.

and

and was publicly proclaimed. The regency was committed to the heads of the five colleges; namely, to the grand bailiff, the marechal, the high admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer of the crown. The chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, whose prudence and great experience had rendered him equally the favourite of his late master and of the nation. *Oxenstiern* was at *Hanan* when he received the news of the king's misfortune. Though overwhelmed with grief, he did not neglect the interest of his country. His greatest apprehensions arose not so much from the power of the enemy as from their zeal and unanimity, and the discordant views and interests of the Protestant allies. The first act of the regency was to fix up placards against king *Sigismund* and his family. All correspondence with the kingdom of *Poland* was prohibited; and exhortatory letters were dispatched to all the governors of provinces, and bishops, to use their utmost endeavours in keeping the people in their duty and obedience to the government of *Christina*. Next they made great preparations for supporting the foreign war in which the kingdom was involved. This department, and the whole direction of affairs in *Germany*, was assigned to *Oxenstiern*, who was acquainted with the temper of the people, and the views and policy of the several princes, having resided for some time in quality of ambassador from *Gustavus* to the powers of the circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*. All his prudence, however, was scarce sufficient to surmount the difficulties he had to encounter: the pride and dignity of electors and sovereign princes could not easily stoop to the direction of a private gentleman, a foreigner. The rivalry among the generals, most of whom were *Germans*, presented another obstacle: *Oxenstiern* foresaw, and resolved to overcome every thing by dint of vigilance, perseverance, and policy. In the present state of affairs it was next to impossible to preserve all their conquests in *Higher Germany*: to abandon them suddenly would expose the Protestant interest to great danger, dissolve the confederacy, and greatly endanger the safety of the *Swedish* army, by dispiriting the troops, and depriving them of a retreat. *Oxenstiern* proposed the absolute necessity of maintaining the alliance with the four circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Lower* and *Upper Rhine*. To deliberate on proper measures, he convoked an assembly at *Ulm*, which was afterwards transferred to *Heilbron*; and he laboured the more diligently to promote this meeting, because the elector of *Saxony* was endeavouring to get the chief direction of affairs into his own hands, by consent of the Protestant princes. That prince had, indeed, exerted fruitless attempts

*Oxenstiern conducts affairs with great prudence.*

to break up the diet at *Hailbron*; the chancellor penetrated and defeated his designs, during a visit which he made to his electoral highness at *Dresden*. He made proposals to *Augustus*, but could only obtain shuffling answers, though supported by all the weight of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who remained firm to the engagements contracted with *Gustavus Adolphus*. The elector of *Saxony* complained that *Oxenstiern* assumed too much power in *Germany*; and particularly resented, that a chancellor of *Sweden* should presume to hinder the duke of *Brunswic* from assembling the circle of *Lower Saxony*, under the pretext that the right of convoking was vested in the archbishop of *Magdeburgh*, now subject to the crown of *Sweden*.

IN defiance of all obstructions, *Oxenstiern* went on pursuing the interest of his country, and planning the means of retaining the *Swedish* conquests. His first step was to send back some regiments for the security of the kingdom, to detach the duke of *Lunenburgh* with 14,000 men, to drive the enemy out of *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*, and to send duke *Bernard* with the remainder of the army into *Thuringia*, to act in conjunction with *Gustavus Horn*. Old count *Thurn* was appointed to command in *Silesia*, where the face of the *Swedish* affairs had hitherto born an unfavourable aspect. His chief object was to retrieve matters in that duchy, and at the same time to prevent the irruptions of the imperialists into the *Marche* and *Pomerania*. *Gustavus Horn* had reduced the greater part of *Alsace*, and now entering *Suabia*, he defeated a body of *Bavarian* cavalry, commanded by general *Kempten*, preventing their taking quarters in the territory of *Wurtemberg*, and routing another entire regiment of dragoons, near *Simmeringen*. Nor was *George* duke of *Lunenburgh* less successful in *Westphalia*, where he reduced several towns, defeated count *Mansfeld*, and laid siege to *Hamel*. The landgrave *William* over-run the greater part of the diocese of *Munster*; but nothing was transacted in *Silesia*, on account of the divisions which reigned between the *Swedes* and *Saxons*. *Arnheim* assumed a kind of despotic authority, affecting to employ the *Swedes* as auxiliaries; the *Swedes* resented his usage, looked upon themselves as principals, and assumed the lead, as they had done in the lifetime of their glorious monarch.

*OXENSTIERN*'s prudent conduct managed the diet at *Hailbron* to the best advantage. A league was formed between *Sweden* and the four circles; the chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor, in quality of plenipotentiary from the queen of *Sweden*; but the assembly

thought proper to assist him with a council elected by consent of all the allies. *Franckfort* on the *Maine* was pitched upon for the place of his residence, and here he set about the necessary preparations. He had already discovered, that at *Dresden* they laboured to conclude a separate peace, to the exclusion of *Sweden*. This he opposed with all his might; and to fortify himself against all events, he re-established the children of *Frederic* count *Palatine* in the electoral dignity, by which he hoped to secure the friendship of *England*, the states-general of the *United Provinces*, and the whole house of *Palatine*. He entered into treaty with *France*, and kept fair with *Denmark*, though he did not fail to watch narrowly the designs of the court of *Copenhagen*. His prudence quelled a dangerous tumult in the army under duke *Bernard* and *Horn*, supposed to be fomented by the latter, with a design of procuring the sole command; but all his caution could not foresee the disasters that fell out in *Silesia*, owing to the perfidy of *Arnheim*; who furnished *Wallenstein* with an opportunity of surprising and defeating the *Swedese*, and at last of drawing them out of the duchy\*.

THE loss on this side was ballanced by the advantages gained in another quarter, through the diligence of *Bauditz*, who defeated the imperialists near *Andernach*. The landgrave *William* took *Paderborn* by assault, and *William* duke of *Weimar* repulsed a corps of imperialists in *Franconia*. *Horn* and other *Swedish* generals made rapid conquests in different places; but the most important was the reduction of *Hamel*, which surrendered at discretion to the duke of *Lunenburgh*, after he had defeated a party of 5000 men sent to its relief. In this action the enemy left three thousand men dead on the field of battle, though the victory was gained with no greater loss than three hundred men on the side of the allies. The city of *Osnabrug* was reduced by another body of *Swedese* under *Kniphausen*; and *Horn* made frequent successful invasions into the enemy's country, and would have certainly been in possession of the city of *Constance*, but for want of battering cannon. General *Altringer*, and a body of *Italians* under the duke de *Feria*, entered *Alsace*, with intention to succour *Philipsburg* besieged by the *Swedese*; but they were baffled by the diligence of *Horn*, who drove them out of the country, pursued them across the *Rhine* into *Suabia*, and harassed their rear so grievously, that they were forced to throw themselves into *Bavaria*. Duke *Bernard* was so fortunate as to take *Ratisbon* by surprise, after which he ravaged

\* *Loccen. lib. ix.*

*Bavaria*, and reduced *Straubingen* and *Deckendorf*; but he was deterred from pursuing his conquests by intelligence, that *Wallenstein* was on his way from *Bohemia* to attack him. Here the imperial general had been extremely successful, over-running with astonishing rapidity a great number of towns and cities, insomuch that he might have penetrated to the *Baltic*, had he not been repulsed by the prudent measures taken by duke *Bernard*. Fortune, indeed, crowned with success the endeavours of the allies in every quarter, except in *Bobemia* and *Silesia*. In the latter, the war daily became more burthenfome. *Arnheim* and the *Saxons* were grown bold in their treachery; they even almost avowedly kept up a correspondence with the enemy. Besides, *France* drained the country lying betwixt *Basle* and the *Moselle*; *Holland* regarded the *Swedish* conquests with a jealous eye; *England* interposed indeed but little in the affairs of the continent, but the king expressed a partiality to the *Spaniards*. Even the elector of *Brandenburgh* could not be relied upon, because he began to despair of succeeding in the proposed union, between his son, the electoral prince, and the young queen of *Sweden*. All *Pomerania* declared against the *Swedes*; and a variety of other false friends, or avowed enemies, were now discovered, though the greatest troubles arose from the infidelity of the *Saxons*.

AMIDST all these difficulties, hedged in on every side by danger, and even weakened and exhausted by victory, *Oxenstiern* laboured to support the protestant interest, and to keep a confederacy, composed of so many members, closely united. One circumstance, however, merely accidental, contributed more to rouse their spirits and animate the *Swedes*, than all the endeavours of the chancellor. *Wallenstein*, by the machinations of his enemies, was disgraced at the imperial court, deprived of the command of the army, and afterwards assassinated (A). It was expected, that this event would have thrown the imperialists into confusion, but it did not produce all the advantages hoped for by the allies, though it furnished duke *Bernard* with an opportunity of cutting in pieces a complete regiment of infantry. *Horn* was extremely fortunate in the *Upper Suabia*, and the rhingrave

A. D.  
1634.

(A) We have not entered into the particulars of this affair, which does not properly belong to the *Swedish* history. *Wallenstein* was said to have been assassinated by three Scotch offi-

cers, *Gordon*, *Lesley*, and *Butler*, a minute account of which the reader will find in the life of *Gustavus* by Mr. *Harte*. *Vid. etiam* vol. xxx. of the *Univerf. Hist.*

had one continued flow of uninterrupted success in *Alsace*, where he defeated a body of imperialists, and reduced several important places <sup>b</sup>.

THESE various turns of fortune in the operations of the field, made no change in the proceeding of the assembly held at *Frankfort*. The chancellor had invited all the protestants to unite closely, in order to procure reasonable conditions of peace. The preliminaries were debated, but the rhingrave appeared too strongly attached to his own particular interest, to pay any regard to the common interest of the league. What occasioned the warmest dispute was, the compensation to be made to *Sweden* for having so freely lavished her blood and treasure for the support of the protestant powers of *Germany*. Some mentioned *Pomerania* as a province that would be extremely agreeable to that nation, on account of its situation with respect to the other territories of the *Swedish* crown in the *Baltic*; but the elector of *Brandenburgh* opposed, with all his interest, the giving a gratuity which must prove extremely prejudicial to him. Every other scheme met with similar objections, and almost the whole summer was consumed in those fruitless deliberations. In the beginning of autumn, the young king of *Hungary*, now at the head of the imperial army, desirous of signalizing his valour, marched towards *Ratisbon*, and laid siege to that city with numerous forces. Immediately duke *Bernard* and *Horn* entered *Bavaria* to its relief, but too late; the *Swedish* garrison, after a vigorous defence, had surrendered before their arrival. Those two generals had besides the mortification to see their troops extremely harrassed by the enemy, prevented from foraging, and reduced to great necessities by the imperialists posted at *Nordlingen*. This rendered the *Swedes* eager to come to a general action: every general in the army approved of attacking the enemy except *Gustavus Horn*, who advised waiting for the rhingrave, now on his march with 4000 men, to reinforce the combined army. Even duke *Bernard* was for determining the fortune of the war by a single battle, and he was confirmed in this opinion by the fear of losing *Nordlingen*, which the imperialists were besieging vigorously. A motion was made to take post on *Arensburg*, an eminence from whence they could easily succour the besieged. To execute this purpose, the duke, who commanded in the van, charged the imperialists drawn up at the foot of the hill, and repulsed them with considerable loss, pursuing them beyond the eminence of which he was to take pos-

*The battle of Nordlingen.*

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vi. tom. vi. LOCCEN. *ibid.*

session. *Hörn* was for taking his station at *Arensburg*, as proposed in the council of war ; but he was taxed with cowardice, and the unanimous voice was for pressing the advantage already obtained ; at length *Gustavus Hörn* unhappily yielded to their impetuosity. Determined to wipe off their reflexions, he pushed on, to drive the *Spaniards* from *The* an eminence on which they had fortified themselves the *Swedes* night preceding. From break of day till noon the *Swedes* *defeated*, fought with the utmost fury, repeatedly renewing the charge with such obstinacy, as they never upon any former occasion discovered, though all to no purpose. After the battle had raged for eight hours, and the field was covered with carnage, they were forced to abandon the enterprise, and pass through a valley to regain possession of *Arensburg*, where they ought at first to have remained. This design they must certainly have accomplished, had not the left wing, composed of *Germans*, been put in disorder, and the horse driven back on the foot. Then began a horrid slaughter, particularly of the *Swedish* infantry, of whom six thousand were left dead on the spot. A great number fell into the hands of the enemy, and among the prisoners was *Gustavus Hörn*, whose valour had never appeared so conspicuous as when it proved unfortunate. All that conduct and courage could suggest he practised ; he flew among the troops, reminded them of *Gustavus*, *Leipsic*, and *Lutzen* ; they fought like men in despair, but it was impossible to redeem the error, so hard were they pressed by their own cavalry, and the whole weight of the enemy. All the artillery was lost, together with 130 standards, and other trophies, which were taken by the imperialists. ; in a word, the defeat was total, and the blow so decisive, that the *Swedes* never afterwards appeared so formidable.

*OXENSTIERN*'s constancy was shaken by this sudden and unexpected misfortune ; but he soon recovered, and instead of disbanding, applied diligently to repair the loss, by recruiting the army, and retaining the allies steady in their fidelity. The latter was the greater difficulty ; the assembly at *Hailbron* seemed overwhelmed with consternation, deprived of every faculty, and waiting patiently to receive whatever conditions the conquerors chose to impose. *Oxenstiern* and the *Swedes* were accused as the authors of all their misfortunes, though a little before they were extolled as the sovereigns of *Germany*, and protectors of religion and liberty. The chancellor's chief aim was to gain time, and endeavour, by all his address, to engage *France* in the quarrel, though he had hitherto tried to exclude that power



from the affairs of the empire. By this means he hoped still to obtain an honourable peace, whereby *Sweden* might retain her conquests along the *Baltic*. With this view he refused, though strongly advised, to withdraw the troops from *Higher Germany*, from an apprehension, that if he evacuated all the places he possessed on that side, it would be difficult to draw *France* into the war, and impossible to keep the imperialists from falling, with their whole strength, upon *Lower Saxony*. Besides, the *Swedish* forces were still considerable, all the corps under duke *George*, *William* landgrave of *Hesse*, *Banier*, and the rhingrave, remaining complete, flushed with success, and, if united into one body, capable still of making head against the forces of the emperor. It was discord alone that rendered the *Swedish* affairs desperate, and the chancellor's schemes hazardous. The elector of *Saxony* was labouring to effect a peace, to the exclusion of *Sweden*. The confederates were slow in their deliberations; the enemy were suffered to penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and thereby to prevent the junction of the allies; the more distant members of the league paid little regard to the chancellor's remonstrances; their troops, who had escaped from the defeat at *Nordlingen*, completed the misfortune on that occasion, by now growing mutinous for their pay, and refusing to march, until all their arrears were advanced. They were indeed supposed to act in consequence of secret instructions, and this made the disease more dangerous, because it lay deeper.

UNDER these circumstances the chancellor solicited the court of *Versailles*, to order the mareschal de la Force to advance with his army, in order to afford the dispersed troops of *Sweden* an opportunity of rallying; and to give his request some weight, he offered *Philippsburgh*. The rhingrave too, perceiving the impossibility of preserving all his conquests in *Alsace*, ceded the whole province, except *Bensfeld*, to the *French*, and marched with his army towards *Strasburg*. By this means the *Swedish* affairs were entirely ruined in *Higher Germany*, and the country of *Wurtemberg* over-run by the imperialists. Duke *Bernard*, unable to support his troops in his present quarters, passed the *Rhine*, entered *Veteravia*, and proceeded to *Bergstrass*, where he remained inactive during the season. As to *Banier*, he had done little to retrieve the *Swedish* affairs, though he was at the head of a considerable army in *Bohemia*, from whence he passed into *Thuringia* after the battle of *Nordlingen*, the better to assist the confederates,

\* *LOCEN. ibid. PUFFEND. ibid.*

However,

However, he did not chuse to advance further, lest the enemy should cut off his communication with the *Baltic*. It was better, he thought, to maintain his posts, augment his army, and keep a strict watch over the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*. The conduct of the latter began to grow extremely mysterious, and the former had actually concluded a separate peace with the emperor at *Pirna*, which was afterwards ratified at *Prague*.

It was after this manner that the late defeat had introduced confusion into the *Swedish* affairs, by entirely changing the dispositions of the allies, shaking the constancy of those who had hitherto continued steady, and entirely detaching others who before were wavering. The states of *Sweden* and the chancellor now sought nothing so eagerly as an honourable peace; but the enemy, flushed with successes, would hearken to no terms besides entire restitution, which *Sweden* was not yet reduced low enough to grant. A. D. 1635. Nothing, however, appeared so advisable, as engaging *France* in the alliance, for which purpose *Oxenstiern* went in person to the court of *Lewis*, and concluded a treaty, that was never observed. His next care was to satisfy, if possible, the demands of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*. *Augustus* could be yet gained, he imagined, were his pride and avarice sufficiently gratified; but all his endeavours to this purpose proved fruitless. Mean time the imperialists sailed directly before the gale of fortune, surprised *Philipsburgh*, where the *French* had laid up vast magazines, and reduced *Spires*, by which they secured a footing on the opposite side of the *Rhine*. The *Spaniards* surprised *Treves*, the city of *Augsburgh* was forced by famine to capitulate, *Wurtzburg*, *Coburgh*, *Pappenheim*, and other places, fell into the hands of the enemy. The landgrave of *Hesse* was reduced to extremities, duke *Bernard* made no progress; and the elector of *Saxony*, not satisfied with deserting the *Swedes*, joined the imperialists, attempted to surprise *Halberstadt* and *Magdeburgh*, and establish a footing in *Thuringia*. All men were astonished to see this prince making vast preparations for war, at the very time he had concluded a treaty with the empire: but his motives were now obvious; he intended to assist in compelling the *Swedes* to quit *Germany*, should they refuse voluntarily to renounce their conquests, which had cost the kingdom so much blood and treasure. He even gained the elector of *Brandenburgh* to make favourable concessions to him with respect to *Pomerania*.

To encrease the misfortunes of *Sweden*, the neutrality for *Poland* was on the point of expiration; it was expected the

*Poles* would immediately invade *Prussia*, to guard against which a powerful army was detached thither, under *la Gardie*; but as it could not be practicable to resist such a number of enemies, the chancellor purchased the friendship of *Poland* for twenty-six years, by ceding *Prussia* to that republic. *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, exerted their utmost influence to procure this cession; the first, in order to enable *Sweden* to continue the war in *Germany*; and the two last for commercial reasons, the *Swedes* having laid heavy duties upon all commodities imported to *Prussia*. Though by this means the chancellor got rid of a powerful enemy, still he had vast difficulties to encounter. He could place confidence in none of the confederates; the army under *Banier* grew mutinous for want of pay, and he was totally destitute of money. Besides, the elector of *Saxony* was practising every art to seduce the army, and the troops had even presumed to enter upon a negotiation with *Augustus*, who flattered them with magnificent promises. It was likewise discovered, that the *Saxon* was endeavouring to cut off the communication of the *Swedes* with the *Baltic*, to prevent which *Oxenstierna* repaired with all diligence to *Wisnar*, while *Banier* led his troops to the duchy of *Brunswic*, leaving a strong garrison in *Magdeburg*. Thus *Augustus* gained possession of both sides the *Elbe*, whereby he was enabled to disturb the *Swedish* general in his new quarters, and even to cut off all his resources. Sensible of the impending danger, *Banier* exerted every quality of a good officer, to extricate himself. Assembling his army, he pushed on to *Altemburgh*, where he defeated the van of the *Saxons*, and pursuing his advantage, detached all his cavalry and a thousand infantry, to attack a body of seven thousand *Saxons*, who crossed the *Elbe* with intention to surprise *Domitz*. Here the *Swedes* displayed their usual gallantry; they attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that general *Bauditz*, who commanded the *Saxons*, was entirely defeated, with the loss of 1000 men left dead on the field, and 2500 prisoners, most of whom enlisted in the *Swedish* service. The consequences of this victory were important; the *Swedish* troops recovered their vigour, the *Saxons* were cleared out of *Mecklenburgh*, driven beyond the *Elbe*, forced to take shelter in *Brandenburgh*, and winter-quarters were established for *Banier's* troops in the *Marche*.

*Banier* defeats the *Saxons*.

A. D.  
1636.

NOTWITHSTANDING the affairs of *Sweden* assumed a happier aspect, *Oxenstierna* had still great difficulties to encounter, and the emperor gained an important point in bringing

the *Swedes* and *Saxons* to an open rupture. By this means *Higher Germany* was entirely lost, and the crown of *Sweden* deprived of all her allies, except the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was almost overpowered by enemies. *France* was prevented from declaring against the emperor, by the designs she formed upon *Italy* and the *Netherlands*; *Holland* refused being concerned in the *German* war; and as to *England*, that kingdom began now to bleed under the scourge of civil divisions. For these reasons the chancellor refused to ratify the treaty with *France*, because that crown would not perform her engagements; however, he concluded an eventual treaty with *Chaumont*, the *French* ambassador, which was to be extended and enlarged in the space of three months. By this *Oxenstierna* gained time to establish the negotiation on a better footing, and to wait the event of his military operations, which were planned with such vigour as promised success. *Banier* was appointed to act on the *Elbe* with the main army; *Wrangel*, with a strong detachment, was destined to make a diversion on the banks of the *Oder*; and general *Lestz* was detached towards the *Weser*, to drive the enemy out of *Westphalia*, or at least to preserve a footing in that country. Thus, although the *Swedes* had lost their allies, although their enemies were accumulated, yet they gained one very considerable advantage; it was that of sending their forces wherever they pleased, of pushing their operations with vigour, of levelling their blows against any part of the enemy's strength they thought proper, and of being unencumbered with litigious, false, useless friends, more pernicious to their affairs than open and avowed enemies.

EARLY in the spring the *Saxons* began certain motions which indicated an intention to cut off *Banier's* communication with *Pomerania*. This he perceived; but, not chusing to hazard a battle, he resolved to baffle their designs by a stratagem. With this view he marched with his infantry to *Werben*, ordering the cavalry to repair with all diligence to *Magdeburgh*, and to seize the bridge to keep the communication between the two corps open. In his march he defeated a body of the enemy, and then posted himself at *Hall*; which obliged the *Saxons* to return to *Wittenberg*. Their intention was to give battle to the *Swedes*, and the armies lay encamped within sight, only divided by the *Sala*; they attempted to pass the river, but were always repulsed. After some time spent in this situation, *Banier* removed his quarters to the opposite side of the river, to canton his troops, and the *Saxons* went into winter-quarters, where they were beat up, and defeated by the *Swedes*, together with  
a body

a body of imperialists come to their assistance. *Banier* now in the midst of winter made several brisk motions, which extremely harassed and perplexed the enemy, but produced no general action. *Kniphausen* beat the imperialists in *Westphalia* after an obstinate conflict, in which they lost 1500 of their best soldiers; but unfortunately he was killed in the pursuit, and his troops were obliged to repass the *Weser*. Some advantages likewise were gained by general *Lesly*, in the neighbourhood of *Minden*, where he had assembled a considerable army; in a word, the *Swedish* operations were this year every where more vigorous and fortunate than in the former.

To the successes already mentioned, duke *Bernard* added some others, obtained in *Lorraine* and *Alsace*, over the imperial general count *Gallas*, whom he attacked and defeated, dispersing his army. But these advantages were balanced by some losses on the side of *Saxony*. *Magdeburgh*, contrary to the expectation of all men, surrendered to the elector for want of powder, which the garrison had wantonly consumed. *Banier* advanced to the relief of the city; but finding it had surrendered, and that he was too weak to make head against the enemy, he recalled *Lesly* from *Westphalia*, and marched to *Werben*, to facilitate a junction. Hearing that the Saxons had made conquests on the farther side of the *Elbe*, he hastened to *Domitz*, to prevent that important place from falling into their hands. This motion obliged the Saxons to turn towards *Mecklenburgh*; upon which the Swede repassed the *Elbe*, and went to meet *Wrangel*, whom he expected from *Pomerania*. The enemy had seized a very advantageous post in the neighbourhood of *Perleberg*, from whence they hoped gradually to destroy the *Swedish* army, and reduce the duchies of *Mecklenburgh* and *Pomerania*. They doubted not of forcing the *Swedish* garrisons by famine, and flattered themselves, that, when they were reinforced by the imperialists, they should be in a condition to defeat the whole *Swedish* army, should *Banier* venture to give battle. The Swede, however, determined to try his fortune rather than suffer by scarcity in his camp. He advanced towards *Perleberg*, closely blocked up by the enemy; and drove from a convenient post four regiments of *Saxon* cuirassiers, with the loss of 400 men. His army amounted to 9000 horse and 7000 foot; a force greatly inferior to that of the Saxons, whose numbers exceeded 13 battalions and 15,000 horse, all encamped in a strong situation. *Banier* endeavoured to draw them to a battle upon equal terms, and with this view attacked *Havelberg* and the fortress of *Werben*. This produced

duced the effect; the enemy marched out of their camp to cover a detachment sent to *Old Brandenburg*, and the *Swedes* seizing an eminence, to prevent their return, forced them to engage. As their post was covered by a forest, he marched along the skirts of the wood, to attack them in flank, ordering the other wing to make a circuit to the right, in order to possess a post which must greatly incommode the *Saxons*. The battle began with great fury, and was continued with obstinacy by the *Swedes*, who had almost sunk under the weight of numbers before they could be seconded by the left wing. Ten times they returned to the charge, and at last pushed with such vigour, that the enemy were broke, put in confusion, and defeated<sup>c</sup>. In the pursuit the carnage was terrible; five thousand *Saxons* perished by the sword, three thousand were wounded, and near as many taken, together with one hundred and fifty standards and colours, and several pieces of cannon.

So signal a victory obtained over an enemy greatly superior, and finely situated, restored the lustre of the *Swedish* arms, and raised *Banier* to the highest pitch of reputation. The consequences of this victory were extremely important; the courage of the *Swedes* recovered; the states of *Higher Germany* entertained hopes they might again be able to re-establish their affairs; *France* and *Holland* seemed to declare more openly in favour of *Sweden*; and the vast designs formed by the king of *Denmark* vanished into smoke. *Banier* was also enabled to repass the *Elbe*, to penetrate into *Thuringia*, and to chase the imperialists through *Hesse* into *Westphalia*. Thus were all the emperor's vast expectations disappointed. He flattered himself, that the *Saxons* would not only be able to drive the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, but likewise give a dangerous blow to *France*, while count *Gallas* might, with a considerable army, make an irruption into *Burgundy*. The *Saxons* were cut in pieces; and as to *Gallas*, he returned from his expedition with about half his army, the rest having perished by the sword and by famine.

DURING the winter some fruitless negotiations were set on foot; but *Oxenstiern* finding there was no prospect of peace, and that the imperialists and *Saxons* were assembling, to strike some decisive blow early in the spring, he ordered *Banier* to exert his utmost endeavours to disarm the princes of *Lunenburgh*, and the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*. *Banier*'s numbers were very unequal; yet he did not content himself with acting defensively. Quitting winter-

A. D.  
1637.

<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. ubi supra,

quarters early in the season, he fell upon eight regiments of Saxons, cantoned at *Eulenburgh*, pursued them to *Torgau*, and there obliged them to surrender at discretion. The officers he dismissed, but the greater part of the soldiers enlisted, and were incorporated in the *Swedish* regiments. He defeated another party of Saxons in the territory of *Henneberg*, after which he proposed investing *Leipsic*; but his design was frustrated by the imperialists, who penetrated through *Westphalia* into *Thuringia*. This determined him to call in his detachments, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from crossing the *Sala*; but though he was baffled in this attempt, he had the good fortune to defeat 2000 imperialists near *Pegau*, and destroy several detachments that attempted to obstruct his march.

*Critical  
situation  
of Banier.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages and unexpected rapid successes, *Banier* was greatly embarrassed. He assembled his army in the neighbourhood of *Torgau*, where he perceived he must, in a short time, be necessarily hemmed in by the enemy, whose forces were daily augmenting. It added greatly to the perplexity of his situation, that he could neither enter into the *Marche* nor into *Pomerania*, both which were totally destitute of the necessaries for supporting an army. *Westphalia* was at too great a distance, and besides entirely out of the course he proposed. He therefore resolved to wait in his present encampment until he could be joined by *Wrangel*, and enabled to hazard a battle. Every thing that sagacity could foresee, or prudence direct, was effected; but the enemy gradually straitened his quarters, and *Banier* found that he should be forced singly to sustain the whole weight of the imperialists and their allies. He might indeed have penetrated into *Higher Germany*, and joined duke *Bernard*; but his orders were express, the regency enjoining him to be particularly careful of all that *Sweden* possessed towards the *Baltic*. To ward against the impending danger, he decamped with precipitation from *Torgau*, and directed his course to *Pomerania*. The enemy pursued; but the address and celerity of *Banier* saved his army. In the day he made several motions which deceived the imperialists, and at night, by forced marches, left them far behind, and uncertain with respect to his destination. Once his rear was attacked; but the *Swedes* behaved with such gallantry, that the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. At length he got to *Lower Pomerania*, after having escaped the most pressing dangers, and soon obliged count *Gallus* to evacuate the province; but the future misfortunes

fortunes of *Wrangel* brought the *Swedish* affairs again into the most critical situation <sup>d</sup>.

WHEN *Gallas* quitted *Pomerania*, *Wrangel* imagining himself perfectly secure, cantoned his troops and extended his quarters, the better to accommodate his army. While he was thus circumstanced, a *Pomeranian* gentleman gave notice of his situation to *Gallas*, and undertook to guide him, through a secret path, into the province; which he accordingly executed. The imperialists soon over-ran the country, and the *Suedes* were overwhelmed with terror and consternation. Deprived of all power of reflection by the celerity of the blow, *Wrangel* took no measures of opposition; *Usedom*, *Wollin*, and *Demmin* fell into the enemy's hands, the *Higher Pomerania* was entirely ravaged, and *Gallas* returned to his quarters in *Saxony*, after leaving garrisons in the principal fortresses. The *Swedish* affairs were now again reduced to a deplorable situation; to add to their misfortunes, a new enemy appeared, duke *George* declaring openly for the imperialists. All their forts on the *Rhine* were likewise abandoned to the enemy, because *France* did not support duke *Bernard*, as he expected, upon crossing that river. To complete their perplexity, the duke of *Pomerania* dying, involved them in a particular quarrel with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who laid claim to all the dominions of the deceased. Several princes indeed offered their mediation to accomplish a peace; but, as matters were not yet ripe, the *Suedes* tried to draw *France* into a closer alliance, and by this means to obtain better conditions. In the end, the treaty with the *French* king was extended to the space of three years, and a resolution taken to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour <sup>e</sup>.

*BANIER* was forced to lie quiet during the winter, He defeats in expectation of a reinforcement from *Sweden*. The imperialists profited by his inaction, and seized upon *Gartz*; but they were so afflicted with a pestilential disease that raged in their camp, that an army of 18,000 horse and foot was reduced to half the number. When *Banier* was reinforced, he put the recruits into garrison, and took the field with his veterans, marched to *Gartz*, and took the place by assault. He next penetrated into *Higher Pomerania*, seized upon all the passes, pushed into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, defeated the imperialists, and obliged *Gallas* to retire with the loss of 3000 men, killed and taken prisoners. He pursued his good

<sup>d</sup> LOCCEN. lib. ix. PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. 6.  
ibid. Mem. de Christine, par Arckenholtz, tom i.

<sup>e</sup> Idem.



*Victories  
obtained  
by duke  
Bernard.*

fortune, and so harrassed the count, that he obliged him to repass the *Elbe* in great disorder, and take shelter in the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*. Fortune once more smiled upon the *Suedes*. *Banier's* successes, though considerable, were nothing to what duke *Bernard* performed. That general had so augmented his army in the protestant cantons of *Switzerland* and in *Franche Compté*, that he was in a condition to act without the assistance of the *French*. He supported himself wholly by his own sagacity and activity; and resolved that all his successes should confessedly flow entirely from his own merit. With this view he advanced to the *Rhine*, seized upon *Lefsenburgh* and *Seckingen*, and laid siege to *Rheinfeld*. The imperialists, in conjunction with the troops of *Bavaria*, came to the relief of the besieged; the duke gave them battle, and the victory was disputed; the enemy threw in succours into the town, and the duke chose to raise the siege voluntarily, that he might not weaken his army. However, he gave the enemy battle a second time within a month, entirely defeated them, and obtained so complete a victory, that only one imperial officer above the rank of a captain escaped being killed or taken prisoner. Among the latter were *Savelli* and the famous partizan *John de Weert*. *Bernard* resumed the siege, and not only reduced *Rheinfeld*, but a variety of other important places. Next he marched to *Brisaac*, which he blocked up with intention to starve the garrison to submission. General *Gotz* endeavoured with a strong convoy to throw in 1000 waggons of provision, but he was defeated with such slaughter, that out of 12,000 men, only 2500 escaped; the rest were killed or made prisoners. Duke *Charles of Lorraine* made a second attempt to relieve this town, of so much consequence to the emperor. He joined the remains of the imperial army, with 4000 men at *Thaun*, where he was surprised by duke *Bernard*, and his whole army cut in pieces. A third attempt to relieve *Brisaac*, was made by *Gotz*, but it proved as unsuccessful as the former; he was repulsed with great loss, and the garrison, after suffering the utmost extremity of want, was forced to surrender at discretion<sup>f</sup>.

A. D. 1639. NOTHING could be more seasonable or glorious than this course of victory; the imperialists were every where defeated on the banks of the *Rhine*, and in the duchy of *Mettlenburgh*; and now the two victorious generals, *Bernard* and *Banier*, concerted attacking the enemy on their own ground.

<sup>f</sup> Loccen. lib. ix.

penetrating to the heart of the *Austrian* dominions. In month of *January*, *Banier* crossing the *Elbe*, made an irruption into the territories of *Anhalt* and *Halberstadt*. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind, he pushed on with his alry, and surpris'd *Salis*, grand master of the imperial army, in the neighbourhood of *Oelnitz*. The conflict was ody, no less than seven regiments of the enemy being cut pieces. He next entered *Saxony*, penetrated to the suburbs *Dresden*, where he defeated four regiments of *Saxons*, iging a larger corps to take refuge under the cannon of t city. He undertook the siege of *Freyberg*; but quitted : enterprise, on advice that *Hatfield* was posting from *ispbaha* to its relief. This suggested the resolution of march- : towards *Zeitz* to join his infantry. While he remained in : post, advice was received that the *Saxons* were encamped ar *Chemnitz*, where they waited to be joined by the im- : ialists under *Hatfield*. To prevent this junction he at- : ked them, and after an exceeding bloody action, ob- : ned a compleat victory, only a very small number of the : emy escaping. This success was followed by divers : ers. *Banier* made an irruption into *Bohemia*, where he : d great part of the country under contribution. Then re- : turning, he crossed the *Elbe*, and fell upon general *Hoffkirk*, : camped with ten regiments of horse and several battalions : foot, near *Brandez*. The action was maintained with : at obstinacy, both sides fought with the utmost intre- : y; but in the end the imperialists were forced to yield : the fortune of the *Swede*, and with the loss of 2000 men, : ve him an undisputed victory. He pursued them to the : lls of *Prague*, and took *Hoffkirk* and *Montecuculi* prisoners. : draw the war into *Silesia* and *Moravia*, *Banier* repassed : *Elbe*, and marched towards these countries, but he had : t all the success with which he flattered himself. The : my's forces multiplied daily, and it was impossible for : n, with inferior numbers, to extend himself to all the : ces that required his presence. The protestants had pro- : sed him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the : my. No insurrection appeared in his favour, either in : *sia* or *Bohemia*, as he expected; yet he was not discour- : ed. All that could be expected from him in such cir- : cumstances, he performed. He defeated a body of impe- : rialists at *Glatz*; three several times he drove the *Saxons* : n their camp at *Tirn*, and yet was forced to evacuate the : ce, because he could not spare a garrison. However, *distresses* : h his little army, he reduced a great number of towns, *the* : obtained a variety of other advantages, when of a sud- *Swedes*.

den his whole hopes were blasted by the immature death of the duke of *Weimar*, who fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of the *French*, as is asserted by *Puffendorf*, and divers other historians. *Brisaac*, where duke *Bernard* had lately acquired so much glory, was now the occasion of his fall. *France* had an eye upon that place; but the duke strenuously opposed their designs, and so closely watched their motions, that it was thought necessary to remove him by poison, the better to accomplish their purposes. This at least is the assertion of *Puffendorf*; and it was the general opinion at the time, that the body of this hero had all the marks of poison \*.

It was now disputed to whom the army should belong. It had always been called *Weimar's* army, though the troops were levied by *Sweden*, had taken an oath to the crown, and were acting in the same cause with the *Swedish* forces under *Banier*. The duke, however, claimed the supreme direction, the soldiers obeyed him implicitly, and he supported them by contributions, and at his own expence, without any charge to the crown. Thus he was regarded rather as an ally than a dependent; his friendship was courted by both parties; but he adhered with great constancy to the *Sweedes*, from a fixed rivetted aversion to the court of *Vienne*. The *French* monarch and the elector of *Palatine* now appeared candidates for the disposal of this army; and the former, after arresting the elector, entered upon engagements with *Erac*, the commanding officer after the duke's death, and disposed of his troops and conquests as he thought proper. No sooner were the *French* in possession of *Brisaac*, and the other places reduced in the last campaign by *Bernard*, than they forgot all their great promises to his army, and even strove by every artifice to destroy it, lest it might again become formidable.

BESIDES being disappointed of the expected assistance from duke *Bernard*, *Banier* had other difficulties to encounter. The imperial army under *Piccolomini* was prodigiously augmented in the *Netherlands*, and the archduke *Leopold William*, in quality of generalissimo, was assembling his utmost strength to oppose the *Sweedes*, or rather to crush them at one blow. The danger was the greater, because there remained no means of making a diversion, and dividing the enemy. Want of forage obliged him to evacuate *Bohemia*, and abandon all the designs formed upon that kingdom. His cavalry was his chief strength, and prudence dic-

\* Comment. de reb. Succ. lib. xi. sect. 39.

tated that he should be cautious of troops upon which every thing depended. At first he entertained thoughts of penetrating to the *Danube*, but on more mature reflection he preferred the rout of *Misnia*, in order to have the *Weimar* army and the troops of *Hesse* nearer. Duke *George* of *Lunenburg* had likewise conceived some disgust at the conduct of the emperor; *Banier* was not without hope he might be able to gain him, and this was a further inducement to approach nearer to his country. Before he quitted *Bohemia*, he fell upon a body of *Croats* of 3000 men, which he cut in pieces. General *Konigsmark* also was fortunate; returning from *Westphalia*, he first defeated the imperialists at *Gera*; a second time he routed them at *Schmolen*, and a third time obtained a complete victory near *Leipsic*. This success infused spirits into the *Swedes*; *Banier* entered *Misnia*, and dispersed his troops along the *Mulda*, having first detached nine regiments under *Wittenberg* to *Voightland*. Here he strongly solicited the allies to join him, and more pressingly renewed his instances, upon advice that *Picolomini* had invaded *Voightland*, and driven *Wittenberg* out of the country. His intreaties succeeded; the *Weimar* army, under the dukes of *Longueville* and *Gubrien*, the *Russians* led by general *Melander*, and the troops of *Lunenburg*, commanded by general *Klitzing*, joined him at *Erfurt*. Now his army was once more equally brilliant and formidable, being composed of 22 battalions of infantry and 22,000 horse, all stout men, well mounted and accoutred. Nothing but unanimity was wanting to procure success; all unfortunately claimed a superiority; none chose to be directed by another; each entertained the highest notion of his own merit, and thought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operation. *Banier*, in a word, encreased his numbers, but he gained little additional strength, as he was not allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and to strike those sudden blows which distinguish the master in the military art. After long debates, it was at last agreed, that they should attack the enemy encamped at *Sasfeld*. With this view he seized upon an eminence at a distance, from whence they began a violent cannonading, and then attacked the intrenchments, sword-in-hand; but the artillery did little execution, and the imperialists had made their intrenchments too strong to be easily forced. In this situation both armies continued, until a scarcity prevailed in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry which army could longest endure the pressure of famine; but on the side of the allies the stay proceeded from irresolution, and divisions

A. D.  
1640.

Further  
operations  
in the  
field.

among the generals. *Banier*, however, resolved not to expose his troops any longer. He set out through *Thuringia* for *Franconia*, to seize upon an advantageous post on the *Maine*; but as he advanced to the *Sala*, he perceived the enemy had occupied the opposite side. They were intrenched, and it was impossible for him to force a passage; he, therefore, marched through *Hesse*, where his army suffered greatly by famine. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he proposed fighting the enemy to the landgrave of *Hesse* and the duke of *Lunenburgh*; but finding them averse to this measure, he pretended he would cross the *Wefer* and the *Elbe*, with the *Swedish* army, by which the allies would be left exposed to the mercy of the confederates, and thereby obliged the princes to be more pliant. The imperialists were endeavouring to penetrate into *Lunenburgh*; *Banier*'s diligence baffled their endeavours. He prevented their crossing the *Wefer*, and refreshed his own army in the duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by hostile armies <sup>b</sup>.

ALL this time the imperialists were pinched with hunger on the opposite side the river, and extremely harassed by the perpetual alarms given by the *Hessians*, which determined them to return to *Franconia*. On their march they were attacked by the army of *Weimar*, and though not actually defeated, they were exceeding roughly handled. *Banier*, that he might no longer be an expence to his ally, quitted *Lunenburgh*, entered the territory of *Culmbach*, and there remained inactive for the season.

A. D.  
1641.

EARLY next year, *Banier* made an attempt on *Ratisbon*, while the diet sat there, presided by the emperor. The enterprize carried some appearance of success, as the imperialists were then dispersed in winter-quarters, and the *Danube* was frozen over. Just as his advanced guard was ready to cross the river, a sudden change of weather baffled the design, and greatly endangered the *Swedish* army. The ice broke while they were upon it, but fortunately none perished, and such vast pieces floated down with the stream, as rendered it impossible to throw a bridge over. But though he failed in this spirited enterprize, *Banier* did not despair of penetrating into *Bavaria*, and he must have succeeded had not *Gubrier*, with the troops of *Weimar*, separated themselves from him, without regard to their own interest or his remonstrances. Mean time the enemy assembled with great expedition at *Ingolstadt* and *Ratisbon*. They were greatly superior in numbers, and *Banier* was in the utmost danger.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. *ibid*.

void certain ruin, and the total destruction of his army, remained no other method than returning with all post-activity, through deep broken roads, scarce passable in any season. All his detachments were ordered to follow through the great forest of *Bohemia*; but colonel *Slang*, three regiments, was overtaken by the enemy, besieged *Newburgh*, and after a gallant and obstinate defence, by which he saved the *Swedish* army, was taken prisoner with the whole corps. Had the enemy marched directly to *Cham*, instead of suffering themselves to be amused at *Newburgh*, they must inevitably have lost great part of his infantry and the artillery; yet, after he escaped this danger, a body of 10,000 imperial irregulars harassed the skirts of the army, though they never ventured upon an attack. At length the *Swedes*, after a long, fatiguing, and hazardous march, reached *Annaberg*, having traversed the whole forest of *Bohemia*; and passed the river *Eger*. Their rapidity frustrated the designs of *Picolomini*, who had taken a shorter route in hopes of intercepting them at *Priesnitz*. At the junction of *Königsmark*, the army of *Weimar* again joined them, by which he was once more enabled to face the enemy. The duke *de Gubrien*, when too late, perceived that he had committed, in not permitting the war to be confined into the hereditary dominions; but this, though attended with unfortunate consequences, was trifling to what confederates were now about to suffer. Duke *George* of *Newburgh* breathed his last, and with him perished all hope of assistance from that family; and what was still more unfortunate, the active intrepid *Banier* was seized with a dangerous acute fever, at the time his abilities were most needed<sup>1</sup>. He died soon after upon a march, not without reason that both he and the duke of *Lunenburgh* had been needed (A). The loss of their brave general was a terrible blow to the *Banierian* army, at a juncture when the troops became mutinous.

UFFEN. Comment. de reb. Suec. lib. xii. sect. 4. LOCEN.

*Puffendorf* insinuates, that the army drank poison at an entertainment to which they were invited at *Hildesheim*; but the conjecture is supported by no other authority, and it is certain that the disorder was a fever, contracted by the cold and fatigue he sustained in the tedious march through the *Bohemian* forest. Such hints ought never to be dropped from an historian, but upon the clearest presumptions.

tinuous for their pay, and there was no money. The respect which the soldiers and inferior officers entertained for his character, was evinced by the licentious humour they discovered the moment he was laid in the ground. The colonels entered into a kind of league not to obey the four major-generals, and to oblige them to advance their pay. They likewise proposed taking separate commands, and dividing the army into as many corps as it contained regiments; but this scheme was broke by the vigilance of *Wrangel*, *Königsmark*, *Wittenberg*, and *Pfuhl*, who gained the affections of the soldiers, and persuaded them against measures which would necessarily render them an easy prey to the enemy. In such circumstances it was not possible that the imperialists could remain inactive. The opportunity was favourable, and *Picolomini* was too prudent to suffer it to escape. He attacked and cut in pieces a Swedish detachment at *Quiedlenberg*, after which he proposed falling upon the main army, but was disappointed by the excellent and expeditious retreat made by the Swedish generals. Afterwards a detachment was sent to beat up the quarters of the *Hessians*, notwithstanding the emperor was at that time negotiating a treaty with them and the *Lunenburgers*; but *Wrangel* and *Königsmark*, having some intimation of the design of the imperialists, threw themselves in their way, and obtained a complete victory, at the expence of 2000 men to the enemy. This advantage, however, did not retrieve the Swedish affairs; they were daily declining for want of a general, and anarchy and confusion threatened the dissolution of a body of men, who had for so many years been the terror of *Germany*, and the admiration of christendom. The emperor by his solicitations, and the Danish monarch by the strength of magnificent promises, endeavoured to debauch the minds of the soldiers. Division reigned among themselves, and the troops were destitute of money, cloaths, and provisions; it was, therefore, with the utmost difficulty, the generals could prevent their dispersing or deserting in whole regiments to the enemy, until the arrival of the new commander in chief, *Leonard Torstenson*, from Sweden. To give this general credit with the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money, and accompanied by a strong reinforcement. The *Weimar* army, however, separated from the Swedish army, and thus the design he had formed of immediately giving battle to the enemy was defeated. Nor were the Swedes more fortunate in *Silesia*, though general *Stalbanck* laboured with extreme diligence to put affairs in the best posture. The enemy were incomparably stronger; they laid

Torsten-  
son is sent  
to com-  
mand the  
Swedish  
army.

laid siege to all the fortresses possessed by the *Swedes*, and reduced them gradually, without scarce any resistance from the army in the field; *Stalhanch* being forced to retire to the marche of *Brandenburgh*, where happily for him he found shelter under the wing of the young elector, who had determined to observe a neutrality with the crown of *Sweden*.\*

In the winter, a negotiation between the court of *Vienna*, and the princes of the house of *Lunenburgh*, was set on foot at *Gotzlar*, and greatly forwarded by the inactivity of *Torsten*son, who was forced to remain idle the whole preceding autumn, on account of his inferiority, and a dangerous gout, which confined him to his chamber. A report was spread of his death, which encouraged the imperialists to begin a long march, through roads scarce passable, in hopes of surprising the *Swedish* army without a leader, and in the utmost confusion. They were further induced to this attempt by a traiterous correspondence they maintained with certain *Swedish* officers, particularly with colonel *Seckendorf*, who was discovered, seized, and executed publicly at the head of the army. The criminal pleaded his intention of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; but it was answered, that he ought to have apprized the general of his design, in order that the army might be put in a proper posture, and the necessary measures taken. It was too plain, indeed, that he was guilty, and his papers proved that he had been corrupted. Upon this discovery, *Torsten*son advanced to *Arnsee*, and occupied a post that could not be forced; upon which the imperialists finding they could execute nothing, crossed and proceeded to *Tangermonde*. They made a feint, as if they proposed falling into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, and attacking the maritime towns; but *Torsten*son penetrating their real design, was not to be moved from his advantageous situation. In a word, they suffered equally by this harassing march, as if they had fought a bloody battle. Upon the enemy's retreat, *Torsten*son, by a fine manœuvre, which shewed him no unworthy successor of *Banier*, fell upon *Silesia*, joined *Stalhanch*, who had been driven out of the country, reduced great *Glogau* with uncommon vigour and celerity, took a great number of other important places, and then laid siege to *Schweidnitz*. The duke of *Saxe-Lawenburgh* endeavouring, at the head of all his cavalry, to throw in succours, was defeated with the loss of 3000 men killed in the field and the pursuit, which continued for the space of five leagues. The duke himself was taken prisoner,

A. D.  
1642.

His conquests.

\* Id. *ibid*.



and died a few days after of the wounds received in the engagement, and chagrin at his disappointment. With him perished all the vast designs which he had formed, at the suggestion of *Arnheim*, of driving the *Swedes* out of the empire.

In consequence of the duke's defeat, *Schweidnitz* surrendered at discretion, and *Torsten* sending a detachment to invest *Neisse*, marched with the main army to pursue his blow, and compel the imperialists to evacuate *Silesia*. This he effectually performed, obliging them to retire precipitately over barren mountains, harrassed by his light troops, and almost famished for want of provision, by which he entirely ruined the wretched remains of this lately victorious army. Resolved to carry all before him, he rushed like a torrent into *Moravia*, and in five days reduced the strong town of *Olmütz*, which in our memory has sustained a siege for as many weeks, though invested by the finest army under one of the most experienced generals in *Europe*. *Litta* and *Newstadt* met with the same fortune, a sure footing was established in the province, upon which the *Swedes* returned suddenly to *Silesia*, where they reduced *Oppelen*, *Brieg*, and laid siege to *Breslau*. Here the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that the imperialists, under the conduct of the archduke *Leopold*, had time to assemble and march to their relief. *Torsten* was greatly inferior in point of numbers, he dreaded the consequences of a defeat, avoided battle with great address, and raised the siege, but with so formidable a countenance, that the enemy did not presume to molest his retreat, or oppose his encamping on a fine situation, at the confluence of the *Neisse* and the *Oder*. The enemy embraced this opportunity of laying siege to great *Glogau*; but after having spent several days before that place, and losing a great number of men, they were forced to abandon the enterprise upon the junction of *Wrangel* and *Torsten*, by which the *Swedish* army was put in a condition to offer battle. It was now that *Torsten* projected the scheme of penetrating into *Bohemia*, and wintering in that kingdom; a design that was frustrated by the vigilance of the enemy, though he had taken every measure that human prudence and foresight could direct. However, he was so fortunate as to reduce *Zittau*, where for the first time a cartel was established for the exchange of prisoners, by which the *Swedish* army was considerably augmented!

PERCEIVING with regret that he could neither force his way into *Bohemia*, nor draw the enemy into a battle, *Tor-*

*Torsten* descended along the *Elbe*, crossed the river at *Torgau*, and directed his march to *Leipsic*, with intention to invest that important city, and at the same time make a diversion in favour of *Königsmark*, whom he had sent to *Lower Saxony*. Immediately the archduke and *Picolomini* assembled all their forces, and set out for *Saxony*, to the relief of *The Leipsic*. On their approach, the *Swede* drew his army out of the intrenchments, upon that very plain where *Gustavus* obtain a *Adolphus* had a few years before obtained a celebrated victory. *Second victory at Leipsic*. The very sight of a spot so glorious to the *Swedes*, animated them with a double portion of courage, and made them eager to engage with greatly disproportioned forces. Nor were the imperialists backward to come to blows, as they knew that *Torsten* would soon be reinforced with the *Waimar* army, and the troops under *Gubrien*. A furious cannonading announced the battle, both sides plying their artillery with equal dexterity and vigour. One single bullet had almost proved fatal to *Sweden*, and insured a defeat: it carried away the furniture of *Torsten*'s horse, killed the count *Palatin*'s horse, pierced general *Rabenau* through the body, and swept off the head of the celebrated counsellor *Grabbe*, besides carrying away the leg of a private soldier. The *Swedish* right wing, led on by *Wittenberg* and *Stalbanck*, began the attack, and pushed it with such impetuosity, that the enemy were put in disorder, and rallied with the utmost difficulty by the archduke in person. On the other side, the left gave way to the irresistible weight of the enemy, who poured down with the whole strength of the right wing and center; but the *Swedish* infantry pushing into the chasm left between the wings of the imperialists, soon retrieved the face of affairs, broke the enemy, surrounded their flank, made terrible slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The imperialists retreated in great confusion; they left 5000 men dead on the field, among whom were several officers of distinction, near 3000 were wounded, and an equal number taken prisoners; but the fatigue the *Swedes* had undergone, the great number of their wounded, and the swiftness of the enemies flight, prevented their pursuing their advantage. This victory was not obtained without bloodshed; it cost the *Swedes* the lives of near 2000 brave soldiers, among whom was included the intrepid *Lilienbock*, grand master of the artillery<sup>m</sup>.

THE important victory of *Leipsic* was succeeded by the immediate surrender of that city, where *Torsten* refreshed

<sup>m</sup> LOCEN. lib. ix.

his army, before he undertook the intended expedition to *Bohemia*. Having given his troops sufficient breathing, he proceeded to *Freyburg*, in hopes that place, in which the enemy had amassed large magazines, would surrender in a few days; however, the siege cost him several weeks, and the obstinacy of the garrison obliged him at last to abandon the enterprise, and put his army into quarters. Mean time the *Weimar* troops and the *Hessians* had greatly signalized themselves, having gained a glorious victory at *Kempen*, over *Lambei*, and reduced almost the whole countries of *Julius* and *Cologne* before the autumn; about which time *Gabin*, with the *Weimar* army, returned to winter in *Frankfurt*.

A. D.  
1643.

As soon as the season permitted *Torsten*son to take the field, his first operations were directed against *Freyburg*; the siege of which place he resumed with redoubled vigour; but it was a second time baffled by the arrival of *Piedmontini*, after having reduced the garrison to extreme necessity. The *Swede* was desirous of coming to a battle; but this the imperial general avoided, contenting himself with obliging *Torsten*son to quit an enterprise, upon which he had spent so much time and blood. Thus disappointed, *Torsten*son rapidly directed his course towards *Bohemia*, where *Gallas* had just been vested with the command of the imperial forces, in quality of generalissimo, which gave great satisfaction; as he entertained a mean opinion of that officer's capacity and popularity. *Gallas* proposed obstructing the passage of the *Swedish* army into *Moravia*; but *Torsten*son, glad of the opportunity of shewing his contempt of so unequal a competitor, pursued his march within sight of the imperialists; who seemed confounded and overawed at his courage. A detachment of three *Swedish* regiments, however, were defeated, through the negligence of the commander; a loss which *Torsten*son soon after revenged, by the entire overthrow of a body of imperial cavalry, which occupied a strong post at *Buchiem*. While he was thus employed in *Moravia*, he was ordered by the regency to march with all possible secrecy and expedition into *Holstein*, in consequence of a rupture between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. This obliged him to lay aside his whole plan of operations, and to bend his course towards *Silesia*, after having provided *Ohmutz*, *Newstadt*, and *Eulenbourg*, with every necessary to withstand a siege.

ALL *Europe* stood astonished at this irruption into *Holstein*. In general the proceeding was condemned, as rash and desperate. It was matter of surprise, that *Sweden*, already exhausted by a tedious war, and ready to sink under the weight

he of her enemies, should increase their number, by a mea- *War with*  
 which did not seem supported by equity any more than *Denmark*  
 policy; but the truth was, the regency were compelled  
 to the necessity of resenting the conduct of his *Danish*  
 ally, who, under the character of mediator, took every  
 sort of embroiling the affairs of *Sweden*. Under the pre-  
 text of negotiating a peace, he endeavoured to deprive them  
 the fruits of all their victories in *Germany*; he had put  
 the grossest affront on the queen dowager; he established  
 in rights at *Ruden* extremely prejudicial to the *Swedish*  
 interest, by loading with duties all merchandise exported  
*Sweden* to *Pomerania*. The regency remonstrated to  
 the court of *Copenhagen*; but they received only vague and  
 sardonically sarcastic answers: they therefore determined to  
 recourse to arms in defeating the designs of a partial  
 mediator, who sought nothing so earnestly as the reduction  
 of the power and glory of *Sweden* (A). The great difficulty  
 to take their measures so secretly, that they should not  
 be discovered by the *Danes* soon enough to make the neces-  
 sary preparations. Such indeed was the privacy, the close-  
 ness and integrity observed upon this occasion, that not-  
 withstanding the affair was several days debated in full coun-  
 cil, not the smallest intimation of it came to the ears of  
 the *Danish*, the *French*, the *English*, or the *Dutch* ambassa-  
 dors. The design was, to evacuate *Pomerania*, if necessary,  
 to recompense this loss at the expence of *Denmark*. The  
 king hoped now to curb the *Danish* monarch, and oblige  
 him to observe an exact neutrality, provided the winter  
 was favourable; and probably the scheme must have suc-  
 ceeded, but for certain unavoidable accidents, beyond the  
 reach of human foresight. The ice was too weak to sup-  
 port the weight of the *Swedish* forces; and the king of *Den-*  
 mark, notwithstanding his grey hairs, displayed all the acti-  
 ve and vigour of a young monarch, joined to the prudence  
 of an experienced warrior and politician. At first *Torsten-*  
*Ernström* hurried all before him in *Holstein* and *Jutland*; the *Danes*  
 frequently defeated; a body of 5000 infantry were sur-

A. D.  
1644-

) The reader will see the  
 of this war more fully ex-  
 posed in the history of *Den-*

The causes there assign-  
 ed are somewhat different; each  
 endeavoured to throw the  
 blame upon the other; but the  
 impartial historians of other

countries attribute the war to  
 the jealousies of *Denmark*, and  
 the spirit of *Sweden*. Such lit-  
 tle inconsistencies are easily re-  
 conciled, when it is considered,  
 that we deduce the history of e-  
 very people from their own  
 writers.

rounded

*Torsten*son's return from the expedition to *Afcherleben*; but all his foragers, wounded, cannon, and baggage, fell a prey to the *Suedes*. He remained with the infantry at *Magdeburgh*, and detached the *Saxon* cavalry, that had lately joined him, to make a diversion in *Silesia*; but they were met on the road, and cut in pieces by *Torsten*son. Upon the whole, this expedition was extremely unfortunate to the imperialists, as it cost them all their cavalry, and great numbers of their infantry; the whole amounting to half the numerous army which *Gallas* led out of *Bohemia*. Yet, with all these successes, nothing could have saved the *Swedish* affairs in *Germany*, but the powerful diversion made by the *French* in their famous campaigns, which render immortal the names of *Conde* and *Turenne*.

A. D.  
1645.

THE new year was ushered in by a rapid conquest made by *Wrangel* in *Holstein* and *Jutland* in the depth of winter; nor was *Königsmark* less successful on the other side of the *Elbe*. After reducing *Altenland*, and some other places in *Bremen*, he laid siege to *Stade*, and in two days forced the garrison to capitulate. The *Suedes* too made some progress on the frontiers of *Norway*, and got possession of the island of *Börholm*. *Gustavus Horn* was preparing to attack *Malmö* a second time, when happily a negotiation was set on foot at *Bronsebro*, under the mediation of *France* and *Holland*, and a peace at length concluded between the two northern princes. By this treaty his *Danish* majesty ceded to *Sweden*, in perpetuity, the provinces of *Jemtland* and *Haradelen*, with the islands of *Gothland* and *Osel*; he likewise surrendered in the hands of the *Suedes*, the province of *Halland*, as security for his conduct for the space of twenty-six years. Thus did the vigilance, activity, and spirit of the *Suedes*, triumph over all opposition, and reduce a nation, formerly their conquerors, to sign a glorious and advantageous peace, at a time when they seemed to be fully employed in the *German* affairs.

As the friendship of the *Dutch* became now suspected, it was happy for the *Suedes* they had got rid of so dangerous a war, before the republic had time to accept of the liberal offers of his *Danish* majesty. They were now at liberty to pay their whole attention to their quarrel with the emperor; and accordingly *Torsten*son was taking measures for carrying the war into the bowels of the empire, and the heart of the *Austrian* hereditary dominions. By this he proposed ruining the new levies, and approaching within such a distance of *Ragotzi*, as to act in concert with that prince, who was making a powerful diversion in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. In

der to secure his retreat, and cut off all danger from behind, the *Swedish* general concluded a truce with the elector of *Saxony*, whereby the court of *Vienna* was deprived of an extreme useful ally. However, *Hatfield* assembled a considerable army to oppose the *Swedes*, and the emperor came in person to *Prague*, to animate his troops by his presence. The two armies came in sight at *Jancowitz*, and both generals resolved to hazard an engagement. The imperialists were encouraged by their superiority, by the emperor's exhortations, and the desire of disabling the enemy from penetrating into *Austria*. *Torsten*son was actuated by other considerations. His army suffered greatly by the severity of the winter, he wished to place his troops in better quarters, and doubted not but he should carry all before him, could destroy this last stake of the court of *Vienna*. As the situation was mountainous and woody, it was impossible to draw the troops regularly; however, both armies joined battle, and fought with great intrepidity. The impetuosity of the *Swedes* broke and defeated the left wing of the imperialists, led by general *Goetz*, who was killed. They rallied, however, behind a wood, and made a stout resistance, but were a second time put in confusion, and driven off the field. In the center the battle continued obstinate for the space of two hours, neither side yielding an inch; but the *Swedish* victorious left wing joining the center, soon turned the scale, broke the imperialists, made prodigious slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The enemy left 4000 dead on the field, among whom were marshal *Hatfield*, with a great number of officers of distinction, and near 5000 were taken prisoners. Their artillery was better conducted than on this occasion. The *Swedes* had planted cannon upon every eminence, and kept whole lines with their grape-shot; to which, in particular, the enemy ascribed their defeat.

As the *Swedish* general, without loss of time, penetrated to the center through *Bohemia*. He reduced *Iglau* and *Znaim*, with the surrounding fortresses, and then marching to *Crem*s on the *Danube*, obliged the garrison of that place to capitulate. The want of boats prevented his crossing the river; therefore resolved to join *Ragotzi*, and on his way took *Leoben*, and a variety of other towns and castles behind the *Danube*. After his junction with *Ragotzi*, *Torsten*son hoped to find a passage over the *Danube*, between *Vienna* and *Presburgh*, by which he should be absolute master of

both sides the river; but he lost much time in the siege of *Brinn*, a place which was desperately defended by one *Souches*, a *Swedish* officer, who had deserted some years before. Since the junction with *Ragotzi* was effected, the combined army was very formidable in numbers. The prince had 25,000 men, but so ill-disciplined and provided, that they served only to ruin the *Swedish* quarters, and lay desolate every country through which they passed. But he was soon eased of this troublesome ally, by a peace which *Ragotzi* concluded with the emperor. Having all his demands granted, he bid farewell to the *Swedish* general, and returned with his whole army to *Hungary*. *Ragotzi's* departure, and a pestilential disease which prevailed in the camp, obliged *Torsten* to raise the siege of *Brinn*, after he had consumed much valuable time before a place, the reduction of which could not produce any very considerable advantage. In fact, his stay here served no purpose, but to give the enemy leisure to assemble; which they did in such numbers, as obliged the *Swedes* again to offer them battle. With this view he marched to *Stekerau*; but on his arrival, found that the archduke was gone with the bulk of his army to *Suabia*, to the succour of the elector of *Bavaria*, lately defeated by *Turenne*. *Leopold's* march was so rapid, that it was not possible to overtake him, and he had left the passages over the *Danube* well guarded before his departure. This, and the epidemical disease that raged in his army, convinced *Torsten* of the necessity of providing winter-quarters before his march should be obstructed by the depth of the roads; but that *Austria* might not be entirely debarred from the *Swedes*, he left strong garrisons in all the towns he had conquered, and kept open a communication between *Grenenburgh*, *Cremis*, and other places on the *Danube*, and *Olmütz* and *Glogau*. Now he directed his march to *Bohemia*, cantoned his army along the *Eger*, and detached *Königsmark* into *Moravia*, to provide quarters, and every other necessary<sup>a</sup>.

**Torsten-** HITHERTO *Torsten* had conducted the *Swedish* affairs  
**son resigns** in *Germany* with great ability, success, and reputation;  
**the com-** but an inveterate gout, with which he was tortured, now  
**mand to** obliged him to resign the command, and retire to *Leipsic*,  
**Wrangel.** where he expected to meet *Wrangel* with a considerable rein-  
**A. D.** forcement from *Holstein*. *Wrangel* now presided in quality  
**1646.** of generalissimo. His army was composed of 15,000 horse  
 and 8000 foot, all approved select veterans, inured to action,

<sup>a</sup> *Univ. Hist. tom. vi. lib. vi. LOCEN. lib. ix.*

hardened in the field, and ambitious of increasing the glory of Sweden, and their own reputation. The garrisons were besides complete, and *Königsmark* had with him a considerable flying camp. Opposed to this force were 13,000 imperial horse, 11,000 foot, together with 18 regiments of *Bavarian* infantry, and 12 regiments of cavalry. The intention of the enemy was to fall upon *Wrangel* before he could be joined by the flying camp, or the *Bavarians* should be called away by the opening of the campaign on the *Rhine*; but *Wrangel*, persuaded that he ought not to hazard a battle with an enemy so much superior, quitted *Bohemia*, advanced to *Misnia*, and quartered his army along the *Sala*. He then meditated a junction with the *French* forces under the viscount *Turenne*, marched with this view through *Thuringia* towards the *Wefer*, took several towns in his march, penetrated into *Hesse*, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of *Wetzlar*. Here he expected to meet *Turenne*, as had been concerted; but the *French* general having encountered some disappointments, failed in promise, and left *Wrangel* exposed to the most imminent perils, and the danger of being oppressed by the whole weight of the imperial and *Bavarian* army. The enemy were in full march to attack him, and had conceived the most sanguine hope of victory, because the victorious *Torsten* no longer fought at the head of the *Swedish* veterans; but they soon experienced that *Gustavus Adolphus* had bred under him more than one warrior. They advanced, and encamped on an eminence, at the distance of half a league from the *Swedish* army. Next day a sharp skirmish happened between the *Swedes* and *Bavarians*, in which the latter were defeated, after a bloody conflict, in which they lost a great number of soldiers and officers of some distinction. This cooled the ardor of the enemy, and obliged them to lay aside the design of fighting *Wrangel* for another more cautious and prudent, that of starving him in his intrenchments. Here too they were disappointed; the *Swede* had taken his measures with so much sagacity, that his camp flowed with plenty, while the enemy pined under the pressure of extreme famine. They were in consequence obliged to retire, after 4000 men had perished by hunger, pestilence, and the sword, and by this means the junction with *Turenne* was effected.

Now the confederate generals offered battle; but the challenge being refused, they cut off the communication of the imperialists with *Francfort*, *Hanau*, and the *Mein*, by which they were greatly distressed. Next they cut in pieces a body of 500 horse, detached to dispute their passage



AT last the emperor, having prevailed on the duke of *Bavaria* to break the truce, expected nothing less than the total destruction of the *Swedish* army, because he doubted not but the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* would follow the example of *Bavaria*, and the *French* be induced to desert their allies, rather than draw upon themselves such a crowd of enemies. Circumstances indeed were so strangely altered of a sudden, by the conduct of the *Bavarians*, that *Wrangel* thought it advisable to retire to a place of security until he could be joined by the detachment under *Kammark*, and the *Hessians*. With this design he marched to *Misnia* and *Thuringia*, detaching *Wittenberg* to make a diversion in *Silesia*. He was pursued by the enemy; but his measures were conducted with so much prudence, that though greatly superior, they could obtain no advantage. The design of revenging himself upon the *Hessians* had indeed carried *Holtzapfel* to desolate that country, when he might have been more usefully employed against the *Swedish* army. All the exploits performed by the *Bavarians* since the breach of the truce, consisted in the reduction of *Meningen*, and two other inconsiderable places, after which both armies retired to winter-quarters.

A. D.  
1648.

EARLY in the spring *Wrangel* took the field, with intention to surprise the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprised of his design, and assembled their army. He was now joined to *Turenne*, whose orders were extremely limited, so that the spring was consumed in fruitless disputes. At last *Wrangel* prevailed on *Turenne* to draw near *Bavaria*. In their march they fell in with a detachment of *Bavarian* cavalry, which they defeated and dispersed, after killing 2000 men on the field. Next they advanced to *Freylingen*, obliging the enemy to retire beyond the *Iser*, and reducing *Landshut*. Nothing could exceed the terror of the *Bavarians*, who saw their country exposed to the confederate generals, without an officer of ability to head their armies, and check the progress of the enemy. The duke retired to *Salzburg*, seeking protection from those very inhabitants he had lately oppressed. He left all the country lying between the river *Lech* and *Inn*, exposed to the ravages of the *Swedes*, who had reason to be incensed at his conduct; but they could not profit by the opportunity, on account of the prodigious swelling of the river, which overflowed its banks, and rendered a passage impracticable. At length *Picolomini* arrived from the *Netherlands*, to take upon him the command of the imperial and *Bavarian* army, and the spirits of the soldiers were revived by the presence of so celebrated a general.

tal. The measures indeed upon which he immediately entered were vigorous ; he forced *Turenne* and *Wrangel* to evacuate the situation which they had long maintained, pursued them towards *Landau*, and encamped within a short distance of their entrenchments. Several skirmishes passed, in which neither side could claim any advantage ; and at last both armies encamped within a league of *Memmingen*, and of each other. *Wrangel* had his eye upon the country between the *Lech* and the *Inn*, where he knew his army would be well supplied ; and *Picolomini* detached *de Weert* to oppose his entrance. This produced a rencounter between the advanced parties of the two armies, in which the *Swedes* were repulsed, and roughly handled. They, however, laid siege to *Landsparg* ; but provisions failing, *Wrangel* crossed the *Lech* in the month of *September*, in his way to *Suabia*. *Turenne* ravaged *Bavaria* without remorse, and laid desolate all those places that refused paying contributions<sup>1</sup>. The intention of the *Swedish* general was to penetrate into the *Upper Palatinate*, to join *Charles Gustavus*, count palatine, appointed generalissimo of the *Swedish* forces ; but before he could execute this design, he received advice, that a peace was concluded, in consequence of which all hostilities ceased.

BEFORE we enter upon the particulars of the peace concluded at *Westphalia*, it will be necessary to relate succinctly the reasons of appointing *Charles Gustavus* to the supreme command, and the military operations of this prince, since his arrival in *Germany*. *Charles Gustavus* had served with great reputation under the celebrated *Torsten*, by whom he was taught the art of war. On that general's resignation, he returned to *Sweden*, where he assiduously cultivated the queen's regard, and at last so established himself in her esteem, that he ventured to pay his addresses, and propose marriage. *Christina* was averse to the scheme of dividing her authority ; however, she condescended to promise *Gustavus*, that if she ever consented to lose her liberty, she would give him the preference. She had already determined, by some means, to raise *Gustavus* to the throne, though as yet her royal pleasure was not publicly declared. It was necessary to impress a high opinion of his merit on the minds of the people ; to effect which a fitter opportunity could not offer, than serving in *Germany*, where he might have frequent opportunities to signalise his valour, a quality admired above all others by the *Swedes*. With this view he was ap-

<sup>1</sup> Comment. rer. Suec. lib. xiv.

Charles  
Gustavus  
is appointed  
generalissimo.

pointed to the chief command, vested with the character of generalissimo, and sent with a reinforcement of 7000 *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, provided with all the necessaries of a campaign. Since his arrival in *Germany*, *Gustavus* tried every method to effect a junction with the main army; but, unable to effect his purpose, he resolved to penetrate into *Bohemia*, and lay siege to *Prague*, by which he hoped to divide the imperialists. The city was attacked with great vigour, and the garrison made a gallant defence; but would in the end have been forced to surrender, had *Gustavus* persisted. This, however, was not his intention, as it would probably have been attended with the ruin of the army. The besieged were numerous and obstinate, the fortifications were strong, the rainy season had commenced, and the chief design of investing *Prague* was already accomplished, that of disengaging *Wrangel* from the greater part of the imperial forces. These reasons determined *Gustavus*, count palatine, to raise the siege, after he had vigorously pursued it for three weeks, and to canton his troops in winter-quarters in *Bohemia*.

FOR the space of three years negotiations of peace had been in agitation. The imperialists, disappointed in their expectations of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, and intimidated by the rapid conquests of *Banier*, made the first overtures: but they insisted upon one condition; it was, that the *Swedes* would execute a separate peace, and engage not to interpose in the affairs of any of the *German* princes; their assent to which proposition would insure them of any terms they thought proper to make for themselves. It would be tedious and useless to trace the progress of this affair through all its intricacies and changes; sufficient it is, that the interests of *Germany* and *Sweden* came at last to be debated among the other articles of a general pacification, at the conferences at *Osnabrug* and *Munster*. The parties agreed to treat expressly at two different places, to avoid disputes about precedency, and also differences which might arise on account of religion. The *Swedes* in particular declined any communication with the pope's nuncio. For this reason the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries, the imperial ambassadors, and the representatives of the protestant *German* princes, assembled at *Osnabrug*; while another congress was held at *Munster* by the *French*, *Spanish*, and catholic ambassadors. Here it was that the court of *Vienna* employed every engine of state, to sow dissension between *France* and *Sweden*; but all her arts proved fruitless. There was no expedient omitted that was likely to produce disputes between  
*Sweden*

Congresses  
at Osnabrug  
and Munster.

*Sweden* and the protestant states of *Germany*; however, every finesse was happily baffled by the abilities of her *Swedish* majesty's ministers, and the vigour of her generals. The duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, all the *Upper Pomerania*, part of the *Lower*, the city of *Wisnar*, and the isle of *Rugen*, were assigned to *Sweden*, together with a gratification of five millions of crowns to the army: nor was it less glorious to the *Swedish* nation, that she contributed chiefly to settle upon its ancient principles the *Germanic* constitution, and to remove all cause of those implacable disputes which had for so many years torn the empire, and wrested their dominions and titles from a variety of princes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the honour and advantage attending the peace, the *Swedish* ministry are blamed for accepting terms too precipitately, and setting at no price the many advantages they possessed and commanded; advantages in exchange for which they might have stipulated any terms for themselves and their allies. *Sweden* maintained above an hundred garrisons in *Germany*, and many places in the very heart of the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*; she could lay under contribution the whole country from the *Baltic* to the lake of *Constance*; she kept up, chiefly at the enemy's expence, a fine veteran army of near 70,000 men, every soldier of which was almost qualified by experience to be a general: under these circumstances she might, by continuing the war another campaign, have penetrated beyond the *Danube*, got possession of *Austria*, and brought the emperor to the most humiliating concessions. This, it is pretended, was the scheme of *Oxenstiern*, the most able statesman about *Christina*; yet had the queen strong reasons for desiring to terminate a quarrel, which had often brought *Sweden* into the lowest abyss of distress, and the issue of which must ever remain uncertain. *Holland*, abandoning her allies, made peace with *Spain*, and *France* began to be distracted with civil dissensions. Hence *Sweden* must support the whole burthen, and run the hazard of losing all her toil, blood, treasure, and expectations, by one general defeat. Besides, *Christina* affected philosophic repose; she panted after science, and persuaded herself, that the arts of which she declared herself the patroness, could never flourish but under the shade of public tranquillity. She determined, however, not to withdraw her troops, until she perceived that the principal articles of the treaty had been executed. The court of *Vienna* endeavoured to prevail on *Gustavus* to quit the *Austrian* dominions; but his answer was, that he could rely more upon the influence of his troops, than upon

A. D.  
1649.

Peace established.

on the strongest seals and obligations, since the engagements of princes were deemed binding no longer, than they had the power to enforce them<sup>u</sup>. The event justified his suspicions. A particular congress met at *Nuremberg*, to direct the execution of the treaty of *Munster*; and after it had sat a whole year, found it a matter of the utmost difficulty to remove and adjust all differences. It is probable indeed that had not *Sweden* rendered herself formidable, by maintaining an army ready to take the field upon the first notice, the engagements contracted by the plenipotentiaries would have been little regarded.

A. D.  
1650.

*CHRISTINA* had no sooner established the repose of her kingdom, than she determined to secure and strengthen the succession. The voice of the people strongly recommended *Gustavus*, count palatine, to the honour of sharing the sovereign power by a marriage with the queen. The states foresaw the inconveniencies that would ensue, should *Christina* or *Gustavus* declare either against marriage, or against a mutual alliance. Yet no arguments could induce this princess to participate her authority. She resolved, while she reigned, to maintain an undivided sovereignty; but she shewed her regard for her subjects, by taking the most effectual measures for settling the succession upon the most solid basis. She had always declined the addresses of *Gustavus*, and the solicitations of the states in his favour. That prince, during his absence in *Germany*, had permission to correspond with the queen, and he converted this opportunity to his own purposes, and used the occasion to promote his own interest in the queen's affections. *Arckenholtz* relates, that he declared in one of his letters, that if her majesty persisted in her refusal, he was determined to decline the honour she proposed of nominating him her immediate successor, and for ever to banish himself from *Sweden*<sup>x</sup>. This, however, would seem to be only the language of gallantry; it is certain, that, when he found the queen resolute, no arguments were necessary to persuade him, that he ought to accept the honour of being second to her in rank and power, since he could not attain his wish of being equal.

In the month of *February* the queen declared her intention, in a formal speech, to the senate. She acquainted her people with the repeated remonstrances which had been presented to her on the subject of marriage; but alledged, that there

<sup>u</sup> PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. 6. Mercur. vera Hist. tom. ix. p. 325.

<sup>x</sup> ARCKENHOLTZ, tom. i. p. 165.

were certain duties required in the nuptial ceremony, with Charles which she could not prevail on herself to comply (A). She Gustavus commended the affection and providence of her senate, but appointed said, she would take a method which would as effectually <sup>beir to the</sup> secure the succession, without disturbing her own repose, as <sup>crown.</sup> what they proposed. Her cousin, prince Charles Gustavus, possessed all the qualities which they could possibly require in her representative; and if they thought him worthy of sharing her bed, they could not justly think him unworthy of succeeding to her crown. She concluded with exhorting the senate to join their influence with her's, to render the proposition acceptable to the states of the kingdom. Upon their endeavours to dissuade her from this resolution, *Christina* replied, with some warmth, that she was not insensible to the designs of certain persons among them, who, knowing her firm determination against marriage, and that she was the last of the royal line, hoped to encrease their own influence, by leaving the crown elective after her death. She was not ignorant, she said, that others had projected new schemes of government, all of which tended more to private than to public benefit. It is even alledged, that she threw out some insinuations against the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, who had praised and described a republican constitution in the queen's presence. For above a year this important affair had been agitated; at last it passed through all the usual forms, upon the count palatine's return from Germany. Gustavus was nominated immediate successor to the queen, and this appointment was ratified by *Christina* and the states of Sweden. The title of highness was given him, a revenue assigned for the support of his court and dignity, and the states were for making over to him some principality; but the queen opposed the proposal, and alledged, it was one of the maxims of the royal cabinet, never to assign lands to the hereditary prince. Gustavus thanked the queen and the states for the honour done him, and swore to observe all the articles proposed, of which the subsequent were the most important. That he should pay the most implicit obedience to the queen, and always regard

(A) A variety of conjectures have been offered to explain *Christina's* meaning. Some writers attribute it to the coldness of her constitution; some to a natural defect; and one, in particular, to her pride; she declaring she could not submit to be treated as the peasant tilled his field: an expression that indicates more pride than delicacy. *Chanut. Mem. tom. ii. p. 353.*

her as his lawful sovereign. That as her majesty promised on her part to offer no violence to the rights of the hereditary prince, so he, on his part, obliged himself to undertake nothing of consequence to the administration or the public, without the knowledge and consent of the queen and senate, and her express permission and instructions. That he should form no pretensions to a separate principality, since the queen and the states had determined that the *Swedish* dominions should suffer no kind of partition, division, or dismemberment. That while he continued in the station of hereditary prince, he should be disqualified from accepting any titles, honours, or preferments, from foreigners, which should require his attendance abroad, and call him out of *Sweden*. That he should consult the queen and the states with respect to marriage; that he should contract no alliances without their participation; that the princess upon whom he fixed his choice, should be of the faith prescribed by the confession of *Augsburgh*, and that his children should be bred in the same religion. That on his accession he should govern agreeable to the laws of the realm, maintain the reformed religion, and the constitution in church and state, agreeable to the diet at *Augsburgh*, and the council at *Upsal*.

Christina  
crowned.

To conclude this important business, the assembly of the states ordered the ceremony of *Christina's* coronation to be performed with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Custom prescribed that the *Swedish* sovereigns should be crowned at *Upsal*; but this city appearing too small for the celebration, and the prodigious magnificence intended, the states allowed the procession to be made at *Stockholm*; whence the superstitious drew unfavourable presages to *Christina*, from an observation, that the princes crowned in any other city than *Upsal* had never enjoyed the diadem to the end of their lives. Already, indeed, the queen had given some intimations of her disgust, and of her intention to devolve the administration on the hereditary prince. She had discovered an early passion for study, reflection, and retirement. Having experienced all that human grandeur could give, she wished for philosophical tranquillity, and was seduced by the flattery of the learned into notions very contrary to the natural dictates of the female heart. *Christina* began to affect a contempt of pomp, power, grandeur, and all the magnificence of dress and splendor of a court. To be thought wise and learned was her chief passion, though she forfeited her title to superior wisdom, by counterfeiting inclinations which she did not possess, and laying a constant restraint on her natural sentiments. Poets, painters, and philosophers, be-  
came

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came her greatest favourites. She affected to correspond with the most celebrated scholars of *Europe*, and purchased the paintings of *Titian* at an extravagant price, only to shew that she wanted taste; they were clipped and mangled to fit the pannals of her gallery. In a word, vanity was the foible of *Christina*; it had already been gratified with respect to power and grandeur, and it now burst into a new channel. She aspired at being the sovereign of the learned, and dictating in the lyceum, as she had done in the senate<sup>r</sup>.

M. *Puffendorf* suspects, that a quarrel with the nobility and the other members of the state had first inspired the queen with the idea of transferring the crown to her successor. The ancient nobility, who regarded all the highest employments as their birth-right, beheld with indignation that *Christina* bestowed them indiscriminately on her favourites. On the contrary, the people, accustomed to frugality, temperance and modesty, were disgusted with the luxury and magnificence of the court, and they murmured, that the more they were oppressed by taxes, the more profligate their superiors became. They even complained of the queen's ill-placed liberality, despised science and the arts, ridiculed the passion of the sovereign for the conversation of learned drones, for books, pictures, statues, and trifles, and were heartily disposed to break out into open rebellion, had their spirits been irritated by any additional impost. From the tranquillity with which *Christina* regarded this menacing storm, it was suspected she had in reserve some expedient for extricating herself out of the difficulty: none appeared more plausible than that of committing the reins of government into the hands of the hereditary prince, and the ensuing diet fully explained her intentions. She had given suspicion, and indeed a sufficient foundation for conjecture, as early as the year 1649, by the preparations making to visit the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, in one of which, it was imagined, she proposed fixing her retreat. *Oxenstiern*, who had never been her favourite, was now caressed; whence it was inferred, that at her abdication she would live in friendship with all her subjects, and though she resigned the crown, would still maintain her empire in the hearts of the *Swedes*. The sieur *Chanut*, the *French* envoy, had intimated this resolution to his court, before it was thought of in *Sweden*; and this has afforded a handle to prattling obscure writers, to throw unmerited and scandalous reflections upon the queen's virtue.



As to *Charles Gustavus*, the nearer he approached the summit of his expectations, the greater caution he used. He manifested no inclination to reign, and seemed assiduous only about shewing a perfect obedience to the queen's pleasure. To avoid meddling in state-affairs, he seldom visited the court, kept close with the army, and prejudiced his health by his debaucheries, which he committed in order to gain the affections of his officers. When *Christina* acquainted him with her intentions, he seemed astonished, and asked if her majesty meant to put his ambition to the test. He foresaw the difficulties he would have to encounter on his first accession; the people discontented, the treasury empty, a revenue to be assigned for the queen's maintenance, and certain unadjusted disputes with the king of *Poland*, who had not yet acknowledged *Christina* as queen of *Sweden*, and would probably make the same objections to her successor. These, with a train of other inconveniences, *Gustavus* anticipated in his own mind; but the remedies were more doubtful. To levy new taxes would at least be unpopular in the first dawn of his reign; it might even excite an insurrection, and to redeem the crown-lands alienated so liberally by *Christina* to her favourites, might on the other hand discontent the nobility. From these considerations it was that *Gustavus* used his utmost influence to prevail on *Christina*; not to resign her authority in the present situation of affairs, when every change in the government would only serve to accumulate difficulties. He spoke to the grand marshal and the chancellor, requested they would join their interest to his, in remonstrating to the queen the danger of carrying her purpose into execution; in a word, he did every thing that could evince his loyalty, his patriotism, and his perfect satisfaction with his present condition. The marshal and chancellor, accompanied by the principal senators, requested her majesty to take the prince's arguments into consideration; the *French* ambassador spoke to her with the utmost freedom on this head, and made use of such powerful reasoning, as seemed to stagger her resolution: but she had now so long persisted, that she imagined she could not retract with a good grace. Her pride, her honour, and her philosophy, were all concerned. These turned the scale in favour of her first determination; and *Christina* gave for a reason, that as she herself had determined against marriage, it was necessary that the hereditary prince should think of strengthening the succession, and securing the repose of *Sweden*, by an alliance with some prince, who would sooner be induced to give him her hand, when she saw him in possession

possession of the crown. After several months had passed in constant endeavours to turn *Christina* from her whimsical project of laying down her sovereignty, the senate, the chief favourites of the queen, the principal members of the state, headed by the chancellor, waited upon her with the utmost solemnity; and as a last effort supplicated in so pathetic a *She lays* manner, that she consented to postpone her design. *Ox- aside her* *enstiern* made a speech, which drew tears from the queen and the whole assembly: *Christina* yielded without stipulating *design of* *resigning.* any other condition, than that she should never be pressed to marry.

*CHRISTINA* had no sooner yielded to the earnest wishes of her people, than the subject of the hereditary prince's alliance with the house of *Mecklenburgh* was dropped. *Gustavus* did not despair of gaining the queen's affections; he hoped, as she had relaxed in a point upon which she seemed obstinately bent, that she might one day be induced to compleat the happiness of her people. An unfortunate accident, which fell out a few days after the queen had given her promise, almost blighted all the fruits of that regard which *Christina* had shewn for the good of *Sweden*. Attended by admiral *Fleming*, she went to see a new fleet just launched, and talking carelessly to him, standing on a board laid from the shore to the side of the ship, her foot slipped, she plunged into the sea, and must inevitably have been drowned, but for the diligence of the bystanders. On this occasion she displayed the generosity and heroism of a daughter of the great *Gustavus*, without discovering the least emotion or female timidity: she agreeably ridiculed the admiral upon having pulled her after him into the sea, dined in public, and ever after delighted to recite the accident.

UNTIL the year 1654, nothing memorable occurred in *Sweden*. The people were felicitating themselves with the hope of a closer union between the queen and the hereditary prince; they were beginning to taste the blessings of repose, and to cherish the pleasing prospect of a long series of domestic happiness, when *Christina* suddenly resumed the thoughts of resigning, and excited fresh matter of disquiet in *Sweden*. Her intention was spread over the kingdom *She re-* almost instantaneously; and though the queen was not uni- *sumes her* *intentions.* versally beloved, the extraordinary resolution she had formed, greatly exalted her character, and affected the *Swedes*, like a sudden explosion of thunder. All were struck dumb with her firmness, no one attempting to dissuade her from a purpose upon which they perceived she was determined. The senate assembled at *Upsal*, heard *Christina* declare her design with

A. D.  
1654.

with silent astonishment; they only ventured to reply, that they were in expectation her promises to continue the government would have been of longer duration.

*Abdicates the throne.* WHILE the senate was deliberating upon the measures which would be necessary in consequence of the queen's resignation, *Christina* dispatched count *Fleming* and *Sternwed* to the hereditary prince, to treat with him on the revenues to be assigned for the support of her dignity after her abdication. The prince renewed his solicitations to divert her intention; but finding that all his arguments produced no effect, it was proposed, that 200,000 rix-dollars should be annually paid her majesty at certain installments, and that *Gottenburgh*, *Pomerania*, the islands of *Oceland* and *Gothland*, should be appropriated, so as to render this revenue certain and unalienable. Great objections were made to dismembering *Gottenburgh* from the crown-revenue, as it was the only port which *Sweden* possessed towards the ocean; nor did the senate approve of *Christina's* demand, that *Wolgast* and the other territories of *Pomerania* should be ceded to her in full right and sovereignty, with power to sell and dispose of them as she might think proper. These points, however, were at length adjusted to mutual satisfaction; upon which the queen turned her eyes to the security of the succession, in case the hereditary prince should die without issue. She disliked the person and conduct of *Adolphus*, brother to the hereditary prince; it was her design, therefore, to cut him off from all expectation, and settle the reversion of the crown in the family of the count *de Tot*, who was allied to the royal blood, and himself a great favourite of *Christina*. She found that the people universally opposed her design; and, therefore, prudently declined it, resolving to content herself with confirming upon him the title of duke, a dignity hitherto borne only by the children of the kings in *Sweden*. To qualify these extraordinary honours, she made the same offer to the chancellor *Oxenstiern*; but they wisely declined titles, which they knew would serve no other purpose than to excite the envy of all the nobility of *Sweden*, and their conduct obliged the queen to relinquish her scheme of making the count *Tot* the first grandee in the kingdom \*.

*21st May.* SHE now assembled the states at *Upsal*, and in an eloquent speech recapitulated all the transactions of her reign, and the numberless instances of her care and affection for her people; she specified all the measures she had taken to prevent any inconveniences resulting to the kingdom from her

\* PUFFEND. *ibid.* ARKEN. tom. i. *ibid.*

determination

mination, and concluded with fixing upon the 16th of , as the day in which she proposed resigning her crown overignty to prince *Charles Gustavus* (A). When she arrived, which she expected with as much eagerness as princesses have wished for their coronation, she was wished to find that the states proposed to fix her residence *veden*. This would have effectually destroyed the intention of her abdication. It was her design to be at liberty to live where she pleased, and retire to countries where sciences had made greater progress, and where the catholic religion, which she had lately embraced, was established.

*Quits  
Sweden.*

difficulty, however, she removed, by a promise of returning as soon as she had confirmed her health by a short sojourn at the *Spaw*. She then divested herself of all her authority, resigned the crown to her cousin, and dismissed the assembly with a pathetic oration, which drew tears from the hearers. A few days after she quitted the kingdom; instead of proceeding to the *Spaw*, went directly to , where she chiefly resided for the remainder of her

CH was the extraordinary manner in which *Christina* resigned her crown, at the age of twenty-seven years, after a reign equally glorious to her government and to *Sweden*, during which she had foiled the whole power of the house of *Austria*, broke those chains forged to enslave the liberties of *any*, and hold in bondage the protestant religion. It was the reputation of *Sweden* elevated to such a pitch as was under *Christina*. The valour of the nation was universally acknowledged, *Germany* and *Denmark* could produce fatal instances of the military skill of this people. The record of all the *Swedish* victories was an extension of territory and of influence in the scale of *Europe*. In other countries, the arts languished during tedious bloody wars; *Christina* they flourished by the force of her own example, and the view with which she cultivated them, was more

The day preceding *Christina*'s abdication, she offered an unprecedented affront to a *Portuguese* resident, ordering a paper to be read to him at the consent of her council or senate, whereby she withdrew the duke of *Brazil*'s title to the crown of *Brazil*, and consequently his authority. She or-

dered the minister to quit her dominions, and by this violence equally astonished all her people and the court of *Portugal*. The senate, however, sent privately to the resident, acquainting him, that as the queen's power would soon be at an end, he might depend on the countenance of the succeeding government. *Arkenholtz*, tom. i.

from

from vanity than taste, but equally profitable to her people. Upon the whole, *Christina* was a princess of extraordinary qualities, quick, penetrating, eloquent, and spirited, endowed with talents truly masculine, but tinged with the weakness of her sex, whim, caprice, vanity, and inconsistency (B). Protestant writers have been too severe on her character, because she was an apostate from their faith, and catholics have triumphed too much in the conversion of a princess so eminent, and distinguished for her philosophy, learning, and sound understanding °.

## S E C T. IX.

*Wherein the Swedish history is deduced to the accession of Charles XII. in 1697, comprehending the reigns of Charles X. and XI.*

**Charles X.** **O**N the same day that *Christina* resigned her sovereignty, the hereditary prince, *Charles Gustavus*, was solemnly crowned at *Upsal*. On his first accession, he encountered several difficulties which he exerted his utmost address to remove. The treasury was quite exhausted, great part of the revenue was applied for the support of *Christina's* household, the people were oppressed with taxes, and the *Swedish* nation, now disarmed for several years, began to lose its credit among foreigners, and that reputation acquired, and only to be maintained by the sword. To remedy these evils, *Charles Gustavus* assembled the states, proposed re-uniting to the crown all the lands which had been alienated by grants to favourites during the late reign, strongly recommended the necessity of putting the kingdom in a state of defence, and of repealing the duty on salt renewed in consequence of a war between the *Poles* and *Russians*, barbarous nations who

† Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

(B) As it is a history of *Sweden*, and not the lives of the sovereigns that we profess to write, it would be unnecessary to enter upon the intrigues carried on by *Christina*, to recover the authority which she had so wantonly resigned. Certain, however, it is, that finding the world did not pay all the ho-

mage she expected to so extraordinary an act of humility, her ambition revived, and unable to obtain the *Swedish* crown, she became a candidate for the throne of *Poland*. The reader may find the particulars fully related by *Arkenboliz* and other biographers.

paid

paid little regard to the rights of nations, and determined equity wholly by power. However, as there was no particular cause of complaint against any of the neighbouring powers, and that the king's designs had no other object than to restore the reputation of the *Swedish* arms, by engaging in some war, it was long debated whether hostilities should commence on the side of *Denmark*, of *Russia*, or of *Poland*. The two former were engaged by actual treaties with *Sweden*; to declare war, therefore, against either, would be highly injurious to the faith and honour of the nation. There was some appearance of a pretext for declaring against *Poland*, because that crown had always declined adjusting the differences with *Sweden*, and had besides broke through divers articles of the truce. When *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, had sent *Canafill* in quality of envoy to *Upsal*, with instructions to protest against *Christina*'s abdication, and the cession of the crown to *Charles Gustavus*, *Canafill* made remonstrances to the archbishop, the clergy, and the other orders of the state, which afforded a seasonable and fair opportunity for coming to a rupture. His *Swedish* majesty accordingly declared against the *Polish* minister's conduct, ordered him to quit the kingdom, and expressed his astonishment, not only at questioning his right, but that the king of *Poland* did not immediately send plenipotentiaries to terminate the differences between the two crowns. Nothing indeed could be more unjust than the measures entered upon by *Sweden*, determined at all events to restore the credit of her arms, by a war with *Poland*, under pretence that she questioned the title of a powerful monarch, at the very time she was engaged in actual hostilities against the *Russians* and *Cossacks*.

BEFORE either party came to an open declaration, several *Charles* ambassies went from *Poland* to *Stockholm*, under pretence of negotiating a peace; but some point of ceremony always dis-appointed them of an audience of the king, and they re-turned without their errand. As soon as every thing was in readiness for taking the field, general *Wittenberg* received orders to make an irruption into *Poland*, on the side of *Pomerania*. He obeyed and advanced to *Templeburgh*, where he found the *Polish* army, amounting to 15,000 men, ready to oppose his progress. Next day, however, the *Poles* desired to negotiate the matter; a conference was set on foot, and before it broke up the enemies army entirely dispersed itself, many of the *Polish* soldiers enlisting in the *Swedish* service. In consequence, the vaivods of *Poznania* and *Calis* submitted and took an oath of fidelity to *Charles Gustavus*.

*Gustavus.* They were terrified into this measure by the approach of his *Swedish* majesty, who had now in person entered *Poland* with a numerous army. Dread and dismay accompanied his march, all submitted to his power, and every thing plied beneath his yoke. He prudently treated the *Poles* with the greatest lenity, gained their affections, joined *Wittenberg*, and then set out with his whole army in quest of *Casimir*. The *Polish* king was encamped at *Cala*, from whence he dispatched *Prizimski*, with proposals of peace; but *Charles* made no other answer to the minister, than that he would speak to his master upon the subject of his embassy. In effect, he pursued his march without obstruction, all the towns and cities throwing open their gates as he approached; and offering to supply him with all manner of necessaries. The *Swedish* army was advancing to *Cracow*, when *Casimir* resolved to hazard a battle rather than see his capital fall, without resistance, into the hands of the enemy. His army amounted only to 10,000 men, troops who had never stood fire: they engaged, made a feeble resistance, and then fled precipitately with the loss of 1000 men, killed and taken prisoners<sup>a</sup>.

SOME days after this victory, *Charles* a second time defeated the *Poles*, on the banks of the river *Donacia*, about eight leagues from *Cracow*; and *Casimir* finding no place of security in his own dominions, fled with his family, and took refuge at *Oppelen* in *Silesia*. The *Swedes* invested *Cracow*, and the city was defended with the utmost valour by *Stephen Czarneski*, though after prodigious carnage he was forced to capitulate. By the reduction of the capital, *Charles* might be deemed in possession of the kingdom of *Poland*. None of the other cities presumed to make the least shew of resistance, and the militia of the country scrupled not taking an oath of allegiance to king *Charles*, as their own sovereign had abandoned his people. Their example was followed by the vaivods and governors of provinces in *Great* and *Little Poland*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, who all sent deputations to the *Swedish* monarch at *Warsaw*, with offers of their fidelity and submission. Had written obligations, seals and solemn oaths been sufficient to keep the *Polanders* in subjection, *Charles Gustavus* might be said to have conquered a kingdom, of extent and power equal to his own, in the space of three months. Matters indeed were carried to such a length, that making an offer of the crown to *Charles* was the general subject of conversation in *Poland*; but it soon

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. 7.

appeared that the *Poles* had only yielded to necessity, without any serious intention of abandoning their sovereign.

**CHARLES** had now drawn upon himself a new enemy, *He excites the jealousy of several powers.* the elector of *Brandenburg*, a prince no less politic and ambitious than the *Swedish* monarch. While the *Swedes* were employed in *Poland*, the elector invaded the royal and ducal *Prussia*, and reduced the most considerable towns with little opposition. *Charles* took umbrage at his progress, marched against him, defeated the electoral forces in divers slight encounters, advanced to *Koningsberg*, and constrained the *German* prince to acknowledge that ducal *Prussia* was a fief of *Sweden*, for which he promised to do homage. Such a rapid course of conquest alarmed all *Europe*. The pope feared lest the *Poles* might withdraw themselves from the religious obedience of the holy see, and embrace the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin*. The emperor dreaded the vicinity of the *Swedish* monarch; he apprehended if he established a firm footing in *Poland*, he might one day, by that means, give a mortal blow to the house of *Austria*. The republick of the *United Provinces* began to tremble for their commerce, fearing that if the *Swedes* became masters of *Prussia*, and particularly of *Dantzick*, they would be deprived of the great trade they carried on in grain. His *Danish* majesty could not avoid being disturbed with such sudden conquests made by a neighbouring power, the rival and the bitterest enemy of *Denmark*. He doubted not but the next attempt of *Charles* would be against his dominions. Lastly, the *Russians*, though at war with *Poland*, beheld with jealousy the aggrandisement of *Sweden*; and the czar was particularly incensed at the claim which the *Swedish* monarch laid to *Lithuania*, of which the *Russians* had already began the reduction. All these different powers sought the means of re-establishing the affairs of *Poland*, and of chasing the *Swedes* entirely out of that kingdom and *Prussia*, while *Charles* remained without a single ally or resource, except what he drew from his own courage, and the valour and fidelity of his subjects. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that fortune shifted sides, and terminated the war in a manner very different from what the first appearances promised. Valour tutored by conduct was not alone sufficient to insure success; it was necessary that some degree of equality in strength should be observed, and that money, the sources of war, could have been provided.

**THE** *Poles* no sooner observed a prospect of succour, than they began to recover from the panic into which they were thrown by the sudden invasion of the kingdom. King  
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*The Poles* Casimir returned from *Silesia*, while the king of *Sweden* was revolt and engaged in *Prussia*. It was no difficult matter to persuade the *Poles* to break an oath which they had taken out of fear, and to renounce all allegiance to a prince whom they considered as a heretic, a stranger, and an usurper. Priests gave absolution, and the pontiff dispensed indulgences to this simple ignorant people; the revolt was general, and those very troops and generals who had almost voluntarily acknowledged the sovereignty of *Gustavus*, now ranged themselves under the banners of *Casimir*. In all the little villages the *Swedish* soldiers were massacred; and in the province of *Lithuania*, where a great number of *Swedish* troops were quartered, scarce one escaped the sword. *Charles* immediately marched from *Prussia* to chastise the *Poles*, and revenge the cruel death of his brave soldiers. In his march towards the capital he, encountered and defeated general *Czarneski*, who commanded a corps of twelve thousand men: above half the *Polish* army was cut in pieces or taken. This however did not hinder all the *Poles*, incorporated with the *Swedish* regiments, to desert to *Casimir*, by which his numbers were considerably augmented. As this campaign was made in the depth of a severe winter, the *Swedish* army was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable situation. In the march to *Jarislau* the troops sustained the united pressure of hunger, cold, fatigue, and disease; to which we may add the attacks of the peasants, who murdered and stripped all the stragglers. Besides, *Czarneski* had set a fresh army on foot, with which he grievously harassed the *Swedish* rear, and gave perpetual alarm by means of his light cavalry <sup>b</sup>.

At length *Charles*, after surmounting incredible hardships, arrived off *Jarislau*; but finding it was impossible to subvert his troops, he again begun his march towards *Prussia*. The *Poles* thought to surround him near *Sandomir*; and a report had already prevailed, that the *Swedes* were cut in pieces, and that *Charles* was killed in the engagement. In fact, he was in the most imminent danger, cooped up in an angle formed by the confluence of two great rivers, his passage over which was opposed by forces more numerous than his own: this spirited king however surmounted every difficulty; he forced a passage, repulsed the *Lithuanians*, and opened a way to *Warsaw*, from whence he pursued his march to *Prussia*. This retreat was not accomplished without some loss. The margrave of *Baden*, who commanded a body of four thousand

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* *Revol. de Pologne*, par. M. le Abbe des Fontaines, p. 293.

*Swedes*, was surprised and defeated by the *Poles* at *Warka*; a loss which was in a short time compensated by a complete victory, which *Adolphus* the king's brother and general *Wrangel* obtained over *Czarneski*, while the king was employed in measures for laying siege to *Dantzick*. This design he was forced to lay aside on account of the interposition of the *Dutch*, who arrived before the city with a squadron of twenty-eight men of war, offered their mediation, and dropped hints of their resolution of opposing *Charles*, unless a proper regard was paid to their interest. In consequence a negotiation was set on foot, and very advantageous terms were granted to the *Hollanders*. However, as the *Poles* had received a strong reinforcement of *Tartars*, *Charles* did not think it sufficient that he had bought off the *Dutch*; it was necessary to gain the elector of *Brandenburg*, in order that he might be at liberty to turn the whole strength of *Sweden* against *Casimir*; but the elector procrastinated matters, and drew out the negotiation to such a length, that *Warsaw* was forced to capitulate, after it had been for three weeks besieged by the whole *Polish* army.

At last, not only a treaty of peace was concluded, but an alliance contracted between the king and the elector, whereby the intire sovereignty of *Prussia* was ceded to the latter, on condition that he should assist *Charles-Gustavus* in the reduction of *Poland*. Accordingly those two princes marched in concert against the enemy, encamped in a strong situation in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, the camp being fronted by the *Vistula*. The allies began the attack, and pursued it with such vigour and obstinacy, that the *Poles* were driven from their intrenchments, intirely defeated, prodigious carnage made, and a great number of prisoners taken. So brilliant a victory greatly heightened the lustre of the *Swedish* monarch's glory; but it did not produce all the expected advantages, because the elector acted but coldly and remissly on this occasion, barely executing the articles of the treaty. The *Poles* and *Tartars* laboured to break the alliance, with which view they made an irruption into *Ducal Prussia*, where they defeated the electoral army near *Licca*, taking prince *Radzivil* and several officers of distinction prisoners.

This defeat was soon revenged by the *Swedish* general *Steinbock*, who attacked the same *Polish* army at *Philippowa*, and overthrew it with so great slaughter, as obliged the *Poles* to quit the field for that season. On this occasion prince *Radzivil* was rescued out of the hands of the enemy; and general *Wellemburg*, who had been arrested on the reduction of *Warsaw*, contrary to an express article of the capitulation,

was exchanged for certain *Polish* noblemen taken in this battle. Even this important advantage could not keep the elector steady in the interest of *Sweden*. Better terms than those stipulated in the late treaty were therefore granted, in order to preserve this only ally, at a period when *Muscovy* and the greatest powers in *Europe* were arming against *Sweden*. The *Russians* had already actually commenced hostilities in the provinces of *Carelia*, *Ingermania*, and *Livonia*; but they were every where defeated by the *Swedes*. At last, fortune began to desert the *Swedes* in *Livonia*; two important fortresses fell into the hands of the enemy, and they were now preparing to invest *Riga*. For the space of seven months had they battered the walls of this town, without once venturing to pass the ditch and storm the practicable breaches. The besieged, under the conduct of *Magnus de la Gardie* and *Simon Helmsfeld*, had defended themselves with great intrepidity; they had cut off several thousands of the enemy in divers vigorous sallies. At last they ventured to attack the *Russian* camp; they pierced the intrenchments, put the whole army in disorder, made terrible slaughter, intirely defeated the enemy, and obliged them to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

MEAN time *Charles* was not discouraged by the number of his enemies; he knew the superiority of his own troops over the *Poles* and *Russians*, in point of discipline and valour. The very report of his approach frequently put whole armies to flight. This was the case with general *Czarneskie*, who was approaching *Dantzick*; but on advice that *Charles* had advanced to oppose him, retired to *Poland* with the utmost precipitation, and in such hurry and disorder as subjected his cavalry to a defeat from a small party of *Swedes* under colonel *Aschenberg*. The *Poles*, finding they were unable to face the *Swedes* in the field, and to stand the issue of a general engagement, contented themselves with harrassing the enemy, alarming them in their march, and cutting off their foragers and convoys. This obliged *Charles* to alter his system, and to employ irregulars, who should fight the *Poles* in their own manner. With this view he concluded a treaty with *Ragotski*, prince of *Transylvania*, whereby certain provinces of *Poland*, contiguous to his dominions, were assigned to that ally. In consequence of this treaty the confederates entered *Lithuania*; but not being able to bring the *Poles* to an engagement, the expedition terminated in the reduction of a single fortress. Perceiving that nothing considerable could be effected in *Poland*, *Charles* returned with the *Swarish* army to *Prussia*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Revol. de Polog. ibid. PUFFEND. l. vii.

IT was now that *Leopold*, the young king of *Hungary*, resolved to declare in favour of *Poland*, and exert his utmost endeavours to break all the ambitious schemes of the *Swedish* monarch and *Ragotski*. Before he declared himself he joined the *Dutch* in soliciting the king of *Denmark* to come to a rupture with *Sweden*. When the resolution of attacking *Poland* was first taken in *Sweden*, some of the senators had given it as their opinion, that *Denmark* should have been deprived of the power of hurting the kingdom during the absence of the king and army in a distant country. But as the *Danish* monarch had given no cause for attacking his dominions, *Charles-Gustavus* preferred the more generous and just method of securing his friendship by treaties mutually advantageous to both nations. As these treaties proposed to exclude the *Hollanders* from the trade and navigation of the *Baltick*, it drew upon the king the resentment of the republic, and gave birth to those warm remonstrances made by the *Dutch* deputies at the court of *Copenhagen*. *Charles* sought every opportunity of cultivating the friendship of a neighbouring power so capable of giving him great disturbance; but he soon perceived that the *Danes* declined engaging in any measures which might tie them up from attacking *Sweden*. The *Dutch*, he saw, were well received, the conferences to establish a treaty of alliance procrastinated, new demands every day made upon *Sweden*, and the price of the *Danish* friendship rated so high, that he could no longer doubt their design was to suffer him to enfeeble himself with the *Polish* war, and then to attack him, languid and exhausted. *Wrangel* advised the king to anticipate the schemes of the *Danish* monarch, and fall upon him before his levies were complete; but *Charles* resolved not to be the aggressor, imagining, perhaps, that his moderation would induce the powers, who had guarantied the treaty of *Westphalia*, to take part in his quarrel. He likewise might possibly think it sufficient to be engaged in one unjust war, undertaken merely from motives of policy and ambition.

IT was not long before what *Charles* had foreseen happened. The king of *Denmark* declared open war, giving for a reason, that the *Swedes* had deprived him of the dutchy of *Bre-mærk* in the last reign, notwithstanding he had maintained an exact neutrality during the war in *Germany* (A). We have already

(A) In the history of *Denmark* we have seen a variety of reasons specified for the rupture between the two northern crowns. Among others, his *Danish* majesty demanded restitution of certain territories in *Norway*, violently withheld from him

already seen the falsity of this allegation ; but it could only be effectually refuted by the sword. *Charles*, on advice that the *Danes* had invaded *Bremen*, and taken *Bremerwerde* and other places, marched with all possible expedition to *Stetin*, leaving the affairs of *Prussia* and *Poland* in the hands of his brother duke *Adolphus*. Before he took this measure he had concerted matters with *Ragotski*, and given him a plan of operations, which had it been duly followed, must have brought the war with *Poland* to a speedy and fortunate issue ; but *Ragotski*, offended with the king's departure to oppose a fresh enemy, became negligent, followed different measures than those recommended by *Charles*, and suffered himself to be surprised, and his army to be cut in pieces by the *Polis* and *Tartars*. To fill the measure of his misfortunes, the *Turks* made an irruption into *Transylvania*, under pretence that *Ragotski*, as a vassal of the *Porte*, had no right to invade *Poland* without authority from the Grand Seignior : the prince gave them battle and perished in the action, whereby his *Swedish* majesty lost the sole ally upon whom he could have any kind of dependence.

*The Danes  
defeated in  
Bremen  
and Hol-  
stein.*

MEAN time, *Charles-Gustavus* having traversed *Pomerania* and the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, fell upon *Holstein*, while general *Wrangel* with another corps entered the dutchy of *Bremen*. Nothing could exceed the vigour and intrepidity with which this general pursued his measures. In the space of fifteen days he retook all the towns which the enemy had reduced, attacked, defeated, and drove the *Danish* army out of the country, after having killed three thousand of their best soldiers. Nor were the enemy more fortunate in *Holstein* : here the king carried all before him, taking several fortresses, reducing *Itzehoe* into ashes, defeating a corps of *Danes* in the open field, and laying siege to *Fredericks-Udda*, into which the enemy had thrown a strong garrison. The conduct of this siege the king left to *Wrangel*, retiring himself to *Wismar*, to observe the situation of affairs in *Poland*. *Wrangel* imagining that to besiege this place in form might consume the whole season, and expose his army to the rigours of the winter, resolved to attack it sword in hand, which he executed with such astonishing gallantry, that in

him by the king of *Sweden*. a *Danish* refugee ; and indeed He likewise required satisfaction to the resentment of this notion for the protection afforded to the Swede. The war is chiefly ascribed (1) by *Charles* to the count *Ulfeldt*,

(1) *Vid. vol. xxxii.*

the space of two hours he became master of a numerous garrison and exceeding strong fortifications <sup>b</sup>.

ON the frontiers of the kingdom the *Swedes* were less successful: they had lost one battle near *Guaro* in the province of *Halland*; but the enemy deduced no considerable advantage from their victory. At sea the fleets met, and maintained a hot engagement for two days, at the end of which both sides claimed the victory. *Puffendorff*, and some other historians partial to *Sweden*, positively affirm, that the *Danes* sheered off in disorder; but they confess that the *Swedes* profited nothing by their victory, which they attribute to the misconduct of certain officers of inferior station. *Sea-fight.*

As to *Poland* the *Swedish* affairs were still more unprosperous. The house of *Austria* had now declared for *Casimir*, of *Austria* a *German* army had already entered *Poland*, and obliged the *Swedish* garrison in *Cracow* to surrender that capital, though *Wartiz* the governor had defended it with great intrepidity, and made dreadful carnage among the besiegers. General *Czarnefski* had likewise entered *Pomerania*, where he desolated the country with all the fury of a barbarian determined to revenge his late disgraces upon the innocent peasants, whom he put to the sword, without pity or remorse. Dreading however the approach of the *Swedish* army, he retired with precipitation, before his expedition had answered any other purpose than that of transmitting his name to posterity as a monster of cruelty. *The house of Austria declares against Charles.*

*CHARLES*, finding himself environed by enemies, and his strength divided to oppose the troops of *Austria*, *Brandenburg*, *Poland*, *Russia*, and *Denmark*, determined upon striking some spirited blow which should induce the latter to listen to terms of pacification. With this view he formed an enterprize upon the island of *Funen*, the success of which would be of the utmost consequence, though the utmost difficulty attended the execution. Providence indeed seemed to second his designs; a sudden frost came on uncommonly early in the season, the sea which separates the *Danish* islands was frozen, and the *Swedish* monarch enabled to transport his forces without the expence of shipping. *Charles* did not fail to improve the opportunity. He instantly set his army in motion, passed over to *Funen* upon the ice, and surprised a body of four thousand *Danish* soldiers, and five hundred peasants, whom he cut in pieces. Having in a few days reduced the whole island, he passed from thence to *Langland*, next to *Laaland*, then to *Falstre*, all of which he conquered, and

<sup>b</sup> DES ROCHES Hist. Den. t. iv. PUFFEND. l. vii.

*Peace with  
Denmark.  
A. D.  
1658.*

lastly to *Zealand*, the great object of his operations. The unexpected arrival of the *Swedish* army intirely disconcerted the *Danes* : they were seized with a panic, deprived of all fortitude and presence of mind, and were giving themselves up to despair, when *Charles* gave them to understand that he would hearken to equitable terms of accommodation. He was nevertheless strongly advised to lay siege to *Copenhagen*, at that time badly fortified, and overwhelmed with consternation; but *Charles*, reflecting that the capital could be of little service towards the reduction of *Denmark*, while *Cronenburg* and other strong fortresses were in the hands of the enemy; that the conquest of these places must equally diminish his army, and afford his other enemies time to penetrate into the *Swedish* dominions, determined upon peace, and immediately set on foot a negotiation for that purpose. It cannot be imagined that the king of *Denmark*, in his present situation, would be very difficult about the terms; it was his business to sheath the sword at any expence, especially as he secretly determined again to draw it as soon as opportunity served. *Charles* however contented himself with the cession of those provinces to which the crown of *Sweden* had always laid claim. Accordingly, by the treaty of *Roschild*, concluded on the twelfth of *March*, the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*; *Lyfter* and *Huven*; the isle of *Borkholm*; the bailliages of *Babus* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*; and a free passage through the *Sound*, were the rewards of the *Swedish* king's gallant conduct. The treaty was ratified at a personal interview between the two princes, which passed at *Fredericksburg*, where they gave each other exterior marks of reciprocal esteem; after which *Charles-Gustavus* set out for *Gottenburg*, to assemble the states of *Sweden*. His army was quartered in the *Danish* dominions for the remainder of the season, in order to recover by repose and good living, the disorders contracted in consequence of the excessive fatigue and hardships of a winter campaign<sup>a</sup>.

*War renewed  
with  
Denmark.*

His *Swedish* majesty had now room to hope that he had rid himself of one troublesome enemy; and that the *Danes*, so unsuccessful in their last attempt, would have no great inclination again to try the fortune of war. Nevertheless, he was disappointed: *Denmark* soon entered into a league with other powers to check the progress of the *Swedish* arms, and revenge the late indignity she sustained. The measures which the *Danish* monarch had taken, and the pains he was at to persuade the count *de Guldenlew* to quit the *Swedish* service, left *Charles* no

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Dan. t. iv.

room to doubt but his intention was to attack him, as soon as he found the *Swedes* deeply engaged either against the emperor in *Germany*, king *Casimir* in *Poland*, or the *Russians* in *Livonia*. He therefore resolved to anticipate designs which might prove of fatal consequence, and again to attack *Denmark* unprepared, and before she had sufficiently provided for her security. He thought it adviseable that *Denmark*, rather than his own dominions, should become the theatre of war: for which reason he ordered his fleet to the coast of *Holstein*, where he embarked his troops with all possible expedition. He spread a report that his intention was to lay siege to *Dantzick*; but he set sail strait for *Zealand*, and appeared very unexpectedly before *Copenhagen*. Had he immediately given the *Copenhagen* assault, before the inhabitants had recovered from their first *gen* be-surprize, it is probable he would have carried the city, with-*sieged*. out the trouble of a siege or blockade; but as he landed at the distance of seventeen miles from the capital, the *Danes* had time to recruit their spirits, and to take the measures necessary for their defence. In effect, they behaved with admirable courage, fought with incredible intrepidity, and defeated the *Swedes* in every attempt made to take the city by assault. The siege was spun out to a great length, and the besieged reduced to extremities, when at last a powerful *Dutch* fleet arrived in the *Sound*, laden with ammunition and provision for their succour. He gave battle to the *Hollanders*; but admiral *Opdam*, in despite of all his endeavours, pushed into the harbour of *Copenhagen*, and relieved the city, just as it was on the point of surrendering<sup>a</sup>. This obliged *Charles* to convert the siege into a blockade, and to intrench his army at the entrance of the *Sound*, in which situation the army remained until the end of the war. Mean time general *Wrangel* had been dispatched with a body of forces to lay siege to *Cronenburg*, the strongest fortress in the *Danish* dominions, which he took, after a siege of three weeks, by such a series of gallant actions, intrepidity, and vigour, as raised his reputation beyond that of any officer of this period in the *Swedish* service. NOTWITHSTANDING the whole strength of *Sweden* was employed in *Denmark*, the *Poles* made no considerable advantage of the respite that they obtained. All they effected was penetrating into *Livonia*, laying siege to *Cebron*, in which they were foiled, and, in concert with the *Austrians*, reducing *Thorn*. A new enemy now appeared, and had no sooner declared himself than he was crushed. The duke of *Courland* had, under the pretext of a neutrality, done many ill offices

<sup>a</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. xxxi. xxxii. sub aut.



to *Sweden* : the king therefore directed general *Douglas* to attack the fortress of *Mittau*, which he executed with such address, that the place was taken, and the duke carried off prisoner to *Riga* ; from whence he was sent to *Novogorod*, where he remained during the war. With such vigour did the *Swedes* combat and humble their numerous enemies.

A. D.  
1659.

WHILE *Charles* kept all *Denmark* in a manner blocked up, the enemies of *Sweden* continued closely linked together, and determined, in their resolution, to clip those soaring wings which endangered the liberty of all the northern nations, and disturbed the repose of *Europe*. Even *France* and *England* appeared partial to the enemies of *Sweden*, and ready to declare in their favour, as far as could be judged from a treaty called the *Concert of the Hague*, or a kind of agreement between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to reconcile the two northern monarchies. To frustrate the effects of this agreement, *Charles* made an attempt in the night to surprise *Copenhagen* ; but the scheme was baffled by the strength and vigour of the besieged, who greatly exceeded in number his whole army. He then laboured to establish a firm footing in the *Danish* islands ; for which purpose he made himself master of *Langland*, *Mona*, *Falstre*, and *Laaland*. He persisted in his resolution, notwithstanding the arrival of an *English* and *Dutch* fleet in the *Sound* ; and was encouraged in his perseverance by the news of a truce concluded between his general and the *Russians*, of the defeat of the *Poles* before *Riga*, and because he chose rather to die sword in hand than be awed or intimidated into measures contrary to his inclination.

NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat before *Riga*, the *Poles* found means to drive the king's forces out of *Courland*, and to gain possession of *Grandentz* in *Prussia*. At the same time the *Austrians*, in concert with the electoral forces of *Brandenburg*, penetrated into *Holstein* and *Jutland*, and were preparing to invade *Funen* ; but were repulsed by the brave *Wrangel*. Their loss on this occasion was so considerable, and the conduct of the *Swedes* so remarkably spirited, that, convinced they could gain nothing by persisting in the attempt to reduce the island, they returned to *Pomerania*, and laid siege to *Stettin* with all their forces. Here they were not more successful : after great loss of time, and an infinity of soldiers, the allies were at length forced to relinquish the siege, and break up camp in great disorder.

\* PUFFEND. lib. vii.

A WAR merely defensive, as this might justly be deemed, however successful, contributed nothing towards the completion of the ambitious hopes of *Charles-Gustavus*. He therefore made another attempt on *Copenhagen*; but it terminated in the same manner as the preceding. He was more unfortunate in another quarter. The *Dutch* fleet transported the allied troops to *Funen*, where they attacked the *Swedes* under count *Salzbach* with such superior numbers, that, after an obstinate defence, he was forced to retire with scarce half his army to *Nyburg*, the other half having perished in the field of battle. A few days after the *Swedes*, who had taken shelter at *Nyburg*, were forced to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; by which the king lost the service of four thousand of the best soldiers in his whole army. The loss and disgrace effected him sensibly; but did not weaken his courage, nor damp that spirit of enterprize for which this prince was celebrated. He was preparing to take his revenge, and had assembled the states at *Gottenburg* to deliberate on the means of pushing the war with redoubled vigour, when he was attacked by a fever, which was epidemical and fatal in the camp. After a few days illness, he died on the 23d of February, having reigned not more than six years; during which he obtained the reputation of a bold, busy, warlike, undaunted, and rash monarch, whose ambition stirred up the greatest powers of *Europe* against him, whose ardour after glory engaged him in the most unjust quarrels, and whose inventive fruitful genius would probably have triumphed over all difficulties, and obliged the six powerful nations with which he was then at war to grant honourable terms of pacification, had he lived a few years longer.

A.  
166

THE death of *Charles-Gustavus*, who was the soul and invigorating principle of *Sweden*; the minority that ensued; the distressed situation of the kingdom, ready to sink under a ruinous fruitless war; made it absolutely necessary that measures should be immediately taken for restoring the public tranquillity. The regency, as it had been settled in the deceased monarch's will, underwent some alterations. The queen-dowager was left in possession of all the power and honours assigned her by the king; but the office of grand marechal was taken from duke *Adolphus*, and conferred on *Kayge*, the oldest general in *Sweden*; and after his death, which happened in 1669, was given to *Charles-Gustavus Wrangel*, who was succeeded in the office by *Steinboek*. The states and the regency unanimously agreed, that the first step was to get rid of the war upon any terms, that were not in a very extraordinary manner injurious to the honour and interest of

Charles  
XI.

Treaty of  
Oliva.

of Sweden; and their views were the more easily accomplished, as the death of *Charles-Gustavus* considerably diminished the jealousy the northern powers had conceived of the designs formed by Sweden. Could *Schonen*, *Bleking*, *Holland*, and *Babus* be retained, no other conditions could prove unfavourable in the present conjuncture. Accordingly a treaty of peace with *Poland* was set on foot, and prosecuted with such diligence, that it was signed and finally concluded at *Oliva* by the third day of *May*. In this treaty were comprehended the emperor and the elector of *Bavaria*: *John Casimir* renounced his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and the republic of *Poland* ceded her pretended right to *Livonia*.

THE peace with *Denmark* met with greater difficulties, and the conferences were frequently on the point of being broke off. King *Frederick* refused to declare himself, until Sweden should make explicit proposals, under pretence that he was attacked in the midst of profound peace, and at a time when he thought himself perfectly secure on the faith of solemn treaties; but the Swedish commissaries having protested, that their sole view was to restore the repose of the North, the mediators found means to adjust all differences. Conferences were appointed in tents, erected for the commissaries, between the Swedish camp and *Copenhagen*. By the twenty-first of *June* the treaty was signed, upon much the same conditions as the late treaty of *Roschild*; only that *Bornholm* and *Drontheim* were now ceded to *Denmark*, while a certain equivalent in *Schonen* remained with Sweden. Soon after the disputes with *Holland* were terminated by a treaty, and peace with the *Russians* was concluded at *Cardis* \*. Thus the tranquillity of Sweden was once more restored, in a manner that cannot be deemed dishonourable, considering the number and power of her enemies, the length of the war, and the distressed situation in which the kingdom was left by the sudden death of the monarch, and the prospect of a tedious minority.

A. D.  
1667. SWEDEN was now regarded as a power of considerable importance in the scale of *Europe*. The regency interposed in the war between *England* and *Holland*, and their mediation greatly contributed to the peace concluded at *Breda*. Some years after his Swedish majesty composed one of the members of the triple alliance, formed for the security of the *Netherlands*, and to retrench the growing power and clip the soaring wings of *Lewis XIV*. At last, however, perceiving the storm which threatened *Europe* on the invasion of the United Provinces, *Charles* closed in with the designs of *Lewis*, as the

A. D.  
1672.

\* BAR. Hist. de Allem. t. x.

method he judged would most effectually bring about a general pacification. The treaty between *France* and *Sweden* professed nothing more than the preservation of the treaties of *Westphalia*; though it was obvious that each of the parties entertained other designs, and projected the extension of their several dominions. It must however be confessed, that *Sweden* gave signal proofs of moderation, as soon as it was perceived that the *French* king would have pushed his ambition to the utter extinction of the *Dutch* republic. The king then offered his mediation to terminate all differences, before he should be reduced to the necessity of applying force. Matters were brought to such a length, that conferences were appointed at *Cologne*; and the negotiation was in a fair way of arriving at a happy issue, when the emperor disconcerted the whole by ordering the cardinal *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary from the elector of *Cologne*, to be arrested at the congress. *Charles*, incensed at this proceeding, attached himself more closely to *France*, and by that means involved *Sweden* in a fresh quarrel with the elector of *Brandenburg*.

THE manner in which the *Swedish* monarch began this war was very particular. He ordered his troops to enter *Brandenburg*; but rigorously to abstain from all violence, and whatever could be construed into an act of hostility. By this means he hoped to oblige the elector to listen to terms of accommodation, and detach him from the grand alliance forming against *Lewis*. Soon after he published a manifesto in justification of his conduct, refuting therein all the calumnies asserted by the elector, with respect to the depredations committed by the *Swedish* forces. Here too he complained of the unjust seizure of divers *Swedish* ships by privateers licensed by the elector, previous to any declaration of war, without remonstrating any grievances, and contrary to a treaty subsisting, and the established laws of nations <sup>a</sup>.

A. D.

1674.

The king invades Brandenburg.

WHEN this manifesto appeared, *Wrangel* detached two thousand men to seize the passage of *Loeknitz*: here the first hostilities were commenced. The *Brandenburgers* made an obstinate resistance; but were at last forced to give way, and suffer the *Swedes* to pursue their march to *Middlemere*, where they reduced *Bernau*, *Britzen*, and some other places. Notwithstanding *Wrangel* fell sick, and was forced to quit the army, the *Swedes* pursued their conquests under general *Mardenfeldt*, and possessed themselves almost without opposition of all the towns and fortresses in *Brandenburg*. At length the elector arrived to the relief of his dominions, retook se-

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. Hist. lib. vii.

VOLT. Siecle, t. i.

veral

A. D.  
1675.

*The  
Swedes  
are every  
where de-  
feated.*

veral important towns, fell upon the rear of the *Swedish* army, and cut it in pieces. In the end, the two armies came to a general engagement near *Febr-Bellin*, in which, after a bloody contest, the *Swedes* were forced to retreat; but in such good order, that the elector did not venture to pursue. He, notwithstanding, improved the advantage with so much address, that the *Swedes* were forced to evacuate all their conquests; and, what proved of worse consequence, they were deprived of the assistance of certain powers who were ready to declare for them, had they not been discouraged by the declining situation of their affairs. Instead indeed of being reinforced by alliances, the king of *Denmark*, the United Provinces, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and the bishop of *Munster*, all seized the opportunity of <sup>seizing</sup> taking their vengeance on *Sweden*, and bringing down to their own level a power that had lately towered it over all her neighbours, and given law to the northern hemisphere. It was likewise probable that *Russia* would have joined in this confederacy, had not the death of the czar happily delivered *Sweden* from so formidable an accession to her enemies. *Charles* could only oppose to this powerful combination the feeble aid of the elector of *Bavaria*, with whom he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive; for as to *France*, her armies had full employment in the *Netherlands*, and on the *Rhine*.

THE bishop of *Munster* was the first of the allies who sent an army into the field. In concert with the *Brandenburgers*, his troops reduced *Verden*, which soon became a bone of contention, and broke the confederacy against *Sweden*. The war, however, went still on with vigour in *Pomerania*; where the *Danes*, Imperialists, and *Brandenburghers*, assisted by a *Dutch* squadron, all attacked the *Swedes* in different places. After divers other conquests, the electoral forces took *Wollin* by assault, and put the garrison and governor, count *Schuerin*, to the sword. Thence they passed to the isle of *Usedom*, and soon reduced *Wolgast*; while the *Danes* gained possession of *Damgarten*, and were laying siege to *Wismar*. Though this town was strong by nature and art, it soon surrendered for want of provision, notwithstanding some writers tax the governor with cowardice.

A. D.  
1676.

THE rigour of the season could not deter the *Swedes* from keeping the field, in hopes of recovering, by a winter campaign, what they had lost during the summer. They passed to the isle of *Usedom*, invested *Wolgast*, and were forced, after a tedious siege, to relinquish the enterprize. Nor were the king's affairs more fortunate in *Bremen*, where the enemy laid siege to *Stade*, and reduced the brave garrison to extreme necessity.

cessity. But what gave the most violent shock to Sweden was the defeat of the fleet, in an engagement with the combined squadrons of Denmark and Holland near Bornholm; and afterwards in a more decisive action off Oeland, in which the Swedish admiral was blown up, and the vice-admiral, with several other officers of distinction, and five ships, were taken <sup>a</sup>. In consequence of this victory, Tromp the Dutch admiral reduced Uddestad, which fortress the governor abandoned, after having made a vigorous defence. His Danish majesty likewise, now master of the northern seas, embarked eighteen thousand men, and landed at Helsingburg, to which place he laid siege in form. The garrison, amounting only to two hundred and fifty men, evacuated the town, and retired to the citadel, which they bravely defended for the space of a week; at the end of which, a breach being made, they surrendered at discretion.

It was now that the Swedish monarch took into his own hands the reins of government, and resolved to reign without the assistance of a regency. He was induced to this determination by the factions which prevailed in the senate and regency. He declared his intention by taking upon him the command of the army, which he joined in person, with a view of opposing the irruption made by the Danes into *Schonen*. His forces, however, proved too weak to face the enemy: Charles was forced to evacuate *Schonen*, with the mortification of being baffled in his first attempt, and leaving a fine province to be desolated by hostile armies. On the king's retreat to *Christianstadt*, the Danes besieged *Landskroon*, and reduced the garrison in a few days to the necessity of capitulating (*August 13*), after which they directed their march to *Christianstadt*. This town, though strong by nature, and bravely defended, yielded at last to the obstinacy of the besiegers, who took it by assault, and put five hundred of the garrison to the sword.

ALL these disgraces served only to whet the ardor and stimulate the courage of the young monarch, who first turned the scale of fortune by defeating the Danish general *Duncamp Charles*, near *Helmstadt*, and so intirely ruining his army, that of four good fort thousand men not above three hundred escaped <sup>b</sup>. This advantage was succeeded by the obstinate battle of *Lunden*, in which both the kings of Sweden and Denmark claimed the victory. That Charles prevailed appears from his keeping the field of battle, obliging the enemy to raise the siege of *Malmoë*, and his Danish majesty to retire to *Copenhagen*.

<sup>a</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. xxxi.

<sup>b</sup> Id. vol. xxxii.

THE same fortune did not accompany the *Swedish* arms in *Pomerania*, the defence of which province was committed to the count *Königsmark*. At first this general was extremely successful: he had gained a variety of inconsiderable advantages, which were soon obliterated by a series of disgraces, losses, and misfortunes. In a word, there remained only *Stettin*, *Stralsund*, and *Gripswald*, in possession of the *Swedes*; and to the former of these the elector of *Brandenburg* laid siege with all his forces. After he had in vain consumed the whole autumn before this town, he was at last obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and return for the winter to *Berlin*. Amidst all the rigours of a severe season, the electoral army remained encamped before this city, using every possible expedient to reduce it to extremity. *Vander Horst*, who was governor, performed every thing that could be expected from an active, skilful, and resolute commander. He made frequent sallies, drove the besiegers from their posts, and was in a fair way of obliging them to raise the blockade, when he received a mortal wound. When he found his end approaching, he assembled the principal officers and burghers round his bed, and exhorted them to behave like brave men, deserving the king's confidence, to defend the place to the last extremity; he appointed *Wolfzen* for his successor, and then breathed his last. The new governor copied exactly the example of his predecessor; he made a great number of vigorous sallies, harassed the besiegers, but not having the necessary authority over the townsmen, reduced to extreme misery, the populace revolted, and obliged him to deliberate on the means of obtaining an honourable capitulation (*Jan. 1.*) By this time a garrison of three thousand was reduced to three hundred and twenty effective men: however, this slender corps obtained all the honours of war, and marched out, drums beating, colours flying, a small train of artillery, and lighted matches, and was conducted to *Livonia*.

A. D.  
1678.

*Sea-fight.*

SINCE the battle of *Lunden* the *Swedes* remained masters of the field in that country. They reduced *Helsingburg*, obliged *Christianhaven* to capitulate, and were laying siege to *Christianstadt*; but his *Danish* majesty marching with a powerful army to the relief of this last place, they broke up camp and relinquished the enterprize. Nor was the *Swedish* fleet more successful than the preceding year. Admiral *Zeeblad* quitting *Gottenburg* with eighteen sail of the line, in order to join the main fleet, was attacked and defeated, with the loss of six ships, by the *Danish* admiral. This advantage encouraged *Frederick* to invest *Malmoe*, a city that was obstinately defended and attacked (*June 18*). On the sixth of *July* the  
*Dans*

*Danes* gave a general assault. They mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried two bastions, and were opening a way for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge broke down with the prodigious weight of the soldiers who crowded upon it, put the *Danes* in confusion, inspired the besieged with fresh courage, and destroyed all the hopes of the besiegers, who were driven from the walls with prodigious slaughter; upon which they raised the siege a second time <sup>a</sup>.

FOUR days after the *Swedish* fleet fell upon the *Danes* near *The Swe-*  
the isle of *Möna*, and, after having almost grasped victory, was with fleet  
defeated, with the loss of seven ships. When the engage- a second  
ment began, the *Swedes* had the weather-gage; but the *Danish* time de-  
admiral found means to deprive them of this advantage, and feated.  
to break their line, to which the defeat is ascribed. To  
complete the misfortune, the *Dutch* squadron, which had al-  
ready entered the *Sound* to assist the *Danes*, cut off the *Swedish*  
admiral's passage to *Gottenburg*, and blocked him up at *Mal-*  
*moe*, where he remained in the utmost distress.

IT was but a few days after this sea-engagement that the  
battle of *Landscroon* was fought, in which both the *Swedish*  
and *Danish* monarchs commanded in person, each performing  
every duty of a soldier and general. The *Swedish* right broke  
the left of the *Danes*; but *Charles* was forced to draw off his  
troops to succour the left wing, which was put in confusion  
by the enemy. By this means the battle was again renewed  
with the most obstinate fury, from ten in the forenoon until  
six in the evening, when the excessive heat of the sun and  
fatigue of the combatants obliged both parties to retire to their  
camp, as if by mutual consent. The *Swedish* writers how-  
ever alledge, that the king of *Denmark* retired to *Landscroon*,  
leaving king *Charles* master of the field, of thirty-two pieces  
of cannon, some mortars, and a great number of loaded  
waggons.

THE scene of blood was not confined to the ocean, to  
*Schonen*, and *Pomerania*; *Norway* likewise was the theatre of  
some considerable actions. At *Oldeval* a battle was fought,  
sword in hand, because the heavy rains would not admit of  
the use of fire-arms. Here the *Swedes* were defeated (*Sept. 7*),  
the infantry being cut in pieces, and the cavalry escaping only  
by means of the swiftness of their horses. To crown the  
misfortunes of *Sweden*, the *Danes* made a descent on the islands  
of *Oeland*, *Smaaland*, *Unno*, and *Kuno*, some of which they  
laid desolate; while the electoral troops and Imperialists re-  
duced count *Königsmark* to the utmost distress in the neigh-

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii.



bourhood of *Stralsund*. At length, however, by dint of vigilance, he found an opportunity of attacking them to so much advantage, that he retrieved his affairs by a complete victory; after which he ravaged the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*.

ALL this while the *Swedes* were besieging *Christianstadt*, from which the *Danes* hoped to draw their attention by an attempt on *Gottenburg*, by descents in the neighbourhood of *Stockholm* to alarm that capital, and by investing *Babus*; but none of these diversions answered the intention. The king adhered closely to his purpose, and continued the siege with the utmost vigour, notwithstanding he every moment expected to be attacked in his camp by the whole strength of *Denmark*. Success was the reward of his perseverance: the garrison capitulated on the fourteenth of *August*, and *Charles* had the satisfaction of becoming master of this important fortress in spite of the spirited defence of the besieged, and the utmost endeavours of the *Danish* army, headed by their monarch. However, this conquest was not made without some retribution on the side of the enemy. *Helsingburg* fell into their hands, and might be said to be the price of *Christianstadt*, though by no means of equal value.

*The  
Swedes  
evacuate  
Pomerania.*

THOUGH *Königsmark* had lately obtained some advantages in *Pomerania*, he could not prevent the elector of *Brandenburg* from laying siege to *Stralsund*, and reducing it, after a brisk siege, which continued from the middle of the month of *September* to the end of *October*. *Gripswald* followed the fate of *Stralsund*, and surrendered on the fifteenth of *November*, by which the *Swedes* were absolutely dispossessed of every town and fortress in *Pomerania*. But *Sweden* wanted something more to fill the measure of her distresses. The fleet which transported the army from *Pomerania* to *Sweden* was shipwrecked in the night on the coast of *Bornholm*, by which near two thousand men perished in the waters, and the remainder were pillaged and taken prisoners by the *Danes*, notwithstanding they had passports from king *Frederick*. Some ascribe this misfortune to the ignorance of the admiral; others to the treachery of the elector of *Brandenburg*: at this distance of time it is difficult to ascertain the truth; though we must observe, in justice to the elector's memory, that nothing ever appeared to prove this imputation; and that the wretched remains of the shipwreck all declared, with one voice, that the misfortune proceeded from the admiral's unacquaintance with the coast<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii. Hist. Dan. tom. iv.

DURING these transactions in the North, the *Dutch* signed a peace with *Lewis XIV.* The emperor had done the same, whereby *Lewis* stipulated, that his allies the *Suedes* should be put in possession of all they retained after the treaty of *Westphalia*. He laboured likewise to effect a reconciliation between the courts of *Vienna* and *Stockholm*, proposing the treaty of *Westphalia* as the basis of the negotiations; and that all acts, decrees, and edicts, declaring *Sweden* an enemy to the empire, should be revoked. Thus the king of *Denmark* and elector of *Brandenburg*, perceiving they were actually to be deserted by all their allies, and exposed to the whole united strength of *France* and *Sweden*, made overtures of a separate peace with *Lewis*; but that monarch refused to listen to any propositions in which *Sweden* was not included. The *Suedes*, perceiving their affairs in a better posture since the treaty with the emperor and the republic of *Holland*, and supported by so powerful an ally as *Lewis*, determined to relax in nothing, but to keep up to the rigour of the proposals they had given to the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Berlin*. This necessarily prolonged the negotiation; and the armistice being at last expired, the *French* troops in *Cleves* and *Juliers* put themselves in motion to cross the *Rhine*, fall upon the electorate, and oblige the *Brandenburgers* to sue for a renewal of the cessation of arms. The truce was granted; but it produced no effect, as the elector of *Brandenburg* seemed determined only to conclude peace with *France*, after which he should be able to treat upon a better footing with *Sweden*. In the end, the marechal *Crequi* defeated the electoral forces under general *Spaar*, and obliged the elector to precipitate the negotiation. The treaty, in consequence, was signed at *St. Germain*, the basis being laid in the peace of *Westphalia*. *Sweden* ceded certain territories beyond the *Oder* to the elector of *Brandenburg*; and he, in return, promised not to assist *Denmark*, directly or indirectly; a condition which the court of *France* obtained from all her enemies.

*DENMARK* was left now singly to combat a power which had fully employed her forces, at a time when they were assisted by numerous and formidable allies. *Frederick* was immediately sensible of the necessity of terminating the war. With this view he sent directions to his resident in *France* to sign a peace, upon the conditions already proposed by *Lewis* for the intire satisfaction of *Sweden*. By the fourth article of this treaty *Frederick* declared, that *Sweden* should be restored to all she possessed at the commencement of the war. Thus *Charles*, after a series of losses and defeats, found means to extricate himself with honour from a quarrel begun in his

*Peace with  
Denmark.*

childhood, and obstinately maintained since his accession to the throne against a combination of the most respectable powers in *Christendom*.

A. D.  
1680.  
*The king  
marries*

THE treaty of peace with *Denmark* paved the way to a treaty of marriage between the king and the princess *Ulrica-Eleonora*, daughter of *Frederick III.* On the thirteenth of *May* the princess arrived at *Elfsneur*, and next day was received at *Helsingburg* by the queen-mother of *Sweden*. The sixteenth she set out for *Schotterup*, where the nuptial ceremony was privately performed, the king having met her there in a hunting-dress. As the kingdom had suffered greatly by the late war, *Charles* convoked the states to deliberate on the means of restoring matters to their former situation, and establishing the revenue upon a proper footing. The assembly was opened with a speech by *Oxenstiern*, prime minister; in which he recapitulated the chief occurrences of the war, the state of the nation, and of the finances, concluding with the king's demands, which he reduced to four articles. These respected the external security of the kingdom by foreign alliances, its intrinsic importance by means of respectable fleets and armies, the reformation of all abuses which had crept into the administration, and the due adjustment of taxes and impositions necessarily laid upon the subject in consequence of a tedious war. After warm debates, the resolution was taken of maintaining the fleet in the same situation as in the year 1669. For the support of the army two taxes were ordered to be levied on the peasants the subsequent year, and in the next year following. They were besides ordered to board the soldiers, at a certain price, for the two ensuing years; and it was left to the king's pleasure to maintain a certain number of troops at the expence of the factories, the society of hunters, and other public bodies and corporations. It was deemed great condescension in the nobility that they agreed to advance a sum of money towards the relief of the peasants; yet the payment was so inconsiderable, that it was obvious they wanted rather to screen themselves against the public odium, than minister to the necessities of the government. Another resolution of the states was to re-annex to the crown all the lordships and lands, feudal and allodial, which had been dismembered from it since the year 1609, together with all the royal palaces alienated since the year 1655. Several other decrees extremely favourable to the crown passed; and the clergy voluntarily offered a fifth of their revenue to the king, provided they might pay it in kine, or brass money<sup>a</sup>.

A. D.  
1681.

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii.

It was now that the states likewise determined to make a small alteration in the constitution. The authority which the senate assumed gave umbrage to the king, and to the different orders of men and degrees in the kingdom. The senators claimed to themselves a middle rank, between the king and the states. They assumed a right of mediating between both, of reminding the king of the obligations he owed the people, and the subjects of the duty which they owed their sovereign. The states appointed a committee to examine whether the authority assumed by the senate was founded on the laws of the realm, and perfectly constitutional. The report of the committee was, that the king was bound to govern by the advice of the senate; nevertheless, no law of the constitution allowed of their claim to the middle rank they asserted. Upon this report the king declared, by an edict, that the laws should remain in their full vigour; that he would govern by the advice of his senate; but that he should be judge of what affairs were proper to be communicated to this body. In a word, the senators were forbid taking the title of counsellors of the kingdom: they were only called counsellors to the king; and the sovereign rendered himself in a manner independent, by retaining the power of consulting them only on such points as he thought proper. These changes gave birth to a new department of state, called the *grand commission*, which assumed a right to inquire into all transactions of the ministry, and to punish the usurpations and exactions of the senators.

As soon as the states broke up the king determined to proceed to the queen's coronation, which was celebrated at *Stockholm* with all possible magnificence. Soon after the states were again assembled, which occasioned much speculation; as, for a great number of years, it had been usual to assemble them only once in four years, except upon very extraordinary occasions. In the speech made by the chancellor, he acquainted the states, that notwithstanding the king was sensible of the expence resulting from frequent meetings of the states, yet he thought it absolutely necessary to concert measures with his faithful subjects for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of its present happy tranquillity. His majesty had nothing more at heart, he said, than the felicity of the kingdom, and that a strict union should subsist between the two northern crowns. With this view he had renewed the antient treaties with *Denmark*. He had likewise, for the greater security of the kingdom, not only renewed the old treaties with *France*, but contracted new, for the execution of the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*. That, for the convenience

A. D.  
1682.  
*The king  
acquires  
absolute  
power.*

nience and advancement of commerce, he had done the same with the states-general of the United Provinces, and the emperor was desirous of becoming a party. In a word, he recapitulated whatever respected the king's conduct with regard to foreign transactions. He next proceeded to domestic affairs, and particularly the ordonnances of the last assembly, which occasioned warm disputes between the nobility and the other orders of the states. The deputies of the burghers and peasants however passed an act, declaring the *grand commission* to have punctually performed the duty required by the establishment of the board; requesting that the sums levied by taxes might be employed in the payment of public debts; that a commission should be issued to liquidate arrears, and to reduce the tax of eight *per cent.* on estates to six *per cent.* A number of other articles were likewise inserted, to prevent the embezzlement of public money among favourites of the nobility, and the alienation of the crown-lands.

A. D.  
1683.

WITH one voice the nobility cried out against this act; but, without paying any regard to their opposition, the deputies of the burghers and peasants began to add, that the king had power to put the kingdom in such a situation as he thought most conducive to its interest and security. The conduct of *Charles* was artful: he pretended to hold a middle course between the violence of both parties: he instigated the deputies of the lower order to what they did; yet with seeming reluctance he publicly approved of the acts they had passed. By the article which had given him power, of his own authority, to alter the constitution, and put the government in what hands he thought proper, he was in fact made absolute and despotic; but the commons did not appear to have foreseen the consequences<sup>a</sup>. They acted merely out of opposition to the nobility: they were desirous of humbling them, and bringing them nearer to their own level: they effected their purpose; but they likewise went beyond it, when they enlarged the royal prerogative.

*The nominal value  
of money  
raised.*

A. D.  
1686.

It was in the year 1685 that the extraordinary expedient was projected of liquidating the public debts, by raising the value of money, without increasing its intrinsic value; an expedient since practised, as a refinement in policy, in other countries, though it partakes but little of common honesty, and generally brings discredit upon government. At this time the creditors of the crown lost above nine millions of crowns by this single measure: the revenue, indeed, was cleared thereby; but thousands of the most industrious families were involved in irremediable destruction.

NEXT followed a regulation, or rather an ordonnance, in the church ; whereby the king forbid the exercise of any religion, except the *Lutheran*, within the *Swedish* dominions. However, at the solicitation of the *Dutch*, *Charles* relaxed somewhat from the rigour of this law, having afterwards permitted Protestants in general, the followers of *Calvin* as well as *Luther*, publicly to profess their doctrines.

A. D.  
1687.

SINCE the accession of the princefs of *Denmark* to the throne of *Sweden*, the two northern crowns had lived in the utmost harmony. This proceeded chiefly from the influence of the queen of *Sweden* with the kings her husband and father, and the necessity of respiring for a time after the fatigue of a ruinous long war. There were, indeed, some points of contending interest still subsisting ; but the resolute prudence of the monarchs kept them steady in pacific measures, and determined them to avoid whatever had a tendency to renew the antient animosity of the two nations. The difference between his *Danish* majesty and the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* had, indeed, almost broke through all the prudential pacific maxims of *Charles* and *Frederick* : happily, however, a conference, set on foot at *Altena*, warded off the storm, re-established the tranquillity of the North, and gave birth to a fresh treaty between *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

A. D.  
1689.

WHILE *Sweden* cultivated peace with all her neighbours, there were not wanting causes of domestic discontent. The new establishment called the *grand commission*, the derogation from the power of the senate, the liquidation of the crown debts, the iniquitous encrease of the nominal value of the coin, the reduction of estates all over the kingdom : these, with a variety of other new measures, gave disgust to all the nobility, to all the crown creditors, and to the commercial interest. In *Livonia* they were highly resented, and the nobility sent repeated petitions and remonstrances to court, by the hands of deputies, who had orders to insist upon their privileges confirmed by repeated acts of the king's royal predecessors. The deputies could obtain nothing, and therefore returned to *Werden*, where the diet was assembled. On their report the body of nobility resolved to draw up a stronger remonstrance than any of the former, to be presented to the king by captain *Patkul*, one of the five deputies, who had already distinguished himself for his boldness, and attachment to liberty. The remonstrance breathed the true spirit of freedom ; *Patkul* enforced it with the manly eloquence of a rough intrepid spirit, fired with the love of liberty and dread of despotism. In the end, however, he became the victim of the court's resentment, and of his own zeal for the privileges of the nobility.

A. D.  
1693.

An accusation was drawn up against the remonstrants, and particularly *Patkul*. In vain did the whole body of nobility interpose: the process went on, without any regard to their defence, and they were convicted of high treason. The load of punishment and ignominy fell upon *Patkul*. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off; to be deprived of his life, honours, and estates; to have the latter confiscated to the crown, and his papers burnt by the hands of the common executioner. The counsellor *Cronersten* lost his employment, and several other persons of distinction were imprisoned for six years, but pardoned on their submission; and the secretary to the nobles of *Livonia* was condemned to spend eight days in close confinement, living on bread and water. Neither *Patkul* nor his colleagues could avail themselves of the decision of the university of *Leipsick*, which formally declared the accusation unjust: he was forced to fly his country, to avoid the execution of his rigorous sentence, only that it might recur with redoubled vengeance in the subsequent reign. We have already touched upon his misfortunes<sup>a</sup>.

WE have, in a former volume, recited the generous endeavours of his *Swedish* majesty to establish the peace of *Europe*. To his mediation was in a great measure owing the congress at *Ryswick*; but while he was labouring to effect a general pacification, he was seized with a disorder, which cut him off in the forty-second year of his age. *Charles* died with the reputation of a moderate, peaceable, and politic prince; notwithstanding the unhappy war in which *France* involved him before he attained the age of manhood, and the vast extension of the royal prerogative, seem to contradict this character. He certainly cultivated peace during the remaining part of his reign, gave a seasonable check to the insolence of the nobility, put his army and fleet in a respectable posture, cherished commerce, threw off the shackles in which *Sweden* had for many years been kept by the court of *France*, claimed the independency of his court, and renounced an alliance, the very basis of which was contrary to the interest of his people. Upon the whole, *Charles XI.* was a wise and respectable monarch, whose failings were absorbed in the lustre of that glory acquired by a series of politic spirited conduct for the ten last years of his government.

<sup>a</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. xxx.

S E C T. XI.

Containing the Particulars of the War with Denmark,  
Ruffia, and Poland.

**C**HARLES XII. the son and fucceffor of the deceased Charles monarch, was a minor at the death of his father, and left XII. under the tuition of his grandmother, the queen-dowager *Eleonora*, the same wife princefs who had governed the kingdom during the late king's minority (A). To her were joined five senators in the regency, until the young king should arrive at the legal age for taking upon himfelf the government. Upon his acceffion *Charles* was fifteen : he found a throne fecured, and refpected abroad ; a crown more extended in prerogative than any *Swedish* monarch had ever before enjoyed ; fubjects poor, but loyal, hardy, brave, and frugal ; a treasury well managed, and the whole adminiftration in the hands of honeft and able minifters. He was the abfolute undifturbed maf-

(A) The princefs *Ulrica-Eleonora*, wife of *Charles XI.* and mother of *Charles XII.* died at *Carolfberg* about three years before the king's death, whither ſhe had been conveyed for the recovery of her health. She was a princefs of excellent underſtanding, piety, charity, and great munificence. Her laſt requeſt was that ſhe might be buried without pomp or ſplendor, and that the ſavings of a magnificent funeral might be applied to the relief of the poor. The king, however, determined otherwiſe, ordering the laſt obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt ſolemnity. It is reported of this queen, that when *Charles XI.* had ſtripped great part of his ſubjects of their wealth by the new chamber of liquidation ; and that great numbers of citizens, gentlemen,

farmers, tradesmen, widows, and orphans, had filled the ſtreets of *Stockholm* with their complaints, and pierced the palace-gates with their grievances, *Eleonora* aſſiſted the diſtreſſed with all ſhe had in her poſſeſſion. She gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths. When ſhe had given all, ſhe threw herſelf, melted into tears, at the feet of the king her husband, beſeeching him to have pity on his ſubjects. *Charles's* answer was by no means conſonant to the idea given of him by hiſtorians. It was the reply of a tyrant : " Madam, ſays he, we have taken you to bring us children, not to give us advice." The expreſſion of an inſolent mind, and unfeeling callous heart (1).

(1) *Volt. la Vie de C. XII. p. 22.*



ter of Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Carelia, and Ingria, the towns of Wismar and Wiburg, the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, great part of Pomerania, and the isle of Rugen, secured to his crown by the treaties of Munster, Oliva, and now by that of Ryfwick, executed soon after the accession of Charles. By the last will of Charles XI. the young king's majority was put off to the age of eighteen; but he soon found means to lay aside this clause of his father's testament, and remove from the regency the queen-dowager, whose ambition and ability made her hope that she should long enjoy the sweets of power under her grandson. Count Piper and Axel Sparre were the persons employed to accomplish this revolution in the administration. Both were bold, spirited, artful, and ambitious of distinguishing themselves in the young monarch's favour. The counsellors of the regency were easily seduced by their arguments to come over to the scheme concerted, and thereby to recommend themselves to the king's esteem. In a body they proposed to the queen, that Charles should take into his own hands the reins of administration. She was startled at the proposal; but not caring to deny her consent, agreed that it might be referred to the states. Here all were unanimous: the queen found that opposition would be fruitless; she therefore resigned with a good grace, and Charles had the whole power devolved upon him, within three days after he had first expressed his inclinations to reign alone.

THE crown was scarce fixed upon the head of this youthful monarch before a storm began to gather in the North, that pointed at his destruction; to repel which required the utmost exertion of his courage and policy. Three powerful princes hoped to profit by his inexperience, and at least wrest from Sweden all her acquisitions since the accession of the famous Gustavus Adolphus. The mean opinion which not only the court of Stockholm, but foreign ambassadors entertained of Charles's capacity, raised the expectation of the kings of Denmark and Poland, and Peter czar of Muscovy, afterwards the bitterest and most formidable enemy of Sweden. King Augustus of Poland, a prince equally famous for his incredible strength of body and the intrepidity and liberality of his mind, formed designs on Livonia at the instigation of Patkal, who had taken refuge at his court. The king of Denmark, regardless of the treaty of Altena, of which Sweden was guarantee, revived the disputes with the duke of Holstein; and the czar of Muscovy, Peter, afterwards justly surnamed the Great, the founder and legislator of a vast empire, the civilizer of a nation of savages, himself a barbarian in his manners, a politician, and a hero, thirsted after the conquest of  
Ingria,

*Ingria*, a province which had formerly been annexed to the *Russian* dominions. The first appearances of hostilities were observed on the side of *Holstein*. *Frederick IV.* was preparing to attack the young duke, who claimed the king of *Sweden*'s protection. *Charles* marched a considerable body of forces to his succour; but, before the arrival of the *Swedes*, *Holstein* was ravaged, the castle of *Gottorp* taken, and close siege laid to *Tonningen* by the king of *Denmark* in person, assisted by the troops of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Wolfenbuttle*, and *Hesse-Cassel*. *England* and *Holland*, as guarantees, in concert with *Sweden*, of the treaty of *Altena*, joined *Charles* against this confederacy, and sent fleets to the *Baltick*. First, however, they tried the method of negotiation; and proposed, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from *Holstein*, and the affairs of the dutchy restored upon the antient footing. *Charles* and the duke accepted the proposals; but they were haughtily rejected by the *Danish* monarch, who too much relied upon the alliance of *Russia*, *Poland*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, while he despised the youth and inexperience of the king of *Sweden*.

A. D.  
1699.

By this time almost all the towns of *Holstein-Gottorp* had submitted to the duke of *Wurtemberg*, at the head of the *Danish* army. That general hoped that *Tonningen* would yield to the terror of a bombardment; but he was deceived. The inhabitants seemed animated, by the imminence of the danger, to a more strenuous defence of their liberty; and king *Frederick* found it necessary to accelerate the siege by his personal appearance in the camp. He ordered the town to be stormed; and had the mortification to see his troops driven headlong from the walls by a handful of *Swedes*, led on by general *Bannier*. This determined him to raise the siege: some writers, however, attribute this measure to the influence of the *French* ambassador. Possibly the true reason was the necessity which *Frederick* was under of marching to the relief of his capital, then invested by the *Swedish* monarch.

*CHARLES*, having intrusted the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of a council, chosen out of the senate, set out on the eighth of *May* from his capital, never more to return thither, embarked at *Carlsroon*, and joined the fleet of the allies. Making a descent with the whole on the island of *Zealand*, he defeated a body of cavalry that opposed his landing, marched towards the capital, and was preparing to lay siege to *Copenhagen* by sea and land, when the *Danish* monarch, then in *Holstein*, beheld with astonishment and terror the celerity of *Charles*'s motions, and the danger of his capital and kingdom. He saw the *Baltick* covered with a hostile navy, a young

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young conqueror in the heart of his dominions, his capital ready to surrender, his people overwhelmed with consternation, and his whole kingdom a scene of dread and confusion. His embarrassed circumstances obliged him to sue for peace: he saw the necessity of doing justice to the duke of *Holslein*, or of having *Copenhagen* laid in ashes. The former was his choice: a negotiation was begun at *Bramstede*, continued at *Travendal*, and finally concluded in the space of eleven days, on much the same conditions as the treaty of *Altena*. Thus *Charles*, whose youth and inexperience exposed him to the machinations of all his neighbours, finished in six weeks a war by his vigorous conduct, reduced the most powerful of his enemies to submission, and at eighteen years of age became the terror of the North, and the admiration of all Europe<sup>a</sup>.

BEING now at liberty to turn his arms against the other princes who had conspired his ruin, the young Swedish monarch was leading his troops against *Augustus* of *Poland*, who was laying siege to *Riga*, the capital of *Livonia*, when advice arrived that the czar of *Muscovy* had invested *Narva* with one hundred thousand men. *Charles* has been falsely charged with beginning this war: the czar first commenced hostilities, and his declaration evinces, that ambition, and the hope of profiting by the situation of *Sweden*, were the motives of his conduct. Perhaps the strongest reasons that appear in his declaration of war are, that sufficient honours had not been paid him when he passed incognito to *Riga*, and that provisions had been sold at an exorbitant price to his ambassadors. In the depth of winter, when the *Baltick* was scarce navigable, *Charles* embarked at *Carlskroon*, and landed at *Pernau* in *Livonia* with part of his forces, the rest being ordered to *Rand*. His army did not exceed twenty thousand men; but he had every advantage besides numbers over the *Russians*. The czar and the duke *de Croy*, a *German*, were the only soldiers among the besiegers: their example was to civilize and instruct a vast multitude of untutored barbarians. The nobility of *Russia* had been accustomed to march at the head of a tumultuous crowd of slaves. *Peter* wisely fell upon the only method of establishing discipline and subordination: he began himself with the meanest employments in the army, and beat a drum before he wielded a truncheon. *Charles*, on the contrary, set out a general at the head of the best disciplined troops in *Europe*. He marched towards *Narva*, and found that the czar had thrown every possible obstruction in his way. Thirty

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. i.

thousand men were posted on the road in a defile, to oppose his passage: this corps was supported by another composed of twenty thousand *Streletzes*, and posted some leagues nearer *Narva*. The czar himself was set out to hasten the march of a reinforcement he expected of forty thousand men, with which he intended attacking the *Swedes* in flank and rear; but the rapidity, the fortune, and the valour of king *Charles* baffled every endeavour. With four thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, he advanced in person, ordering the army to follow with all convenient expedition. With no more than eight thousand men he attacked the *Russian* armies, one after another, and defeated them, pushing his way to the czar's camp before *Narva*, which he found fortified in a manner that ought to have removed the contempt he always entertained of *Peter's* capacity. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation had been formed, and fortified by redoubts, and one hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon placed in front, but these arts of defence *Charles* regarded as the precautions of fear. He scarce gave his troops, fatigued with a long march, and three successive engagements, time to rest before he issued orders for attacking a fortified camp, defended by eighty thousand men, with a body not exceeding a tenth of that number. One of his officers having remonstrated to him on the rashness of the attempt, "What, says *Charles*, do you doubt whether the king of *Sweden* with eight thousand men shall not beat the czar of *Muscovy* with eighty thousand?" The czar, however, was not present; he was then assembling another army.

On the thirtieth of *November* the *Swedes* began battering the *Russian* intrenchments; and, having effected a breach, flanked advanced with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, pouring in their fire quite in the face of the enemy, and sustaining the shock of the whole weight of the *Russian* army with admirable constancy and intrepidity. For half an hour the engagement was obstinate, and victory doubtful. The enemy stood the *Swedish* fire without yielding an inch; and the king, to distract them, made an attack on another quarter of the camp. Here likewise he was received more warmly than he expected. Upon the enemy's first discharge, a ball grazed along his shoulder, and wounded him slightly. Soon after his horse was killed: a second horse had his head shot off by a cannon-ball; and *Charles*, mounting the third, cried out, peevishly, "These fellows will give me exercise." In the space of three hours the intrenchments were carried; and the king with four

<sup>a</sup> Id. *ibid.*

thousand men, that composed the wing which he commanded in person, pursued a flying army of fifty thousand men to the river *Narva*. The bridge gave way under the weight of the fugitive *Russians*, and the river was immediately covered with floating bodies. Great numbers returned in despair to the camp, and defended themselves for a while : but at last the generals *Gallowin* and *Federowitz* surrendered; thirty thousand were either killed in the intrenchments and pursuit, or drowned in the *Narva*; twenty thousand surrendered at discretion, and were dismissed unarmed; the rest were dispersed. An hundred and fifty pieces of fine cannon, twenty-eight mortars, one hundred and fifty-one pair of colours, twenty standards, and all the baggage of the enemy were taken; and what was still more important, the duke *de Croÿ*, the prince of *Georgia*, and seven other generals, were in the number of the prisoners. Nothing could be more glorious to the *Swedish* monarch than a victory gained under such circumstances, except the generosity he shewed to the conquered. Being informed that the tradesmen of *Narva* refused to trust the officers whom he had detained prisoners, he sent the duke *de Croÿ* 1 thousand ducats, and every inferior officer a proportionable sum; thereby equally securing their admiration of his liberality and valour<sup>a</sup>.

MEAN time the czar was advancing with forty thousand men to surround the *Swedes*. On receiving intelligence of the defeat before *Narva*, he was greatly chagrined, but not disconcerted. "I knew, said he, that the *Swedes* would "beat us; but in time they will teach us to beat them." He returned to his own dominions, applied himself diligently to raising another army, and bestowed the utmost labour in establishing discipline, and removing the terror which had overspread all his dominions. He evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, abandoned for a time his great projects, and suffered *Charles* to exhaust his strength, diminish his forces, and empty his treasury in prosecuting his quarrel with *Augustus* of *Poland*.

Charles  
attacks the  
king of  
Poland.

*Charles* had actually determined to attack *Poland*, as soon as he had reduced the king of *Denmark* and the czar of *Muscovy* to the necessity of relinquishing their ambitious designs. While he was marching to *Narva*, he ordered magazines to be formed at *Lais*. "I am going, says he, to beat "the *Muscovites*: get magazines ready at *Lais*; I will take "that place in my way to beat the *Poles* and *Saxons*." The event justified the prediction, however vain-glorious it might appear, and an attack was what *Augustus* expected. For this

<sup>a</sup> VOLT. lib. i. p. 53.

reason he united himself more closely with the czar; and both princes met at *Birsén*, to concert the measures of defence against a warrior whose victories threatened all the kingdoms of the North with subjection. It was agreed, that *Augustus* should lend the czar fifty thousand *German* soldiers, to be paid by *Muscovy*; that the czar should send an equal number of his troops to be trained up to the art of war in *Poland*; and that he should pay the king the sum of three millions of six-dollars in the space of two years. *Charles* had notice of the treaty and the interview; and by means of his minister, count *Piper*, found the method of frustrating the effects, which might have proved fatal to *Sweden*, and indeed to all *Europe*.

THE *Swedish* army had wintered at *Lais*, where they were *Charles* joined by a reinforcement from *Sweden*. As early as the sea-defeats the son permitted, *Charles* took the field, and suddenly appeared on *Saxons* the river *Duna*, along the banks of which the *Saxon* army was posted. They had been foiled in the attempt on *Riga*, the king of *Poland* was sick, and the *Saxon* army was now commanded by *Ferdinand* duke of *Courland*, marechal *Stenan*, and general *Paykel*, all officers of valour and experience. They had fortified certain islands which defended the mouth of the river, and taken every other precaution against an attack. Their numbers were nearly equal to those of the *Swedes*; the soldiers were hardy, well disciplined, and faithful; but *Charles* surmounted every difficulty. He contrived a kind of light boats for crossing the river, with high sides, to screen his troops from the fire of the enemy; and observing that the wind blew from the north, ordered large quantities of wet straw to be set on fire, the smoke of which blew directly in the enemy's faces, and effectually covered his motions. By these means he established a landing, fell upon the *Saxons* with great fury, and, after an obstinate engagement, obtained a complete victory. The *Swedes* at first were put in disorder, and driven back to the river; but *Charles*, with astonishing composure, rallied them in the water, led them back, carried all the enemy's works, pursued them for two leagues, killed two thousand five hundred men on the spot, took fifteen hundred prisoners, together with thirty-six pieces of cannon, five pair of colours, six standards, and all the *Saxon* baggage\* (A).

\* Hist. de Pologn. per abbe PARTHENAY, tom. i. lib. iii.

(A) The reader will perceive in a separate volume. We have the necessity of our taking only only, indeed, touched upon such a cursory view of the affairs of events as properly belonged to *Poland*, which are to be related the history of *Sweden*.

NEXT day general *Morner* was detached to take possession of *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*. The garrison surrendered almost at the first summons, and all the other ports and towns in the dutchy followed the example of the metropolis. His majesty passed to *Lithuania*, reduced all the towns by his presence, advanced to *Birsen*, where a few months before the czar and king of *Poland* had planned his destruction, and by the terror of his name obliged twenty thousand *Russians* to retreat with the utmost precipitation. It was now that he projected the great design of dethroning *Augustus*, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in *Saxony*: he imagined he might do the same in *Poland*, and by this conduct lost the hearts of his people. With fine talents, and extraordinary accomplishments, king *Augustus* suffered himself to become the tool of a fierce warlike barbarian, who took advantage of this slip in his administration. The *Poles* murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by *Saxon* garrisons, and their frontiers covered with *Russian* armies. The republic of *Poland*, jealous of her liberty, regarded the war with *Sweden* as a measure of the count to introduce foreign troops. She perceived, that, if she was proved unfortunate, the country would be exposed to the invasion of the *Swedes*; if otherwise, it would be subjected to *Saxons* and *Russians*. The alternative was either being enslaved by their own king, or ravaged by the *Swedish* monarch. When *Charles* advanced to the heart of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* ventured to speak their sentiments freely: they clamoured against the war, and against their sovereign; and with the more freedom, says *Voltaire*, that he was unfortunate. Besides, the *Swedes* had a strong party in *Lithuania*, at that time divided by faction. The princes of *Sapieha* sought the *Swedish* king's protection against their inveterate and implacable enemy the house of *Ogienski*. All these circumstances, and the weakness of the *Polish* standing army, determined him to push his design with vigour, which he first communicated in a letter to *Radziewisch*, cardinal-primate of *Poland*. This important personage, together with all the adherents of the princes of *Sobiecki*, and indeed the principal nobility, he soon gained, rather out of opposition to *Augustus* than affection for the king of *Sweden*. When the diet was called, it appeared that his *Swedish* majesty had more influence in that assembly than the king of *Poland*. *Charles* acted with more policy in this than upon any other occasion: the deepest project of an intire revolution was concerted between the cardinal-primate and count *Piper*, the prelate all the while concealing his sentiments from *Augustus*, and pretending the strongest

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strongest attachment to his sovereign, the more securely to become his most dangerous enemy. Intrigues and cabals were held with impenetrable privacy at his house, while he was publishing circular letters to the people to keep them steady in their fidelity to *Augustus*. The diet was filled with confusion: at last it broke up in disorder, and the affairs of the kingdom came into the hands of the senate, less numerous, consequently less tumultuous, and more accustomed to business. Here the *Swedish* party was full as strong as in the diet: it was agreed they should send an embassy to *Charles*<sup>a</sup>, and that the *pospolite* should mount, and be ready against all events; but the chief regulations respected the king's authority, which it was the great aim of the senate to retrench.

*AUGUSTUS* now, when too late, perceived his error: he could not, however, think of retracting; and preferred receiving hard laws from the victorious *Charles*, rather than from subjects he had been used to consider as slaves. It was to avoid this bitter disgrace that he determined to solicit a peace upon any terms; but in what manner to set on foot a negotiation, without giving umbrage to the senate, he was at a loss. It was at last resolved to commit the whole to the management of the countess of *Konigsfmark*, a lady famous for her wit and beauty, a native of *Sweden*, and for that reason privileged to make a visit to her natural sovereign, without incurring suspicion. She set out for *Lithuania*; but as *Charles* refused to see her, and all the stratagems she had laid proved abortive, she was therefore forced to return, chagrined and disappointed, to *Warsaw*. The ambassadors of the senate, on the contrary, immediately obtained an audience. They requested, that his majesty would maintain the peace between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic, protect the country, and suffer them to enter into conferences with his ministers. The king granted all they desired, assuring them, that he took arms against the *Saxons*, in defence of the liberties of the *Poles*, whom he should ever esteem his friends and allies. Accordingly the conferences were appointed to be held at *Kinschin*; but *Charles* soon altered his mind, and told the ambassadors he would confer with them at *Warsaw*<sup>b</sup>.

MEAN time *Augustus*, finding that his scheme of peace *Enters Poland* was frustrated, threw himself upon the senate; but met with land, and so rough a repulse, that he determined once more to have recourse to the haughty *Swede*. With this view he detached his chamberlain to *Charles*; but a passport being forgot, *Charles* ordered the ambassador to be arrested. The *Swedish* monarch

<sup>a</sup> VOLT. lib. ii. PUFFEND. lib. vii. <sup>b</sup> Id. ib.



continued to advance towards the capital of *Poland*, where all was in confusion by this sudden resolution. Almost all the nobility fled to their country-seats; and king *Augustus* was left in the metropolis of his dominions attended only by foreign ambassadors, and a few palatines attached to his person and fortune. With these he held a council, where it was agreed to have recourse to arms, since nothing could be obtained in the way of negotiation: however, this little council, though strongly in the king's interest, would not suffer more than six thousand *Saxons* to remain in *Poland*; insisting too, that this slender body should be commanded by the grand general of *Poland*; so much were they attached to the privileges of the republic. Upon this resolution he quitted *Warsaw*, just as *Charles* had approached within a few miles of the city. A summons was immediately sent to the inhabitants, who, finding that resistance was in vain, presented the keys to the *Swedish* monarch; but the citadel held out some days <sup>a</sup>.

No sooner were the *Swedes* in possession of *Cracow* than the primate was seized with a strong inclination of having a personal conference with *Charles*; to effect which he persuaded *Augustus*, that he had some hints given him that the king of *Sweden* was disposed to listen to terms, provided they were properly insinuated. *Augustus* knew the prelate's address and dexterity; but he did not yet suspect his fidelity. Accordingly he was deputed to the *Swedish* camp, in conjunction with the count *Lesinskey*, to set on foot a negotiation. The false prelate converted the opportunity to his own purposes; and, in a personal interview with the enemy of his country, plotted the fall of his sovereign.

By this time the king of *Poland* published orders for assembling the *pospolite*; but it proved no more than a vain ceremony. His whole dependence was on the *Saxon* army, now advanced to the frontiers, and on the nobility of the palatinate of *Cracow*, who came in a body to offer their fortunes and lives to his majesty. As soon as the *Poles* and *Saxons* were joined, *Augustus* marched in quest of his enemy, determined to rest his crown on the issue of a battle. *Charles* had intimation of his design, and went as far as *Glissaw* to meet the combined army of *Poles* and *Saxons*, which he found encamped in a very advantageous situation, and greatly superior in number to the *Swedes*. Without regarding these difficulties, and the fatigue of his troops, he attacked the enemy with almost incredible fury and irresistible impetuosity. The front of the *Poles* was covered by a morass; but *Charles* pushed the attack

*The Poles  
and Sax-  
ons de-  
feated.*

<sup>a</sup> PARTHENAY, lib. iv.

With such vigour, that the enemy were soon put in disorder, and defeated, though *Augustus* led them thrice back to the charge. The *Saxon* left wing, however, attacked the right of the *Swedes* with intrepidity, and would have overpowered them with numbers, had not several regiments been detached from the left to their support. After an obstinate conflict, the *Saxons* were at length driven behind the morais, and at last from the field, in despite of the strength of their situation, their pallisadoes, chevaux de frise, and their own valour. Thus, with a body of twelve thousand men, *Charles* gained a complete victory over thirty thousand brave well-disciplined forces, led on by a king who was fighting for his crown, his resentment, and his honour. Four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, two thousand were made prisoners, together with all the *Saxon* cannon and baggage<sup>a</sup>.

His *Swedish* majesty pursued the blow, marched strait to *Cracow*, whither *Augustus* fled before him, and took every possible measure to render this action decisive. The citizens of the capital had the courage to shut their gates in the face of the conqueror: they were forced open, and the citadel a second time taken; but the *Swedes* offered not the least violence to the inhabitants. Having just refreshed his troops, the *Swedish* monarch quitted the capital, with intention to pursue the enemy, and prevent their assembling another army; but he had marched only a few leagues when his horse fell under him, by which accident he broke his thigh, and was forced to return to *Cracow*, where he remained six weeks under the hands of his surgeons. By this means *Augustus* had some respite, which he turned to all possible advantage. He assembled the different orders of the kingdom at *Marienburg*, and next at *Lublin*. The assembly was numerous, and intirely gained by the presents, the promises, and the address of *Augustus*, whose affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, were never so fully exerted as in his distress. Even the cardinal primate appeared affected by his misfortunes; he waited on the king, kissed his hand, and offered to serve him with his influence, fortune, and life, though the temporizing ecclesiastic soon renounced the duty and allegiance which he had solemnly sworn. By the diet it was resolved, that the republic should maintain an army of fifty thousand men for the service of the prince; that six weeks should be given the *Swedes* to declare whether they made choice of peace or of war; and the same space of time granted to the princes of the house of *Sapieha*, and other au-

A. D.  
1703.

<sup>a</sup> PARTHENAY Hist. Polog. l. iv. t. ii.

*The Sax-  
ons are  
again de-  
feated.*

thors of the troubles in *Lithuania*, to make their concessions. To destroy the effects of the resolutions formed by the diet at *Lublin*, *Charles* convoked another diet at *Warsaw*. These two assemblies disputed about the rights and the constitution of the republic, while the *Swedish* monarch having recovered of his wound, and received a strong reinforcement from *Pomerania*, marched against the remains of the army he had defeated at *Glissaw*. Throwing a bridge over the *Vistula*, he came up with the Saxons, commanded by general *Stenau*, gave them battle at *Pultausck* on the first day of *May*, and intirely routed and dispersed them, before he had well entered upon an engagement; such was the terror of his name. *Augustus* fled to *Thorn* in *Prussia-Royal*; and finding that the king of *Sweden* proposed laying siege to that place, he retired for the greater security to *Saxony*. His *Polish* majesty offered to surrender the town, on condition the garrison might be allowed to withdraw to *Saxony*; but *Charles* answered, that he invested the place merely with a view of becoming master of the troops that defended it. The season was almost spent before the *Swedes* could get up their battering cannon; then *Thorn* was attacked with vigour, and defended with intrepidity by general *Rovel*, and a garrison of five thousand Saxons. After the walls had been battered for a month, a breach was at last effected, and the *Swedes* preparing to storm it, when *Rovel* surrendered at discretion, and the garrison were sent prisoners to *Sweden* <sup>b</sup>.

WHILE the *Swedish* army was employed in this siege, the magistrates of *Dantzick* ventured to disoblige *Charles*, at a time when all the princes of the North trembled at his name. They refused to suffer convoys coming to the *Swedish* army to pass up the river, and were soon punished for their temerity, general *Steinboeck* having levied a heavy contribution upon the burghers. *Elbing*, for much the same reason, was handled more roughly. *Charles* entered the town in person, quartered his troops upon the citizens, whom he disarmed, raised a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns, and seized upon two hundred pieces of cannon, and four hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, lodged in the arsenal.

*Augustus  
is deposed.  
A. D.  
1704.*

WHILE *Charles* was gaining advantages, equal to victories in their consequence, the diet at *Warsaw* regularly deposed king *Augustus*; and the cardinal primate, who had lately sworn eternal allegiance to him, pronounced the sentence, whereby he was declared incapable of wearing the diadem. Count *Piper* advised the king of *Sweden* to propose himself a

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. l. vii. VOL. 1. ii.

candidate for the crown of *Poland*; but *Charles* had already determined it should be bestowed on *James Sobieski*, the eldest son of the late king of *Poland*; but this prince being seized in the neighbourhood of *Breslau*, and carried prisoner with his brother *Constantine* to *Leipsick*, by a party of *Saxon* dragoons, the crown was offered to prince *Alexander Sobieski*. The generous prince could not however be prevailed on to take advantage of his brother's misfortune: he requested *Charles* to revenge the injury done his family; to employ his victorious arms in giving liberty to the unhappy captives; and to penetrate into *Saxony*; all which *Charles* readily promised. Several disputes however had arisen in the diet at *Warsaw* since the king's absence. To give an account of them, young *Stanislaus Lecinski*, palatine of *Poznania*, was detached to the *Swedish* army by the assembly. The impression which the figure, the address, and the character of this nobleman, made on *Charles*, obliterated the promise made to prince *Alexander Sobieski*. He declared his intention of giving the crown of *Stanislaus Poland* to *Stanislaus*. His election proved extremely agreeable to the diet; and even the primate, who was desirous of prolonging his own authority during the inter-regnum, could not deny that *Stanislaus* possessed merit which deserved a crown, though he insinuated that his youth and inexperience rendered him incapable of governing so capricious a nation. These objections had no weight with *Charles*; he told the primate, "I think *Stanislaus* is about my age;" fixed the day for the election; and in five days after (*July 12*) his first resolution, placed the crown on the head of the young palatine of *Poznania*, in despite of all the intrigues of the primate, who absented himself from the diet on the day of election, and watched the opportunity of equally prejudicing *Augustus*, to whom he had sworn obedience, and *Stanislaus*, to whom he had refused paying allegiance.

WHILE *Charles* was employed in giving a monarch to *Poland*, his troops dispersed up and down the country had frequent skirmishes with the adherents of *Augustus*. In general, they proved victorious; but on one occasion a body of four hundred *Swedes* was cut off by the *Saxons* and *Lithuanians*. To revenge this disgrace, *Charles* suddenly set out for *Newstad* with the bulk of his army, in expectation of surprising king *Augustus* in the neighbourhood of *Jarislau*. In this he was disappointed, and therefore resolved upon laying siege to *Leopold*, the capital of the great palatinate of *Russia*. It

• VOLT. l. iii. PARTHEN. t. i. 393.

Augustus  
returns to  
the capital.

was imagined the city would hold out a fortnight, by means of the numerous garrison, and strong fortifications erected by king *Augustus*; but *Charles* carried it by assault in one day, put all who resisted to the sword, and took the prince *Galeschi*, and the palatine of *Kalisch* prisoners. This was one of the most glorious conquests made by the *Swedish* monarch, and the place was deemed the most important and strongest in *Poland*. Here he found a booty of four hundred chests of gold and silver coin, plate, jewels, and other effects of great value. King *Augustus* however gave him the slip, took the route of *Warsaw*, and was on the point of surprising his rival, who lived in the capital in perfect security, while the king of *Sweden* was fighting his battles and deciding his quarrel. Reinforced by nine thousand *Russians*, and finding the passes open, *Augustus* advanced by forced marches to the city, took possession, obliged *Stanislaus* to cross the *Vistula* with precipitation, appeared again as sovereign of the country, taxed the inhabitants beyond their ability, gave the prime minister's house, with those of the adherents of the young king, to be plundered by his soldiers. It was remarkable that the pope's nuncio, who attended *Augustus* in every revolution of fortune, now demanded that the bishop of *Posnania* should be put into his hands; and *Augustus*, willing to gratify the holy see, complied with the request, and surrendered the bishop, who, after seeing his palace plundered by the soldiers, was carried to the nuncio's lodgings, and sent from thence to *Saxony*, where he died.

ALL this while count *Horn*, with fifteen hundred *Swedes*, vigorously defended the citadel. At last, the place being no longer tenable, he was forced to surrender at discretion, and with this additional mortification, that he was the first *Swedish* general officer who had fallen into the hands of the king of *Poland* (A). He was treated with the utmost respect, and released upon his parole, with several other *Swedish* officers,

(A) *Volktaire* relates, that when count *Horn* was released upon his parole, he visited his master the king of *Sweden* at *Leopold*, and took the liberty of complaining to him, that his majesty had not succoured *Warsaw*. "Be not under any concern," answered *Charles*; "we must let *Augustus* do something by "way of amusement, otherwise he will tire of such neighbours; but take my word he will be able to draw no very important consequence from this advantage, and your conduct has sufficiently guarded your honour against the reproach of malice" (1).

(1) *Voltaire*, *Vie de C.* XII. l. iii.

all of whom were struck with the affability, the generosity, and the noble manner of *Augustus* <sup>a</sup>.

THE reduction of *Warsaw*, and the consequent advantages, was no more than the last struggle of the *Polish* monarch, who was about to yield all to the superior fortune of the king of *Sweden*, and his rival *Stanislaus*. His troops were composed of *Saxon* recruits, and undisciplined, unattached *Poles*, ready to forsake him on the first danger. *Charles*, accompanied by *Stanislaus*, was advancing with a victorious army; the *Saxons* fled before him, and the towns for several leagues round sent him their submissions. The *Poles* and *Saxons* were under the command of *Schullemberg*; a general fruitful in stratagem, cautious, wary, and sagacious, who used every expedient to check the progress of the *Swedes*, by seizing the advantageous posts, and sacrificing small parties to procure the safety of the whole, and mislead the enemy. However, with all his penetration, *Schullemberg* was deceived and out-generaled. After a variety of motions, artifices, and counter-marches, he pitched his camp near *Punitz*, in the palatinate of *Poznan*, imagining the *Swedish* monarch must have been at the distance at least of fifty leagues, and was astonished to find that he was just in the neighbourhood, ready to fall upon him unprepared. The truth was, *Charles* had marched all that space in nine days, imagining the *Saxons* would take this route. With a superior army, but intirely composed of horse, *Charles* attacked the enemy, posted in a manner which prevented the possibility of their being surrounded. *Schullemberg* received the charge with intrepidity: his first rank, being armed with pikes and fuses, presented a kind of rampart composed of bayonets. The second line stooping over the kneeling first rank fired over their heads; while the third line standing erect, kept up a perpetual fire, extremely galled the *Swedish* horse, and put them in disorder. This was almost the first line of horse that had been regularly opposed to foot in the northern wars; the superiority of the latter was obvious in the present instance, and *Charles* lost the opportunity of destroying the whole *Saxon* army, by omitting to order his horse to dismount. This was what the *Saxon* expected; he dreaded the consequence, and he rejoiced at the oversight. After the engagement had continued for three hours, the *Saxons* retreated in good order, leaving the field, but not a victory to the *Swedes*. *Charles* pursued the enemy *Schullemberg* to *Gurau*, and obliged them to retreat towards the *Oder*, thro' thick woods almost impervious even to infantry; however,

The fine  
retreat of

<sup>a</sup> PARTHEN. L V.

the *Swedish* horse pushed their way through, and at last enclosed *Schullemberg* between the wood and the river *Oder*, where he doubted not he must surrender at discretion, or die sword in hand, as he had not boats or bridges; but the genius of the *German* general supplied every want; in the night he ordered planks and floats of trees to be fastened together, upon which he waded over his troops, while the *Swedes* were employed in dislodging three hundred men which he had placed in a windmill to defend his flank, and keep the enemy in diversion. Nothing could be more glorious than this retreat; *Charles* spoke of it with admiration, and said he had been conquered by *Schullemberg*; but no benefit resulted to *Augustus*, who was again forced to quit *Poland*, retire into *Saxony*, and fortify the capital of his hereditary dominions, which he every day expected to see invested. In *Poland* there remained a few scattered parties, unable to make head against the victorious *Charles*, leading a numerous disciplined army, flushed with conquest<sup>b</sup>.

*Charles becomes master of Poland.*

*POLAND* was now intirely in the hands of the *Swedes*, who had likewise defeated divers corps of *Russians*, unable, or rather unwilling, since the battle of *Narva*, to try the fortune of a general engagement. Wherever the *Swedes* were, victory attended; they regarded no inequality of numbers; and *Schullemberg* was the first who had shewn *Charles* that other troops besides the *Swedes* understood the art of war. In *Livonia* indeed the great superiority of the *Russians* rendered it scarce possible for the *Swedish* general *Sclippenbach* to keep his ground. Ever since the battle of *Narva* he had, with the utmost diligence, provided for the defence of that place and of *Derpt*, judging that the enemy's first efforts would be directed against towns so necessary to the conquest of the province. He strengthened his little army with new levies, made incursions into the enemy's territories, but was obliged to drop offensive measures, by the crouds of *Muscovites* who poured in like a torrent into the province. They seized on all the posts on the river *Narva*, blocked up the town on all sides, and entirely cut off the communication between the garrison and the sea. A small *Swedish* squadron in vain endeavoured to penetrate to the relief of *Narva*, in order to throw in provisions. The admiral finding this impossible, contented himself with landing a battalion of twelve hundred men on the coast of *Esthonia*, to reinforce *Sclippenbach*, who advanced as far as *Wissenberg*, to favour the debarkation and junction. He was attacked on his march by eight thousand

*The Russians take Narva and other towns.*

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* Vol. 7. l. iii.

*Russians*, whom he obstinately opposed for several hours, with no more than fourteen hundred horse; but was in the end obliged to retreat, with the loss of two pieces of cannon. Not discouraged by this repulse, *Schippenbach* pursued his resolution to relieve *Narva* with indefatigable diligence; but the prodigious numbers of the *Russians*, and the prudence of the czar, baffled all his endeavours. That prince now conducted the siege in person, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour. Count *Horn*, already famous for the brave defence of the same place, resisted all his endeavours with all the arts that experience, genius, and courage could inspire; but an unforeseen accident destroyed the fruits of his labour. The foundation of a principal bastion failed; the building tumbled to the ground, buried great part of the garrison in its ruins, and opened a breach so large, that one hundred men might mount a-breast. Czar *Peter* ordered it immediately to be stormed by eighteen thousand chosen men. The *Swedes* defended the breach with admirable constancy, and several times drove the *Russians* from the walls; but being divided by opposing three other attacks, fatigued and quite spent with their long resistance, and at last overpowered by numbers, the enemy entered tumultuously, spared neither age nor sex, put all to the sword except the garrison, part of which surrendered at discretion, the rest retiring to the citadel of *Iwanograd*:

*DERPT*, notwithstanding all the pains taken for its defence, shared the same fate. An army of twenty thousand *Russians* laid siege to it, and continued for a whole month to batter the walls with heavy cannon, and shower in bombs into the town. The besieged, who did not exceed fifteen hundred men, neglected nothing to repulse the enemy; sallies, stratagems, and surprizes, were all practised to annoy the besiegers; but all served only to prolong the siege. The garrison, after a brave resistance, was forced to surrender upon condition, that they should march out with their arms and baggage, and be escorted to *Revel* at the expence of the *Russians*. This part of the capitulation was broke; the enemy refused to transport the soldiers, and, contrary to the faith of treaty, detained the officers prisoners for several days; but the menaces of the court of *Stockholm* at length obliged them to do justice and fulfil their engagements.

AFTER the reduction of *Narva*, the castle of *Iwanograd* was summoned by general *Ogilby*, a Scotch officer in the *Russian* service; however, the garrison determined to stand in



their defence: they held out a few days, and then obtained honourable conditions, which were badly observed. Not only this garrison, but count *Horn* and the officers taken at *Narva*, were sent to *Moscow*, where they were thrown into a dungeon, and in every respect treated like the prisoners of a barbarous people, deaf to the dictates of honour and humanity. Czar *Peter* imagining that the terror of these conquests would force *Revel* into submission, marched within a few leagues of that city; but finding that the garrison had provided for a vigorous defence, he did not think proper to lay regular siege at so unfavourable a season of the year. Then having left garrisons in the places in his possession, he returned with the rest of the army to *Russia*.

A. D. 1705. *The pope opposes Stanislaus*

SINCE the retreat of *Augustus*, *Poland* was wholly governed by the king of *Sweden*, the new king *Stanislaus* being intirely led by his counsels. Preparations were made for the coronation of this prince, before fortune should a second time drive him from his capital. A diet was appointed to meet at *Warsaw*; and the opposition of the court of *Rome* seemed the only obstacle to the full establishment of *Stanislaus*. The pontiff could not avoid declaring for *Augustus*, who for a crown had abjured the Protestant religion, and preferring him to *Stanislaus* set up by the heretic king of *Sweden*. Accordingly he published briefs, denouncing excommunication against the primate and any of the *Polish* bishops who should assist at the intended coronation. It was the business of *Charles* and *Stanislaus* to prevent the dispersion of these briefs; some of them however found their way to *Warsaw*, and strongly influenced either the superstitious, who paid implicit obedience to the pope, or the politic, who wanted to enhance the value of their declaration in favour of the young monarch. Placarts were likewise published, by which ecclesiastics of all degrees were prohibited meddling with affairs of government; and for the greater security, the doors of the prelates houses were guarded by armed soldiers, to prevent the ingress or egress of strangers; and *Charles* took upon himself the odium of these little severities, that there might no difference happen between *Stanislaus* and the clergy on his first accession. Both princes solicited the cardinal primate to perform the ceremony of the coronation; but that prelate retired to *Dantzick*, to avoid consecrating a king elected contrary to his inclinations. However, he made shift to steer with such steadiness as prevented his disobliging either *Augustus*, *Charles*, *Stanislaus*, or the pope; and yet all had reason to blame his cunning, chicane, and tergiversation, to despise the

the man; though they could not lay just hold of any part of his conduct<sup>a</sup>.

THE proceedings of the diet, together with the authority of the king of *Sweden*, and the flight of *Augustus*, drew over several of the nobility to espouse *Stanislaus*, who had been the staunch adherents of his rival. *Smielgiskia*, starost of *Gnesna*, the most determined follower of the fortune of king *Augustus*, made several spirited attempts in his favour; but all his exploits produced no real advantage to his master, who was forced to have recourse to the mediation of his *Prussian* majesty. He solicited the court of *Berlin* to interpose, and procure him peace upon any terms; but his *Prussian* majesty was too prudent to involve himself in a dispute with so warlike and fierce a monarch as the king of *Sweden*. At last *Augustus* lost all hope, on finding that his rival was solemnly crowned at *Warsaw*; that most of the nobility had sworn allegiance to *Stanislaus*; and that none of the powers of *Europe*, except the *Russians*, paid the least regard to the affairs of *Poland*, being either afraid of the king of *Sweden*, or otherwise employed. The czar indeed stretched out a helping hand to the distressed *Augustus*. He met him at *Grodno*, and conferred with him and general *Schullemberg* on the unhappy situation of his affairs. *Augustus* was now dethroned, and for that reason no longer afraid of exasperating the *Poles* by the admission of *Russian* armies into the dominions of the republic; it was resolved therefore that an army of an hundred thousand men should attack the *Swedes* in their new conquests. This prodigious force soon entered *Poland*, and dividing into smaller parties, burnt and destroyed the estates of all those who had declared in favour of *Stanislaus*. Sixty thousand *Cossacks*, under general *Mazeppa*, likewise entered the *Polish* dominions, and ravaged all before them with the fury of barbarians. *Schullemberg* was at the same time advancing with an army of *Saxons*; and if numbers could determine the fate of war, *Charles* must have sunk under the force of his enemies; but conduct, courage, and his good fortune, still prevailed. The *Russian* corps were attacked and defeated so fast, that all the armies were dispersed before either received the news of the misfortunes of *Saxons* the rest. Dislodging forty thousand *Russians* scarcely obstructed the march of the *Swedes*; the enemy, terrified, reduced, dispersed, and ruined, fled precipitately beyond the *Berishenes*, wholly evacuating *Poland*, and leaving *Augustus* to his ill fate<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PUFF. t. vi. l. vii. PARTH. t. ii. l. v. <sup>b</sup> VOLT. l. iii.

A. D.  
1706.

NOR had *Schullemberg* better fortune with all his merit and superiority of numbers. While *Charles* was driving the *Muscovites* before him in *Lithuania*, *Schullemberg* with fourteen thousand *Saxons*, and seven thousand *Russians* disciplined in *Germany*, and reputed excellent soldiers, crossed the *Oder* to give battle to *Renschild*. The *Swede*, notwithstanding he had no more than thirteen battalions and twenty-two squadrons, was equally desirous of coming to an engagement. He marched in quest of the enemy, and found *Schullemberg* posted in a very advantageous situation, with the village of *Jagersdorff* on the right, *Boersdorff* on the left, and the rear defended by the town of *Frauenstaadt*. The *Swedes* formed only one line, drawn up along the river, the foot and horse intermixed, with several battalions of reserve posted advantageously in the rear. With this disposition they attacked the *Saxons*, (*Feb.* 12) drove them from *Punitz*, a place already fatal to the troops of *Augustus*, and in less than half an hour cleared the field, obtained a complete victory, and blighted the great reputation which the long and important services of *Schullemberg* had so deservedly acquired. *Renschild* had before this battle been called the *Parmenio* of the northern *Alexander*; so important a victory, gained over a celebrated general at the head of superior numbers, advantageously posted, and remarkably well disciplined troops, raised his fame upon a level with that of his sovereign, and even excited jealousy in *Charles*, who could not help exclaiming, "Surely *Renschild* will not compare himself to me." It is true, that his cruelty destroyed the fruits of his courage. Six hours after the engagement he ordered above a thousand *Russians* to be massacred in cold blood, to revenge their barbarities in *Poland*, and by this single action rendered infamous a victory which would otherwise have transmitted his name, in the list of *Swedish* heroes, to the latest posterity. Nothing could be more complete than the defeat of the *Saxons*, whose regiments threw down their arms, and begged their lives in the most suppliant posture. Six thousand were slain on the field, and seven thousand taken prisoners; yet *Schullemberg's* disposition was so skilful, that only a panic which seized his troops could occasion his defeat. Thirty-six pieces of cannon, eleven thousand muskets, forty pair of colours and standards, and all the *Saxon* baggage fell into the hands of the *Swedish* general; but the consequences of the victory were still more important. A path was now opened to *Saxony*, and there remained no obstruction to the king of *Sweden's* taking possession of the hereditary dominions of the unfortunate *Augustus*, now a vagrant in *Poland*, in which he possessed not a single

single town besides *Cracow*. He threw himself into this city with a few *Saxon*, *Polish*, and *Russian* regiments, and begun erecting some fortifications for its defence; but the approach of the *Swedish* general *Meyerfeldt*, and the news that the king of *Sweden* had taken possession of *Saxony*, broke his resolution, disconcerted all his measures, and reduced him to the verge of despair.

*CHARLES*, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, *The king* had actually entered the electorate of *Saxony* by the way of *Sweden* *Lusatia*. The diet at *Ratisbon*, without the power of check-<sup>enters</sup>ing his progress, declared him an enemy to the empire, *Saxony*. should he presume to cross the *Oder*; but *Charles* despised their impotent menaces, and pursued the course of conquest; fearless of the whole *Germanic* body, and perhaps glad of an opportunity of rivalling the glory of *Gustavus-Adolphus*, by humbling the pride of the house of *Austria*. Certain it is, that his approach (*Sept. 6.*) overwhelmed *Saxony* with consternation, and indeed spread terror over the whole empire. The *Saxon* peasants deserted their habitations, and the whole country was left a wide desert, until *Charles* published a proclamation that revived their spirits, increased their confidence of his honour, and brought them back to their several employments. The declaration imported, That he had entered *Saxony* with no other view than to bring to a speedy issue an unjust war, excited by the ambition of king *Augustus* and the czar of *Muscovy*; that *Saxony* having abetted and assisted their designs, it was reasonable the electorate should share the punishment, and be disabled from pursuing measures that tended only to the spilling of blood, and the destruction of the human species; that whatever cause he might have for resentment, he was determined to moderate his vengeance, and therefore assured the states and inhabitants of the electorate, that all who remained quietly in their houses, and furnished their contributions for the support of his troops, should enjoy his protection, and be kept in possession of their estates and effects: on the contrary, those who should either take up arms in their defence, absent their persons, or secrete their effects, should be treated with the utmost rigour, as open enemies to his government.

THE effects of this proclamation were equally salutary to the *Swedes* and *Saxons*; the one had every enjoyment of life quietly provided for them, and the others were not only exempted from the terrors of war, but kept in some measure in the possession of their liberties and property; at least that

\* Id. ibid. PUFFEND. l. vii.

little portion of liberty which they enjoyed under their lawful sovereign *Augustus*. The people returned in shoals to their former occupations, industry and labour went on in their usual channel, the strictest order was observed in the *Swedish* army; yet the country was terribly loaded with contributions, and fleeced with taxes (A). From his camp the king issued orders, for assembling the states of *Saxony*, and transmitting to him an exact account of the revenues of the electorate. When he had properly informed himself of what the country could bear, he imposed a monthly tax of 625,000 rix-dollars; and ordained besides, that the inhabitants should furnish every *Swedish* soldier with two pounds of meat, an equal quantity of bread, two quarts of beer, four-pence a-day, and forage sufficient for the cavalry. This contribution was exorbitant; but in return, *Charles* took the most effectual methods of protecting the people against the ravages of the soldiers. It was ordered, that in all the towns where *Swedish* troops were garrisoned or quartered, the innkeepers should give certificates of the behaviour of the soldiers lodged in their houses; without which, the soldier was deprived of his pay. Besides this regulation, inspectors were appointed to visit the quarters every fortnight, and bring an exact report to the king of the behaviour of his forces. In a word, the *Swedes* lived under the severest discipline; but the *Saxons* groaned under the most terrible oppression, of which they durst not complain, because it was authorised by their conqueror (B). All, however, lived in perfect security;

(A) When *Charles* entered the electorate, only a few *Saxons*, and the dragoons of *Gordon* and *Furſteberg*, were found in arms. These were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Gorlitz*, and the *Swedish* monarch sent colonel *Gortz*, with a detachment of horse and foot, to dislodge them; which he performed, after killing major-general *Gordon* with his own hand. The remains of this corps joined themselves to some other *Saxons*, and assembled, to the amount of 5000 men, under general *Schlemberg*. *Gortz* was ordered to attack him; but found that the

*Saxons* were determined to dispute every inch of ground. They fortified themselves in the forest of *Turingerwald* in such a manner, as baffled all the attempts of the *Swedish* colonel. At last, being straitened for provision, and in danger of being wholly surrounded, they made a faint that deceived *Gortz*, and quitted the electorate without the loss of a man. *Puffend. lib. vii.*

(B) *M. Voltaire* relates the following pleasant anecdote, as a proof of the strict discipline observed. "As the king was one day riding out near *Leipzig*, a *Saxon* peasant threw himself

rity; they were a nation of slaves, but then they were protected in their lives, out of regard to the interest of the master. The great fair of *Leipsic* was held as usual; the tradesmen went thither without fear, sold their goods, and returned home with the profits without molestation<sup>a</sup>.

By the defeat of the *Saxon* army, and the seizure of the *Augustus* electorate, *Augustus* was reduced to the utmost despair: he *begs peace* lay exposed to the mercy of the *Russians*, who were naturally his enemies, and cemented now to his interest only by selfish motives. In this extremity, abandoned by the *Poles*, and deprived of the assistance of his hereditary subjects attached to his person, he was forced to write a letter with his own hand to *Charles XII.* soliciting peace upon such terms as the conqueror should think fit to grant. With this letter he charged baron *Imhoff* and monsieur *Pfingsten*, with full powers to sign such a treaty as they could obtain. "Go, said he, and endeavour to procure me reasonable and christian conditions." As he was then in *Poland*, at the mercy of the *Russians*, he dreaded lest those overtures should become public; lest the dangerous ally, whom he wanted to abandon, would revenge this submission to the king of *Sweden*. The transaction was therefore kept a profound secret; his emissaries were introduced to the *Swedish* court in the night, and being presented to *Charles*, received their answer in the following terms, viz. That king *Augustus* should for ever renounce the crown of *Poland*, acknowledge *Stanislaus*, and promise never to re-ascend the throne should an opportunity offer. That he should renounce all treaties with the enemies of *Sweden*, and particularly those subsisting between him and the czar. That he should release the princes *Sobiefski*, and all the *Swedish* prisoners made in the course of the war; surrender *Patkul*, at that time resident at his court, as an-

<sup>a</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii.

<p>"himself at his feet to implore "justice of a soldier, who had "robbed him and his family of "their dinner. The king or- "dering the soldier to be brought "before him, asked, with a stern "countenance, whether what "the peasant alledged was true? "Sir, says the soldier, I have "done him less mischief than "you have done his master. "You have taken a kingdom</p>	<p>"from <i>Augustus</i>, I have only "taken a turkey from the pea- "sant. <i>Charles</i> ordered ten "ducats for the countryman, "and pardoned the soldier for "the wit and boldness of his "reply; telling him, Remem- "ber friend, I have taken a "kingdom, but I have kept "nothing for myself." <i>Voltaire</i>, <i>lib. iii.</i></p>
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ambassador from the czar of *Muscovy*, and stop proceeding against all who had passed from his into the *Swedish* service. These articles *Charles* wrote with his own hand, delivered them to count *Piper*, ordering him to finish the negotiation with the *Saxon* ambassadors. A conference was accordingly set on foot in the neighbourhood of *Leipsic*, which by various accidents was spun out to a considerable length.

*Charles is  
courted by  
all the  
powers in  
Europe.*

MEAN time all the powers united against *France* and *Spain* took the alarm at the irruption made into *Saxony*. The princes of *Germany*, in particular, pressed *Charles* to explain his motives for this extraordinary infraction of the privileges of the *Germanic* body; but they could obtain no satisfactory answer. The emperor finding that menaces were vain, had recourse to soothing, which he imagined might operate more powerfully on the stubborn haughty disposition of the *Swedish* monarch. With this view count *Wratisslaw* was sent to *Saxony*, to apologize for the rough proceedings of the diet at *Ratisbon*, the blame of which was laid on certain fiery, turbulent members of the *Germanic* body. Here too the ministers of *England* and *Holland* paid their compliments to the northern hero; emulous who should gain his favour and regard. *Charles*, indeed, was now at the pinnacle of his glory; feared, courted, and caressed, by the greatest powers in *Europe*, placing a crown on the head of a private nobleman, and ballancing whether he should reduce a sovereign prince to the station of a subject. The plenipotentiaries from *Augustus* used all the arts of intrigue, intreaty, and supplication, to obtain terms more favourable than those prescribed from the conqueror; but *Charles* was inextinguishable, and the constant answer of count *Piper* was, "Such is the will of the king my master, and he never alters his resolution." The peace, consequently, went on but slowly. It was almost impossible for the plenipotentiaries to grant what was required, and *Charles* would hearken to no other conditions. Fortune, however, at last seemed determined to change sides, and for once to smile upon *Augustus*.

DURING the negotiations in *Saxony*, the affairs in *Poland* assumed a different aspect. Notwithstanding *Poleski*, palatine of *Kiovia*, nominated great-general of the crown by *Stanislaus*, had defeated a body of *Tartars*; notwithstanding the same palatine had beat two large corps that had advanced as far as the *Vistula*; yet *Augustus* found means

<sup>b</sup> VOLT. lib. iii. PUFFEND. *ibid.* <sup>c</sup> PARTH. lib. vi.  
VOLT. *ibid.*

to assemble a considerable army, with which, having crossed that river, he obliged the *Swedes* and *Poles* to unite into one army. Prince *Menzikoff*, the great favourite of the czar *Petr*, brought him a reinforcement of thirty thousand *Russians*. This was a supply, though seasonable and fortunate in the issue, by no means agreeable to *Augustus*; who was under the most dreadful apprehensions, says *Voltaire*, lest *Menzikoff* should discover the negotiation carrying on with the king of *Sweden*. According to the *French* writer, he saw himself dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being detained prisoner by his ally, in which situation the *Swedish* general *Meyerfeldt* presented himself to view, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, near half of whom were *Swedes*. The continuator of *Puffendorf* alledges, that *Meyerfeldt* was forced to give battle. *Voltaire* affirms, that *Menzikoff* pressed, and indeed constrained *Augustus* to accept the challenge offered by the *Swede*. In this the abbe *Pastbemay* agrees with M. de *Voltaire*. *Augustus*, under various pretexts, declined attacking the enemy; but finding it impossible longer to avoid coming to action, he determined to send a person, in whom he had confidence, to *Meyerfeldt*, to acquaint him with his situation, and advise him to retreat. The *Swede* imagined a deceit was intended; he therefore ordered six thousand cavalry to cross the *Prosna*, to reconnoitre the enemy; and scarce had they returned, when *Augustus* and *Menzikoff* were in motion to give battle. With no more than ten thousand men he stood firm to sustain the shock of forty thousand *Poles*, *Saxons*, *Russians*, *Cossacks*, and *Calmucs*. With his center, in which he charged with the *Swedes*, he defeated the enemy's first line, and was on the point of breaking the second, when *Stanislaus*, with the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, gave way, suffering the enemy to put them in disorder. *Meyerfeldt* was now sensible that he had lost the victory; but he fought desperately, in hopes of avoiding the disgrace of a defeat. At length, however, he was wholly surrounded, and after an obstinate defence, forced to capitulate, and suffer the *Swedes*, for the first time, to be conquered by *Augustus*. The *French* and *Swiss* regiments, which had deserted from the *Saxons*, perceiving they were to meet with no quarter, took again to their arms, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible; which obliged *Augustus* to grant them the same conditions as the *Swedes*. *Potoski* was taken prisoner, after having fought with astonishing intrepidity at the head of his regiment; and major-general *Krassau*, having repeatedly rallied a body of horse formed into a brigade, at last, by a furious effort, broke through the enemy, and escaped to *Pofuania*.

*Meyerfeldt, the Swedish general, defeated by Augustus and Menzikoff.*



IN this manner king *Augustus* gained a complete victory almost against his inclination, and in the midst of his misfortunes entered triumphant into *Warsaw*. This moment of prosperity served only to sharpen his sufferings, and render *Augustus* more unfortunate. *Charles* became more inflexible when he heard that his troops had been defeated; and the king of *Poland* had but just sung *Te Deum* at *Warsaw*, when his plenipotentiary returned from *Saxony*, with the treaty of peace that deprived him of his crown. He hesitated, scrupled, and at last signed it; after which he set out for *Saxony*, glad of escaping out of the hands of allies, who would not fail to give him fresh cause of uneasiness, were they made acquainted with the circumstances of the treaty. All *Europe* was struck with this important negotiation. Some blamed the rigid spirit of *Charles*, who persisted in dethroning a prince, the ancient ally of his family, and connected by the ties of blood; while others admired his disinterestedness, in thus disposing of a conquered kingdom, without adding a foot of land to his own dominions. All the fruit of his victories consisted in the glory of obtaining them; of having dethroned a king, and placed a crown on the head of a private nobleman.

Treaty  
of Alt-  
Ranstadt.

*AUGUSTUS* was still in hope that a personal interview with *Charles* might soften the heart of that prince, and dispose him to relax in some of the more severe articles. The two kings met at *Güntersdorf*, in count *Piper's* quarters. The conversation at this first meeting turned wholly upon trifles; not a syllable passed on the subject which occasioned the interview. They afterwards dined together, and then *Augustus* endeavoured to prevail on the king of *Sweden* not to insist upon his delivering up *Patkul*, who was actually the minister of the czar of *Muscovy*. This, he said, would be such a breach of the laws of nations, as would give all *Europe* cause to exclaim against his perfidy and pusillanimity. He likewise disputed laying aside the arms and title of king of *Poland*; it is enough, says he, that I have actually resigned the power, the crown, the revenue and the dominions of *Poland*; and with respect to surrendering the crown-jewels to *Stanislaus*, he said, that this ought to be done with the consent of the republic; for should that prince not be able to maintain himself on the throne, the *Poles* might think they had a right to demand the jewels given away without their consent, from the elector of *Saxony*. But the king of *Sweden* was not only immoveable in these and every other article of the treaty; he even exacted terms

\* PARTHENAY, lib. v. tom. ii. VOLT. lib. iii.

which

which were still more intolerable to the spirit and pride of *Augustus*. He obliged the king-elect to send his rival the jewels and archives of *Poland*, with a letter congratulating him on his accession, which *Stanislaus* answered with dignity and politeness, coming in person to *Leipsic*; to visit the prince, whose diadem he wore. This was the summit of the king of *Sweden*'s glory; to see two kings at his court, one of whom he had deposed, and the other established in his throne; it was indeed a barbarous honour which no other prince in *Christendom* could boast. He indeed tarnished the extreme lustre of this glory, by the inhuman inflexibility of his revenge against the unfortunate *Patkul*, now shut up in the castle of *Konegstein* in *Saxony*. *Augustus* laboured all in his power to save this minister, but in vain. He devised an expedient to satisfy the conqueror, and save his own honour, but it did not succeed; *Patkul*'s ill fortune prevailed. *Augustus* sent his guards to deliver up the prisoner to the *Swedish* troops, but not until he had sent an order to the governor of the castle to let him escape. The avarice of the governor, and *Patkul*'s confidence in the regard which would be paid to the laws of nations, frustrated the effects of the expedient contrived for his safety. It was known that the minister was rich; his keeper expected a high reward for his liberty, which *Patkul* refused, not doubting but he should obtain it without fee. While they disputed this point the guards arrived, immediately seized him, and delivered him to four *Swedish* officers, who attended to receive the prisoner. He was hurried away to the head-quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where he continued three months, tied to a stake with a heavy chain of iron; after which he was conducted to *Campur*. Here he was tried by a council of war, condemned as the subject of *Sweden* to be broke alive on the wheel, and quartered. The sentence was executed with the utmost rigour, he received sixteen blows, and expired, after sustaining the longest and most excruciating tortures. His crime was, that he had taken up arms against his king; a crime extremely equivocal in *Patkul*'s peculiar circumstances, and in a state where it is the duty of the subject, equally to preserve the liberties of his country; and observe obedience to his sovereign<sup>b</sup> (A):

Count  
Patkul's  
execution.

THE

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. iii.

(A) Notwithstanding the courage and intrepidity which *Patkul* had displayed upon divers other occasions, his resolution forsook him when notice was brought him, that he was to die upon the rack. Being left alone with the chaplain, he poured

B b 2

THE czar of *Muscovy* was no sooner informed of the late extraordinary treaty of peace, and the execution of *Patak* his plenipotentiary, than he filled all *Europe* with his complaints. He sent letters to every court in *Christendom*, complaining of this gross violation of the laws of nations. He entreated the emperor, the queen of *England*, and the states general, to revenge the insult on humanity. He stigmatised the compliance of *Augustus* with the opprobrious name of pusillanimity, exhorted them not to guarantee so unjust a treaty, and to despise the menaces of the *Swedish* bully. However, his remonstrances and reproaches served only to demonstrate the power of *Charles*, and the dread in which he was held by all the confederates. *Patak's* fate was now determined, the mediation of the allies would be vain, and they did not chuse to exasperate the ferocious *Swedes*, by refusing the ceremony of becoming guaranties to a treaty. At first *Peter* thought of revenging his minister, by treating the prisoners at *Moscow* in the same manner; but he was withheld from the barbarous retaliation, on considering that the king of *Sweden* had more *Russian* prisoners than he had *Swedes*. Perhaps a spark of humanity rose at this time in the breast of the savage legislator. Certain it is, that he determined upon a nobler and more advantageous revenge, *Poland* was defended only by a slender body of *Swedes* and the national troops, who together were not numerous enough to guard all the passes. The bulk of the army, the king, and *Stanislaus*, were all in *Saxony*, dictating to *Augustus*, and indeed giving law to the western hemisphere. Entering *Poland* with 60,000 men, the czar divided his army into several corps, advanced to *Leopold*, and gained possession of

A. D.  
1707.  
*The czar enters Poland.*

poured out a flood of tears, desired him to wait upon a *Saxon* lady of great merit and beauty, with whom he was on the point of marriage, to console, and assure her, that he quitted life full of the tenderest sentiments of love and esteem for her. He fell into convulsions, at the place of execution, upon seeing the wheels, stakes, and other instruments of his torture. When the paper was read, declaring him a traitor, and the cause of his punishment: "Alas," said he, "I have served my coun-

"try but too well!" All the spectators wept to see a nobleman, eminent for his talents and patriotism, fall a sacrifice to resentment, and the revenge of a despotic monarch, who had not sensibility to feel for misfortune, or elevation of mind sufficient to admire talents, which were not employed to his own purposes, and under his own direction. In a word, the execution of *Patak* is the deepest stain in the escutcheon of the king of *Sweden*. *Mém. de Patak..p. 19, 20, et passim.*

that

that and several other towns, the defence of which was entrusted to the inhabitants. At *Leopold* he assembled a diet, and solemnly dethroned *Stanislaus*, with the same ceremonies used at *Warsaw* to depose king *Augustus*. Nothing could equal the misery of *Poland*; fellow-citizens were butchering each other, and cities, towns, and villages laid in ashes. The whole country was divided, the *Swedes* retaining one party through fear, and the czar gaining another by money and intrigue. These disorders called for a speedy remedy: accordingly *Stanislaus* quitted *Saxony* at the head of sixteen regiments, and well supplied with the money of the electorate. *Stanislaus* was acknowledged as legitimate sovereign wherever he passed; the strict discipline and order of his troops was admired, and indeed afforded the strongest contrast to the disorder and riot that prevailed among the *Muscovites*. His own affability won many hearts, and the *Saxon* money engaged great part of the crown-army to desert count *Siniawski*, grand-general of *Poland*, by the nomination of *Augustus*. *Peter* perceived this change, he had experienced the valour of the *Swedes*, and knew the ability of *Levenhaup*<sup>c</sup>. He therefore thought it advisable to retire to *Lithuania*, under pretence that the country could not supply him with the provision and forage necessary for the subsistence of so great an army<sup>c</sup>.

ALL this while *Charles* was giving law, in *Saxony*, to the *Charles* emperor, and receiving ambassadors from the courts of *Vienna*, *London*, *Versailles*, and *Madrid*. The famous *John* emperor to duke of *Marlborough* made him a visit at *Leippic*, and was perhaps the chief instrument of turning *Charles* from the project he entertained of interposing in the quarrel between *France* and the allies. Some writers alledge, that the duke judiciously applied by presents to count *Piper*; but *Voltaire* denies this circumstance, and clearly vindicates the purity and disinterestedness of that minister. In short, the king of *Sweden*'s grand project was to dethrone the czar, and his attention to this was probably the true reason why he did not intermeddle with the affairs of *Western Europe*. He enjoyed, however, the satisfaction of humbling the court of *Vienna*, and obliging the emperor to make some exceedingly mean concessions. Count *Zobor*, the emperor's chamberlain, had affronted *Strahlenheim*, the *Swedish* envoy, who resented it so highly, that he suddenly quitted *Vienna* without taking leave. *Charles* demanded satisfaction for the indignity offered to him in the person of his minister. The emperor,

<sup>c</sup> Auct. citat. ibid.

dreading lest the king in his wrath should form some resolution injurious to the interests of the confederates, banished the count; but this reparation did not satisfy the Swede; he insisted, that count Zobar should be delivered into his hands; his demands were complied with, and the emperor was forced to stoop so far as to see his chamberlain kept for some time a prisoner at *Stetin*, after which the king of Sweden sent him back to *Vienna*. Nor was this the only particular in which he mortified the imperial court. Fifteen hundred *Russians* had escaped the Swedish sword, and taken refuge in the emperor's dominions. These Charles demanded, and the court would have been forced to comply, had not the *Russian* minister artfully contrived the escape of the unfortunate refugees<sup>d</sup>.

*CHARLES* having succeeded in all his demands on the court of *Vienna*, seemed to fix his residence in *Saxony* with no other view than to multiply his requisitions. He now declared himself protector of the protestant interest in *Germany*, and particularly of the emperor's protestant subjects in *Silesia*. He required that the emperor should renew and confirm to them all the liberties granted by the treaties of *Westphalia*; but since reclaimed, or at least eluded at the treaty of *Ryswick*. There was something extremely insolent in the manner of this interposition; the emperor perceived the indignity offered to his authority, but he was forced to conceal his sentiments, and grant all that the Swedish monarch demanded. Upwards of an hundred churches were restored to the protestants, only to be taken from them when fortune frowned upon Charles, their patron and protector. *Voltaire* relates an anecdote which, if true, fully evinces the terror with which this prince inspired the court of *Vienna*. When he was reproached by the pope's nuncio, for thus surrendering the interests of religion to oblige a heretic prince: "It is well for you," answered the emperor, that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a *Lutheran*; for if he had, I don't know whether I could have refused." One would indeed have imagined that Charles entertained some thoughts of making a proselyte of the pontiff himself; for, being incensed at the constant opposition of the court of *Rome*, a court whose weakness and intrigues he despised, he told the emperor's minister, "That the Swedes had before now conquered *Rome*, and he might one day demand an inventory of the effects left there by queen *Christina*."

<sup>d</sup> *VOLT.* lib. iii.

BRING at length satiated with the glory of having dethroned one king, crowned another, humbled the emperor, given law to the empire, protected the protestant religion, and filled all *Europe* with terror and admiration, *Charles* thought of quitting *Saxony*, in pursuit of his great plan of deposing the czar, and conquering the immense empire of *Russia*. His design he kept a profound secret; but it was suspected when he began his march at the head of an army of 43,000 men, the best disciplined troops in the world, flushed with victory, and so enriched with the spoils of the vanquished, that every private soldier carried fifty crowns out of the electorate. While the army was in full march in the neighbourhood of *Dresden*, the king suddenly disappeared, accompanied only by five officers. The alarm immediately spread through the army; but their terrors were soon removed, by notice that his majesty was gone upon a visit to *Augustus* (B).

THE

\* PUFFEND. lib. vii.

(B) As the extraordinary manner of this visit strongly marks the character of *Charles*, we shall beg leave to recite the particulars in the words of the lively *Voltaire*. "The king alighted at the palace, and was got to the door of the elector's apartment, before it was known that he had entered the city. General *Fleming*, having seen him at a distance, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could be done upon such an occasion was present to the idea of the minister; but *Charles* entered the chamber in his boots before *Augustus* had time to recover from his surprise. The king breakfasted with him, as a traveller who came to take leave of his friend, and then he expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications.

"While he was walking round them a *Livonian*, condemned in *Sweden*, who served in the troops of *Saxony*, thought he could never have a more favourable opportunity of procuring pardon, and begged of king *Augustus* to intercede for him, being fully assured, that his majesty could not refuse so slight a request to a prince in whose power he then was. *Augustus* made the request, and *Charles* refused it in such a manner that he did not think fit to ask it a second time (1)." Having passed some hours in this very extraordinary kind of visit, the king of *Sweden* returned to his army, after having embraced, and taken his leave of the king he had dethroned. The Continuator of *Puffendorf* alleges, that *Augustus* accompanied him to *Neudorf* (2).

(1) *Vol.* lib. iii. p. 140.

(2) *Puffend.* tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 168.

He quits  
Saxony,  
and  
marches  
against the  
Russians.

A. D.  
1708.

THE king of *Sweden's* forces in *Saxony, Poland, and Finland*, including the *Poles* under *Stanislaus*, and the *Swedish* army commanded by *Leuenhaupt*, exceeded 70,000 men; a force more than sufficient to have executed all his projects, had fortune proved favourable. *Peter the Great* was then in *Lithuania*, busied in supporting the spirits of a party, which king *Augustus* seemed to have wholly renounced. His troops which were dispersed in small parties, he instantly assembled upon notice of the king of *Sweden's* march, and was making all possible preparations vigorously to resist this conqueror, who now obtained the surname of *Invincible*. He was on the point of attacking *Stanislaus*, when the king's approach disconcerted his measures, and struck his whole army with a panic. On his way, *Charles* had given audience to the *Turkish* ambassador, sent by his court to fix *Sweden* in the interest of the grand signior, as an ally extremely useful in his designs on *Germany* and *Russia*. Leaving *Stanislaus* with 10,000 *Swedes* in *Poland*, the king continued his course to *Grodno*, in pursuit of the *Russian* army. In the month of *January*, he passed the *Niemen*, and entered the south gate of *Grodno*, just as the czar was quitting the town by the north gate. He had gone before the army, attended only by 600 horse. Notice of his situation was given to the czar, upon which he sent back a detachment of 2000 men, who attacked the *Swedes* unprepared, but were soon defeated. This disappointment was followed by the total evacuation of *Lithuania*; the very terror of the king's name obliging the *Russians* to seek shelter in the frontiers of *Muscovy*. Thither they were pursued in the midst of ice and snow, through almost impervious forests, over rocks, morasses, mountains, and rivers. Nothing seemed impracticable to *Charles*, at the head of a *Swedish* army; he continued in the field in a wild northern country during the winter; and made forced marches, as if he had been in the finest plains in *Flanders* in the summer season. *Charles* had foreseen every difficulty, and determined to surmount them,

When *Charles* had joined his army, he found all his generals assembled in council, and asked the reason; General *Renschild* told him, they had determined to besiege *Dresden*, in case his majesty had been detained a prisoner. Aye, said the king, you

were right; but they durst not, they durst not (3). Next morning, upon the news that king *Augustus* held an extraordinary council at *Dresden*: "You see," says *Renschild*, "they are de-  
" liberating upon what should  
" have been done yesterday."

(3) *Vol. ibid.*

Sensible that the country could not furnish provision sufficient for the maintenance of his army, and that great part of what it afforded, had been destroyed by the enemy, he provided a large quantity of biscuit, upon which the army chiefly subsisted, until he arrived on the banks of the *Berezina*, in view of *Borislow*. Here the czar was posted, and it was the intention of the king to bring him to a battle, that he might then penetrate without obstruction or annoyance into *Russia*. The czar, however, did not think proper to come to an action, but retreated towards the *Boristhenes*, and was pursued by the *Swedes* as soon as he had refreshed his army, in quarters where they were well supplied with necessaries <sup>f</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Russians* had destroyed the roads, desolated the country, and thrown every possible impediment in the way of the *Swedish* army, they advanced with great celerity, and in their march defeated 20,000 of the enemy, though they were intrenched to the teeth. This was one of the most obstinate battles which the *Russians* had ever ventured to stand against the *Swedes*, and considering the circumstances, one of the most glorious that *Charles* ever obtained. The memory of it is preserved by a medal struck in *Sweden*, with this inscription. *Sylvæ, paludes, aggres, hostes victi*, from which we may collect the opinion entertained of it in those times, when the news of some fresh victory was every day reaching the capital <sup>g</sup>.

WHEN the *Russians* had repassed the *Boristhenes*, that great river which divides *Poland* from *Muscovy*, and the *Swedes* were following them close, the czar began at last to consult the safety of his dominions, and seriously to reflect on the consequences of pursuing a war with a prince who was not to be conquered by dangers and difficulties. He determined to offer peace, and accordingly sent proposals to king *Charles*, by a *Polish* gentleman in his army. The king's answer was, that he would treat at *Moscow*, which being reported to the czar, he coolly replied, "My brother *Charles* affects to play *Alexander*, but he will not find in me a *Darius*." However, he continued retreating, and the king pursued so close, that he was skirmishing daily with the rear of the enemy, in which he had generally the advantage, though even conquering in these undecisive actions proved detrimental, by weakening his army in a country where it was impossible to recruit. Near *Smolensko*, he de-

He defeats a body of the enemy.

The difficulties which the king encountered.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>g</sup> PUFFEND. ubi supra. VOLT. in loc. modo citat.

feated,



seated, with six regiments only, a body of 10,000 horse and 6000 *Gaimucks*. In this engagement the king's person was in the utmost danger, the enemy having separated him from his troops. Seconded only by one regiment, he fought with such fury, as dispersed the enemy, and drove them before him, just as they thought themselves in possession of the royal prisoner. Two aid-de-camps, that fought near the king's person, were killed. His horse was shot under him; and the equerry struck dead while he was presenting another. The enemy had broke through the regiment, and got up quite to the king's person, who is said to have killed twelve men with his own hand, without receiving a single wound.

Oct. 3.

*CHARLES* was now within a hundred leagues of *Moscow*; but the czar had made the roads impassable, either by laying them under water, digging deep ditches, or covering them with the wood of whole forests, which he ordered to be cut down. He had likewise destroyed all the villages on every side, and taken away every possibility of procuring the least sustenance for an army. The winter was considerably advanced, the intensely severe weather was approaching, and every thing threatened the *Swedes* with all the miseries of pinching cold and famine, while they were at the same time exposed to a powerful enemy, who, by a perfect knowledge of the country, and great superiority of numbers, had constant opportunities of harrassing and attacking them by surprise. These considerations induced the king to pass through the *Ukrain*, where *Mazeppa*, a *Polish* gentleman, filled the post of general and chief of the nation. *Mazeppa* had once received an affront from the czar, which he took this opportunity of revenging, by entering upon a treaty with *Charles*. He promised to revolt, to assist the king with 30,000 men, with quantities of ammunition and provision, and with all his treasures, which were immense. To favour this junction, the *Swedish* army advanced towards the *Dina*, where they had to encounter new and unheard-of hardships and difficulties. A forest above forty leagues in extent, filled with rocks, mountains, and marshes, was to be traversed, and to augment the difficulty, the army was led thirty leagues out of the right way. All the artillery was lost and sunk in bogs and marshes, the provision of the soldiers, which consisted in biscuit, exhausted, and the whole army emaciated, spent, and exhausted, when they arrived on the banks of the *Dina*, where they expected to have met *Mazeppa*, with his promised reinforcement. What must have been their surprise, disappointed and languishing as they were under the united pressure

pressure of cold, hunger, and extreme fatigue, to find instead of an ally, the opposite banks of the river covered with a hostile army, and the passage itself almost impassable. In fact, the *Russians* had discovered *Mazeppa's* designs; they fell upon the *Cossacks*, defeated and dispersed them, massacring or putting to the torture all the prince's adherents whom they made prisoners. A body of 8000 *Muscovites* had penetrated to the *Disna*, to dispute the king of *Sweden's* passage; but the king let his soldiers by ropes down the steep banks, and crossed the river in the face of the enemy, rather by swimming, or on rafters, hastily put together, defeated the *Russians*, and pursued his way, as yet uncertain, whether the treachery or misfortune of his new ally occasioned the disappointment. The unhappy *Mazeppa* soon appeared to clear up all doubts. Instead of an army of 30,000 men, he scarce brought with him 6000, broken remains; all his towns had been laid in ashes, and the provisions he had collected for the king of *Sweden* taken by the enemy; however, he afforded hope of being serviceable by his intelligences, in this inhospitable country, and the affection of the *Cossacks*, who, in resentment to the *Russians*, crowded daily to the camp with provisions<sup>h</sup>.

WHEN *Charles* entered the *Ukrain*, he sent back orders to *He enters* general *Lewenhaupt*, to meet him with 15,000 men, and a <sup>the</sup> convoy of provisions, at a rendezvous appointed. He now *Ukrain*, expected to reap the fruits of this precaution, when he was joined by *Lewenhaupt*, who stood more in need of his assistance. *Charles* had no sooner turned off from the great road that led to *Moscow*, than the czar applied his whole attention to obstruct *Lewenhaupt's* progress, and cut off the large convoys he had provided. Near *Lefno*, at the confluence of the rivers *Pronin* and *Sossa*, he appeared with a numerous army in sight of *Lewenhaupt's* detachment. The *Swedes* were not alarmed; report had diminished the czar's army of 60,000 men to 24,000; a force to which he thought 6000 *Swedes* superior. He disdained to intrench himself, and was attacked in the open field by the *Russians*, just as he was advancing to give them battle. After an obstinate conflict, the enemy were repulsed with the loss of 1500 men; upon which *Lewenhaupt* continued his march, without intending to pursue an army six times as numerous as his own. By the treachery of his guide, he found himself embarrassed in a marshy country, where the roads were made impassable by deep ditches and trees laid across. In this

<sup>h</sup> VOL. 7. lib. iv. the situation

Lewen-  
haupt  
engages  
the Rus-  
sians three  
days suc-  
cessfully.

situation he was again attacked by the czar, supported by his whole army. The *Swedish* general detached two battalions to dispute the enemies passage over a morass; but finding they were likely to be overpowered, he marched at the head of the whole infantry to their relief. The combat was furious and obstinate; but the courage and address of the *Swedes* at last prevailed, put the *Russians* into confusion, and was on the point of gaining a complete victory, when the czar gave orders to the *Cossacks* and *Calmucks*, to fire upon all the *Russians*, who deserted their posts: "Even kill me," said he, if I should be so cowardly as to turn my back." These orders, and his own example, wrought a great effect. Assisted by prince *Menzikoff*, he rallied the broken battalions, and renewed the attack at the entrance of a morass, which *Lewenhaupt* was to cross. Here the czar drew out his whole army to surround his enemy, the *Swedes* faced about, and for two hours maintained a bloody action, in which the czar lost near 6000 men. The *Russians* were a third time put in disorder, when general *Bauer* arrived with a strong reinforcement of fresh troops, which enabled the czar again to resume the engagement, that now continued without remission, till night separated the combatants. Never had *Swedish* valour shone more conspicuous than in this engagement; reduced to 5000 men, fatigued with fighting, and a long march, and encumbered with a large convoy, they sustained three several assaults on the same day, from an enemy determined to conquer, and amounting to 65,000 men, headed by *Peter the Great*. Next morning the czar ordered a fresh assault, notwithstanding the *Swedes* had taken post in the night on an advantageous ground. *Lewenhaupt* had formed a kind of rampart of his waggons, to which he now set fire to prevent their falling into the enemies hands; and at the same time cover his retreat by the smoke; the *Russians* came soon enough, however, to save near 5000 waggons of those provisions designed for the distressed army of the king of *Sweden*; and general *Pflug* was sent with a strong detachment to pursue and attack the enemy a fifth time. *Lewenhaupt* put on such a countenance, that the general thought proper to offer him an honourable capitulation, which the *Swede* refusing, the action was again renewed, and sustained with the same vigour, as if it had been the first engagement. Always unconquered though retreating, and diminished to 4000 men, the *Swedes* persevered in rejecting all terms, and fighting to the last drop. The efforts of the enemy's cavalry were vain; they were sustained with such amazing constancy, that 5000 *Russians* were left  
dead

dead on the field, and *Lewenhaupt* suffered to pursue his march, but without cannon or provision. Prince *Menzikoff* indeed was again detached to harass his rear, but the *Swedes* appeared so formidable, even in their distressed circumstances, that he retired without making any attempt. In a word, after sustaining for three days six separate assaults; after encountering all the difficulties which a numerous army, a wild country, and severe weather, could throw in his way, *Lewenhaupt* at last arrived in his master's camp, with about 4000 men, and the honour of having killed near 30,000 of the enemy, in the several encounters in his march<sup>1</sup>.

FROM the above circumstances it was apparent, that the fortune of *Sweden* began to take an unfavourable turn; yet was the courage of *Charles* and his troops unappalled. They were destitute of provisions, without any communication with *Sweden* or *Poland*, in a country where the only remaining resource was their own courage. This it was still thought would surmount all difficulties, and lead them triumphant to the capital of *Russia*, the sacking of which, and dethroning the czar, would fully recompence all their labour. *Charles* never lost sight of this object in his greatest distress, and his whole army seemed to be animated with the same spirit and ambition. They resolved to brave the seasons, and the extremity of fatigue and hunger, as they had done their enemies. They made long marches, in the midst of the severest winter ever known in *Muscovy*. Without shoes, almost without cloaths and bread, they followed their king without murmuring, and clad themselves like savages, with the skins of wild beasts. The greater part of the cannon was left behind in quagmires, because all the draught-horses had perished, and the whole army so numerous and flourishing when it left *Saxony*, was now reduced to 24,000 men, emaciated, impoverished, naked, and, except in courage, quite spent and exhausted. *Charles* had experienced mortification the preceding year; but it was only now that he began to feel the accumulated weight of misfortune and disgrace. Several thousand of his soldiers dropped down dead with cold and hunger before his eyes; he pitied, but he persevered, and indeed a retreat now would have been the most arduous measure (A). Before the month of *February*, the

The constancy of the Swedes.

Swede

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. iv. Hist. de Pierre le Grande, tom. i. p. 162.

(A) *Voltaire* relates, that a Swedish army, only one officer amidst all the distresses of the and one common soldier complained.

*Swedes* did not exceed 18,000 men, with which army *Charles* at last penetrated to *Pultowa*, on the eastern frontier of the *Ukrain*. Here the czar had formed magazines, of which *Charles* resolved to gain possession; for hitherto he had been wholly supplied with provisions by his faithful *Cossac* ally, the unfortunate *Mazeppa*. The fate of *Pultowa* must determine the fate of *Sweden*. Should *Charles* succeed in the enterprise, a road would lie open quite to *Moscow*, he would at least enjoy great abundance, and be able to wait the arrival of some reinforcements still expected from *Sweden*, *Livonia*, *Poland*, and *Pomerania*. On the contrary, should he be forced to abandon the siege, the army must be exposed more than ever to famine, as the czar was now laying waste those countries from whence the *Cossacs* drew supplies for the *Swedish* camp. *Mazeppa*, who had secret correspondence with some of the inhabitants, strenuously advised that the town should be invested. The fortifications were good, the garrison amounted to 9000 men, and *Charles* wanted heavy cannon; notwithstanding which the *Cossac* chief confidently promised success, and hope began to revive in the *Swedish* army.

ACCORDINGLY *Charles* invested *Pultowa*, with an army not sufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the czar, and block up the passes in such a manner as to prevent their receiving succours. General *Stuckelburg* was detached, with eight thousand *Swedes* and *Cossacs*, beyond the river *Worslaw*, to dislodge a party of the enemy, that in-

plained. To the former the king said, "What, are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a soldier indeed, I will carry you to such a distance, that you shall scarce hear from *Sweden* once in three years;" alluding, possibly, to the wild plan he had cast in his own mind, while he resided at *Leipsic*, of penetrating into *Asia*, and carrying his conquests beyond those of *Alexander*. The same author relates another anecdote, which equally displays the king's firmness and address. "A soldier, grumbling, ventured to present him, in presence of the

"whole army, with a piece of black mouldy bread, made of barley and oats, the only food with which the army was then supplied, and even this in a scanty portion. The king received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, 'It is not good, but it may be eaten.' The historian justly observes, that these little turns upon emergencies contributed inconceivably to support the *Swedish* army in extremities, which would have been intolerable under any other general." *Vol. lib. iv.*

tended

tended penetrating into *Pultowa*; but he was defeated, and almost his whole detachment drowned or cut in pieces, the bridge having been broke down to prevent his retreat. But even this loss could not discourage the king of *Sweden*; he pushed the siege with the utmost vigour, and soon perceived by the enemy's skilful and resolute defence, that he had already taught them the art of war. Divers assaults were given, in which the *Swedes* were constantly repulled, with this additional mortification, that prince *Menzikoff* found means to throw twelve hundred men into the town, with great store of ammunition. To complete his misfortunes, *Charles* received a shot from a carbine, as he was viewing the works, which pierced his boot, and shattered the bone in his heel; but such was his steadiness, that the accident passed unobserved, because he shewed not the least alteration of countenance. For six hours after, he continued calmly on horseback giving his orders, until the loss of blood made him faint, and the wound was discovered by one of his attendants, who brought the assistance of surgeons, and carried his majesty into his tent. Upon examination, the wound had already begun to mortify, and it was the opinion of the faculty, that his life could only be saved by amputation. The utmost consternation seized the army; but one *Neuman* undertook to effect a cure, and save the limb. It was necessary that deep incisions should be made: "Fail  
" to work then, said the king, cut boldly, and fear  
" nothing;" he held out his leg while the operation was performing, never changing countenance; and while the dressing was laid on, ordered an assault for the next morning.

For some days the czar, with an army of seventy thousand men, lay at a small distance, harrassing the *Swedish* camp with his parties, and cutting off all the convoys of provisions: now the news arrived that he appeared in sight, as if with intention to attack the king's lines. In this situation, wounded and incapable of action, in a desert country, without a retreat, destitute of provision and ammunition, and almost surrounded by enemies, *Charles* condescended to assemble a grand council of war, the result of which was, that it was expedient to march out of the trenches, and attack the *Russians* \*. *Voltaire*, indeed, asserts the contrary: "Even in this extremity, says that writer, the king called  
" no council, as might be expected; but on the 7th of July  
" sent for the marshal *Renschild* into his tent, and ordered

Battle of  
Pultowa.

\* PUFFEND. lib. vii. tom. vii. p. 180.

" him

July 8.

*The  
Swedes  
defeated.*

“ him, with deliberation and without emotion, to prepare  
 “ for attacking the czar next morning. Without disputing  
 “ his master’s will, the mareschal quitted the king’s tent to  
 “ execute his orders (B).” Eight thousand men were left  
 for the defence of the works, and to oppose the sallies of the  
 besieged; with the rest of the army, amounting to 26,000  
 men, including 18,000 *Cossacs*, *Charles* began marching  
 by break of day to fight the czar. On passing through  
 a defile, the enemy were seen drawn up in two lines  
 behind the intrenchments, the horse in front, and the foot  
 in the rear, with chafms to suffer the horse to fall back, in  
 case of necessity. General *Steppenback* was immediately de-  
 tached to attack the cavalry, which he performed with such  
 impetuosity, that they were entirely broke and defeated;  
 but being rallied behind the infantry, they returned to the  
 charge, and in their turn put the *Swedes* in disorder, and  
 took *Steppenback* prisoner. *Charles* was carried in his litter to  
 the scene of confusion; his presence soon animated the troops,  
 they rallied in an instant, and advanced against the fire of 70  
 pieces of cannon, and a great number of redoubts, which  
 plied them in front and flank. The battle now became ex-  
 ceedingly warm, both princes gave their orders with that  
 cool presence of mind peculiar to the truly great; the czar  
 had his hat shot through, and *Charles* in his litter escaped a  
 thousand dangers. He had dispatched general *Creuk*, with a  
 body of horse and dragoons, to take the enemy in flank;  
 but *Creutz* mistook his way, and this laid the foundation of  
 all the future misfortunes. The *Russian* infantry opened  
 from their lines, advanced, and were ready to overpower  
 the *Swedes*, when an admirable stroke of the czar’s entirely  
 determined the victory. Prince *Menzicoff* was detached to  
 post himself between the *Swedes* and *Pultowa*, to cut off their  
 communication with the camp, and fall upon their rear.

(B) The same writer adds,  
 that the general met count *Piper*,  
 with whom he had long been at  
 variance, at the door of the  
 king’s tent. The minister asked  
 if any thing new had happened.  
 No, says *Renschild* coldly, and  
 passed on to give his orders. As  
 soon as *Piper* had entered the  
 tent, the king asked what the  
 general had said to him; no-  
 thing, answered *Piper*. “ Well  
 “ then, replied the king, I tell

“ you, that to-morrow we shall  
 “ have a battle.” The count  
 was astonished at so desperate a  
 resolution, but concealed his  
 sentiments, knowing the inflexi-  
 bility of the king’s disposition.  
 It would be impossible to reunite  
 this with what the continuator  
 of *Puffendorff* alleges; we shall  
 therefore leave it to the reader  
 to follow which opinion he  
 thinks the most probable. *Fels.*  
*lib. iv.*

He

He executed his orders with great address, cut off a corps de reserve of three thousand men, and thus decided the fortune of the day. The king, however, had ranged his remaining troops in two lines, the foot in the center, and the horse posted on both wings. They had already been twice rallied, and were now attacked with fury on all sides. *Charles* in his litter, with his sword drawn in one hand, and a pistol in the other, was every where present. A cannon-ball killed both horses in the litter, and scarce were others put in their stead, when a second cannon-ball broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. The soldiers believed him killed, they fell back in consternation, the first line was broke, and the second fled. Rallying was impossible, as powder failed. The king did all in his power to restore order; but the *Russians* pressed so hard as to baffle all his endeavours. *Renschild*, and several general officers, were made prisoners; and the king must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but for *Poniatofsky*, who, with admirable presence of mind, drew up five hundred horse, surrounded the royal person, and, with incredible fury, broke through ten regiments of the enemy, and arrived on the banks of the *Boristhenes*. The conquerors stormed the camp, seized six millions in specie, the spoils of king *Augustus*; but could not prevent *Leuenhaupt* from retreating with four thousand foot, and all the remaining cavalry, to the banks of the *Boristhenes*, opposite *Kiovia*, whither he was pursued by *Menzikoff*, and for want of bridges or boats, forced to surrender at discretion. In a word, the victory was complete; the whole *Swedish* army, except a few who followed the king's fortune, having been killed or taken. The unhappy prisoners were afterwards dispersed in *Siberia*, a barbarous country, where necessity rendering them ingenious, every one exercised some trade or employment, all distinction between soldier and officer ceased, and those differences which fortune makes among men were entirely abolished. The officer, who could not work at some mechanical trade or art, was forced to cut down and carry wood for the soldier, who was now turned taylor or shoemaker, smith, mason, or carpenter. Some of the officers became painters, sculptors, or architects; some taught the languages and mathematics. Public schools were erected, which soon grew so useful and famous, that the children of the nobility were sent from *Moscow* for their education to *Siberia*; so that by the victory of *Pultowa*, *Peter the Great* not only laid the foundation of the power and security of *Russia*, but of the arts and sciences, at that time wholly unknown in his empire.



*Consequences of  
the defeat  
at Pul-  
towa.*

IN this manner had *Charles XII.* lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years fatigue and labour, and the glory of almost a hundred victories. He fled in a mean calash, attended by a little troop of persons invariably attached to his person, some on foot, some on horseback, across a desert, where neither house, hut, animal, herb, or tree was to be seen; all was one great ocean of sand, in which they had almost been suffocated with intense heat, more intolerable than the severe colds they had experienced on entering the *Russian* frontiers. The want of water had almost destroyed the whole of these unfortunate remains of the *Swedish* army; at last a spring was discovered, in which the king and his whole troop quenched their thirst, and proceeded to *Ozakou*, a town in the *Turkish* dominions, the bashaw governor of which supplied them with every necessary, and treated the king with all the respect due to so great a monarch. It was now near the 9th of *June* before boats sufficient to transport the whole could be provided, by which accident five hundred *Suedes* and *Cossacs* fell into the hands of the enemy, who continued the pursuit quite to the banks of the river *Bogh*. This loss affected the king more than all his former sufferings consequent on the defeat of *Pultowa*. Misfortune had softened his heart, and he now for the first time discovered any signs of sensibility and passion. He shed tears at seeing across the river, the greater part of his few remaining friends carried away into captivity, without having it in his power to offer them relief or assistance. The bashaw waited upon him in person, apologized for the delay which had occasioned this loss, and was severely reprimanded by the king, as if he had been his own subject.

*Charles  
takes re-  
fuge in the  
Turkish  
dominions.*

*CHARLES* was but a few days at *Ozakou*, when the serasquier of *Bender* sent an aga to compliment his majesty on his arrival in the *Turkish* dominions, to invite him to *Bender*, and to accept of the present of a fine *Turkish* tent, sent for his accommodation on the road. Both were accepted, and the king set out with his whole retinue, escorted by the bashaw of *Ozakou*, who furnished every necessary as far as *Palanca*; at which place the serasquier took upon himself the charge of accommodating the fugitive monarch. When he arrived at *Bender*, he was saluted with a general discharge of the artillery, and the acclamations of the janissaries, who were drawn up to do his majesty honour, with the same ceremony as if he had been the grand signior. *Charles* pitched his tent on the banks of the *Neister*, and declined the invitation given him to lodge in the town. He was visited by the serasquier, treated with the utmost hospitality, provided  
with

with every necessary that the country could afford ; and that generous maxim of the *Turkish* government, of regarding as sacred the persons of unfortunate princes who have taken sanctuary among them, was practised in its greatest extent <sup>h</sup>.

S E C T. XII.

*Containing the particulars of the king's residence at Bender, the difficulties it occasioned at the Porte, the affairs of Sweden during the king's exile, the advantage which the northern powers made of this accident, with other particulars.*

**C**HARLES XII. of *Sweden*, lately so terrible to his *Condu& of* enemies, so respected by all *Europe*, was now, by a sud- *the Porte.* den reverse of fortune, protected and supported by the compassion and generosity of a barbarous people, perhaps by the policy of a court, which still imagined that so warlike, active, and magnanimous a prince, might, notwithstanding this severe blow, prove an useful ally, and become again the scourge of *Russia*, and the terror of *Germany*. The king had indeed intimated, that the troops defeated at *Pultowa* was only a detachment from the armies in *Germany* and *Poland*: the *Turks*, therefore, thought to fix him by good usage in the interest of the *Porte*; assured, that he would fully repay all their services, whenever it happened that he should return to his own dominions. Nor was the *French* king less solicitous to shew the *Swedish* monarch every kind office in his power. By his ambassador at *Constantinople* he negotiated with the divan, and procured several advantages to *Charles*, in a situation that required all the tenderness that friendship and humanity could bestow. The king wrote a letter with his own hand to the grand signior, which was intrusted to the sieur *Neugebar*; but that gentleman not being vested with a public character, with the usual formalities, he could not obtain an audience, and the letter remained unopened, until all the ceremonies required by the *Turkish* court could be properly adjusted.

MEAN time the *French* king offered his majesty a passage from the *Levant* to *Marseilles*, from whence he might easily proceed to his own dominions. *England*, and the other maritime powers, were in peace with *Sweden*, and it was

more than probable they would not traverse this measure; but *Charles* had not yet learnt to accept of advice, or stoop to the counsels of his friends. Full of courage, and puffed up with the pompous heroism of an *Alexander*, he had not even now, in his fugitive state, abandoned his grand project of dethroning his conqueror the czar of *Muscovy*. He could not support the thoughts of returning by the intercession of other powers like a vanquished prince to *Sweden*; he believed it still possible to return through *Russia* and *Poland* at the head of a powerful army. What confirmed him in this hope, was, the successful negotiation carrying on at the *Porte*, by his ambassadors the sieur *Neugebar* and count *Poniatofski*; the latter of whom had insinuated himself with so much address into the good graces of the *Turkish* ministry, that he received a present of 10,000 ducats, and a promise from the grand vizir, that the king should be escorted by a numerous army to the frontiers of *Poland*. Already orders had been issued to divers bashaws, to hold themselves in readiness for this expedition, and troops were daily filing towards *Bender*, inasmuch, that, in the space of a few days, a body of 8000 horse was encamped in that neighbourhood.

*Augustus*  
enters *Pol-*  
*land*.

ALL these sanguine hopes, however, were disappointed, by the change which the decisive action at *Pultowa* effected in the affairs of *Poland*, and indeed in the whole system of northern politics. The conjuncture was too favourable to *Augustus* to be passed over inactive. Princes break through the most solemn voluntary engagements, when they appear contrary to their interest; *Augustus* thought he had but little reason to observe a treaty extorted from him by violence. He likewise pretended, that the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* was fraudulently concluded by two ministers, who, being corrupted by the *Swedish* gold, signed his abdication, in virtue of the unlimited powers he had given them. Upon these motives he founded his return to *Poland*, and count *Fleming* paved the way by a manifesto, which was sent to all the courts in *Europe*, in justification of his master's conduct. He then entered the territories of the republic, had a personal interview with the czar, and concerted every thing for dethroning *Stanislaus*, and recovering his own crown. The king of *Sweden* detached five hundred *Poles* and *Cossacs*, who had joined him at *Bender*, to watch the turn of affairs in *Poland*, and bring him notice of every event. This corps crossed the *Neyster*, and never afterwards returned. They were surrounded, cut off, or taken prisoners by the *Russians*.

<sup>c</sup> Baron FABRIC. lib. ii. passim. Motr. Trav. passim.

The loss, however, had like to have proved advantageous to *Charles*. In the chace, the enemy had trespassed on the *Turkish* frontiers; a circumstance, which *Charles* endeavoured to improve, while his interest was high at the *Porte*, and his character admired by the *Turks*, who flocked from all quarters to behold a prince, so celebrated by his victories, so respectable in adversity, and so singular in his manners and disposition. *Charles* distributed his money, with great liberality, among the favourites of sultan *Achmet*; his design was to have drawn him into a war with *Russia*. The steady, artful, insinuating conduct of *Poniatoski* had gained the sultana, mother to the emperor then on the throne. She openly espoused the king's cause in the seraglio, called him her lion, admired his heroism, and frequently asked her son, when he intended to assist her lion in devouring the *Russian* wolf. The grand vizir entered into the same sentiments, and told *Poniatoski*, I will conduct your master at the head of 200,000 men to *Muscovy*; but the czar's money at last prevailed, just as affairs were put in such a train, as promised the *Swedish* monarch the accomplishment of all his wishes. *Charles* had been extremely generous to the *Turkish* ministers; but his resources were limited, and chiefly drawn from the grand signior's coffers: whereas the czar was, by the battle of *Pultowa*, put in possession of all the treasures of *Saxony*. His envoy at the *Porte* distributed very judiciously, among the grand vizir and his creatures, great part of the six millions taken at the late engagement. The charm operated too powerfully to be withstood. Of a sudden, the czar was turned from a *Russian* wolf to a generous hero; and *Tolstoy*, his envoy, was gratified with such privileges, as had never before been granted to any *Russian* minister. The czar found his interest so powerful, that he even ventured to demand that *Mazeppa*, the faithful friend and companion of the fugitive monarch, should be surrendered into his hands, in atonement of the sufferings of the brave and unfortunate *Patkul*. Every thing was granted him; and the same grand vizir, who had lately promised to conduct the king of *Sweden* to the capital of *Russia*, was entering into the strictest bonds of amity with his most implacable enemy. Happily for the *Cossac* chief he died, just as resolutions were forming in the divan, which would possibly have subjected him to the most cruel tortures which an incensed barbarian could devise.

FORTUNE would now seem to have wholly deserted the *Swedish* hero. All possibility of returning on the footing of

\* Letters of B, Feb. passim.

A. D.  
1710.  
*The king  
effects a  
revolution  
in the  
Turkish  
ministry.*

a conqueror, at the head of a *Turkish* army, was vanquished with the vizir's affections. The *French* envoy, perceiving his desperate circumstances, once more pressed his majesty to embark in some *French* vessels, which then lay at *Constantinople*; but he rejected the proposal with disdain. Notwithstanding he suffered daily mortifications in his own person at *Bender*, and in those of his envoys at the *Porte*, he remained firm in his resolution, intrepid and great as at the head of his victorious army after the battle of *Narva*. To this constancy, and the bold fidelity of *Poniatofski*, was it owing, that he once more triumphed over his enemies, and effected a revolution in the *Turkish* ministry. While the *Russian* envoy was in such high favour, that he was served by *Swedish* officers taken at *Pultowa*, in the character of slaves, *Charles* found means suddenly to annihilate all his interest, depose the grand vizir, and destroy the fruits of those vast sums expended by the czar in gaining the friendship of this minister. *Poniatofski* had the boldness to draw up a bitter charge against the vizir; he had the address to get it presented into the emperor's own hands; and he insinuated himself into the friendship of certain leading persons, enemies to the minister, because they were ambitious of filling his employment. His intrigues succeeded; the vizir *Chourlouli Ali Bastaw*, viceroy of the *Turkish* empire, and favourite of the grand signior, was banished to *Crim Tartary*, by means of a *Pole*; "An agent, says *Voltaire*, without character, from a king of *Sweden*, then a refugee in the "*Turkish* dominions." *Haman Cupruli Pachaw*, grandson to the great *Cupruli*, who reduced *Candia*, and son of *Mustapha Cupruli*, slain at the battle of *Salanckemen*, was raised to the viziarat. In him *Charles* did not find a zealous friend, but he was far from proving an enemy. Of inflexible integrity, and a scrupulous observer of the law, the new vizir was equally averse to a war with *Russia*, which he thought unjust, and to removing the protection of the *Porte* from the king of *Sweden*, which he deemed ungenerous. "The law, said he to the grand signior, forbids you to quarrel with the czar, who has done you no injury; but it commands you to protect the king of *Sweden*, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions." As a testimony of his esteem, he sent *Charles* a present of 800 purses; but he at the same time respectfully admonished him to return quietly to his own country, through *Germany*; a proposition which the king rejected, notwithstanding *Sweden* never stood more in need of his presence.

**AUGUSTUS**

**AUGUSTUS** had carried all before him in *Poland*, *King Augustus recovers the crown of Poland.* which he entered at the head of a *Saxon* army. These troops had been the pretence of deposing him; they were now the instruments of his restoration, having, by dint of terror, brought back to their duty most of the *Polish Palatines*, who had sworn fidelity to *Stanislaus*. Even the ambitious *Sciniaufki* himself joined *Augustus*. and contented himself with remaining grand general; though he had lately aspired at the crown.. The pontiff's influence over the minds of a bigotted, ignorant people contributed greatly to this revolution. He had always espoused *Augustus*; but while the king of *Sweden* was in the zenith of glory, fear of the conqueror operated more strongly on the minds of the *Poles*, than obedience to the pontiff; but that being now removed, and the representative of *St. Peter* absolving the people from those oaths of eternal allegiance they had taken to *Stanislaus*, they entered without scruple into the interests of king *Augustus*, and even winked at the introduction of *Saxon* and *Russian* troops, forgetting that they had made that circumstance the chief argument for dethroning the same monarch<sup>b</sup>. The czar was now become the arbiter of *Polaria*, and he obliged *Augustus* to cede all pretensions to the province of *Livonia*, before he would consent to lend a hand to his restoration.

NOR were these the only powers that were striving to blight the laurels acquired by *Charles*, and reduce the power and influence of *Sweden*. *Frederic IV.* king of *Denmark*, took advantage of the circumstances of his conqueror, and joined in with the league forming against *Sweden*. He was desirous of recovering *Schonen*, and the other territories lost by the peace of *Travendal*, and therefore forgot that treaty as easily as *Augustus* did the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*. In the month of *May*, the preceding year, he signed a treaty offensive and defensive with the czar of *Muscovy*, and *Augustus* king of *Poland*; the summer was consumed in preparations, and the winter ushered into light a manifesto, declaring his reasons for coming to a rupture with *Sweden*. These were perfectly known to all mankind before; but it was the business of *Frederic* to gloss them over with all the sophistical varnish of the cabinet, in which art he was excelled by no prince in *Europe*. He had an interview with the confederate princes, and settled with them the division of their conquests. By his manifesto he declared, that the ambition, restlessness, and obstinacy of the king of *Sweden*, as well as

his particular animosity to himself, had thrown the affairs of the North in confusion, and done irreparable damage to Denmark. The Swedes, he alledged, had carried on a cruel war at the expence of their neighbours. For almost a century back they had been the common disturbers of Europe. But his majesty had now particular reasons for opposing the evil designs of Sweden, having uncontestable proofs, under the king's own hand, of his hatred, contempt, and dislike of the Danes, and of projects formed for dethroning Frederic, as he had done Augustus, and attempted with regard to the czar of Muscovy. In proof of this a paper was quoted, which had been printed three years before at Stockholm, in which Charles XII. was stiled king of Great Scandinavia, in which division are included Denmark and Norway. Upon so weak a foundation did this wise prince rest the merits of a war, upon which he was determined to enter, because he foresaw it must turn out to his advantage.

BESIDES the above, a variety of other complaints against Sweden were specified; such as having granted illegal passports, raised the duties upon ore, and the produce of the alum-mines; claimed to herself territories, which had for time immemorial belonged to Denmark, and been confirmed to her by divers treaties. This last reason indeed was the truest motive alledged by Frederic. Accordingly, on the very day the manifesto was published, he embarked with 2500 horse and dragoons, and 13,000 infantry, attended by 12 men of war, landed in Schonen, and seized upon Helsingburgh, the garrison of which town retired to Landskrona. Having succeeded in this enterprise, the king returned to Copenhagen, leaving the command to the count Revenhage. Here he laboured to strengthen his army; but the rigour of the season stopped the progress of his troops, until the Swedes had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. There were about 13,000 of the troops of this nation to defend all the countries which Charles possessed in Germany. Only a small proportion of these was allotted for the defence of Schonen; but the administration in Sweden laboured with the utmost diligence to raise an army sufficient to defeat the designs of the Danish monarch.

State of  
Sweden.

SWEDEN was, during the king's absence, governed by a regency, composed, as we have related, of senators chosen by Charles before his departure. The senate grew jealous of the regency; it had been accustomed to regard itself as the highest authority in the king's absence; it there-

fore disputed the orders of the regents, and the public service suffered by these divisions. Misfortunes, however, banished all private animosity. Jealousy gave way to public spirit, and the news of the defeat at *Pultowa*, and the invasion of *Schonen*, united every *Swede* in the same sentiments, and the noble resolution of dying in defence of their king and country. The late wars had drained *Sweden* of men; they had cost her the lives of 300,000 brave soldiers, and now of all the old forces there did not remain above 8000 in the kingdom. But the militia established by *Charles* supplied the place of regular forces. This was an institution the most politic of his reign, and for which *Sweden* ought ever to revere his memory. It now proved the instrument of the preservation of the kingdom. The militia had been constantly exercised, at stated periods, since the accession of *Charles XII.* They formed a nursery for the army, now they became the bulwark of the kingdom. At the head of 8000 regulars, and 12,000 of the militia, general *Steenbock* set out for *Schonen*, in pursuit of the *Danes*, who were plundering and laying waste the country, with impunity. To hasten the march, and prevent the soldiers from being fatigued, waggon-roads were provided, in which they were transported great part of the way to the place of embarkation.

No sooner was the *Swedish* army in motion, than the ministers of *England* and *Holland* pressed the regency to give assurances, that the northern forces, who possessed territories in *Germany*, would not break the neutrality, or oblige the princes of the empire to withdraw their forces from the grand alliance, to cover their own dominions. But the senate replied, that the new war which was likely to be kindled on the frontiers of the empire could never have happened; had *England* and *Holland* performed their guarantee of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*. As things were now situated, it was impossible to grant the assurances demanded, without running the hazard of losing all that *Sweden* possessed on the coasts of the *Baltic*, and tamely suffering herself to become a prey to an ungenerous enemy, who seized the conjuncture of profiting by the absence of the king, the number of his enemies, and the calamities consequent on the unfortunate turn of affairs at *Pultowa*. However, to give all possible satisfaction to the allies, the regency wrote to the king, and until his answer arrived, they promised to commit no hostilities in any of the provinces dependent on the empire, provided the open and secret enemies of *Sweden* would give no cause, by fresh infractions of the treaties subsisting.

STEEN-



*The Danes  
defeated in  
Schonen.*

*STEENBOEK* arrived, however, in *Schonen*, and it was resolved to check the insolence of the *Danes* by the most vigorous measures; but the prodigious desertion of the *Saxon* troops incorporated in the *Swedish* regiments, greatly weakened the army and disheartened the militia; who, from this circumstance, believed themselves betrayed, and the enemy exceeding formidable. All the general's endeavours could not restrain the desertion; in consequence of which the *Danes* obtained several little advantages, and at last took *Christianstadt*. They were by this time augmented to twenty thousand men, under general count *Rantzau*, who succeeded *Reventlau* in the command. The insolence they assumed, upon their superiority, and trivial advantages obtained, incensed the *Swedish* militia, and animated them to a pitch of fury and despair. They now called out for revenge, and besought the general to lead them against the enemy. *Steenboek* took advantage of their disposition, marched towards *Malmoe*, and obliged the *Danes* to raise the siege, and entrench themselves near *Elfsingburgh*, for the protection of a town where they had formed vast magazines. Nothing could exceed in strength the situation they chose. A morass and large village defended their right, the town secured their rear, and supplied the camp with every necessary, while a large pond and a wood covered the left wing. Regardless of these difficulties, the *Swedes* marched up boldly to the attack, which they began with such fury, that at the first onset a whole regiment of the king of *Denmark*'s guards was cut in pieces by the boors, ten men only escaping the sword. Upon this the militia scaled the entrenchments, and attacked the main army. Both horse and foot were engaged, and the action became general and obstinate; but the *Danish* first line being broke, it fell in disorder upon the second. The *Swedes* pushed too close to afford them time to rally. The whole fled into *Elfsingburgh*, prodigious numbers were slain in the retreat, and the loss of the enemy amounted to eight thousand killed and taken, besides the wounded. The passage from *Schonen* to *Zeland* is so short, that the news of the defeat arrived the same day in *Copenhagen*, and the king sent his fleet to carry off the broken remains of his army. All the horses were killed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; four thousand wounded were left in *Elfsingburgh*, most of whom perished of hunger, want of attendance, and the infection caught from the putrid carcases of the horses, which crowded the streets. At the same time the *Swedes* vigorously pushed the siege of  
the

the town, but finding the troops and magazines were withdrawn, they desisted, in order to pursue a plan more advantageous to their affairs \*.

WHILE the regency were thus employed in subduing their enemies, the king, in his camp at *Bender*; entertained hopes of reinstating his affairs, and once more appearing in the character of a great monarch and a conqueror. He was delighted with the news of the victory in *Schonen*, and could not help exclaiming, " My brave *Swedes*, should it please " God that I once more join you, we will conquer " them all." He complained of the allies, who had guaranteed the treaty of *Alt-Ransstadt*, for suffering *Augustus* to return to *Poland*, and refused to stand by the neutrality to which the regency agreed, with respect to the *German* provinces. This neutrality, he said, was calculated for no other purpose than to keep his troops from action ; yet the event shewed, that it was the only measure which could secure the *Swedish* conquests situated along the coasts of the *Baltic*, amidst the number of enemies who were ready to fall upon them, and assert their several claims. But the king's highest expectations arose from the appearance he should still be able to embroil the *Turks* and *Russians*. It was given out, that in his retreat at *Bender* he governed the counsels of the divan, and made and deposed vizirs at pleasure. Since the viziarat of *Cupruli*, the *Swedish* interest sunk at the *Porte*. That minister was averse to war, and had made several honest regulations in the finances, equally displeasing to the grand signior and to the *Turkish* army. His predecessors were accustomed to pay the janissaries by money extracted from the bashaws and governors of provinces, without troubling the treasury. *Cupruli's* integrity would not suffer him to follow a method so iniquitous and pernicious to the empire. He paid the troops regularly out of the treasury, and fell a sacrifice to his honesty. The grand signior reproached him with preferring the interest of the subject to that of the emperor. " *Chourlouli*, said he, could find other " means to pay my armies." To which the grand vizir answered : " These, Sir, were means to which I am proud " of being a stranger." This noble reply wrought his fall ; he did not lose his head, but he was immediately banished to *Negrepont*, and *Bakagi Mahomet* raised to the post of grand vizir.

WHEN this minister came to the helm of government, he found the *Swedish* interest prevailed in the seraglio, and

\* PUFFEND. lib.vii. VOLT. lib. v.

that

*Revolutions at the Porte, in consequence of which the Turks declare war against the czar.*

that the inflexible aversion of *Cupruli* to a war with *Russia*, and the czar's money, alone had hitherto retarded an open rupture with the court of *Moscow*. The grand signior, influenced by his mother the sultana *Valide*, the *kissar* aga chief of the black eunuchs, and a number of other favourites, had determined upon avenging the quarrel of the king of *Sweden*. His first order to *Bakagi Mahomet* was, that he should fall, with 200,000 men, upon the *Muscovites*. The vizir declared he would obey; but professed, at the same time, his ignorance of the art of war, and his dislike to the measure. The *Russian* ambassador was confined in the castle of the *Seven Towers*; the cham of *Crim Tartary* had orders to take the field with 40,000 of his men. He had been gained over by the reputation and presents of the king of *Sweden*; and now he obtained leave from the *Porte* to assemble his army at *Bender*, that *Charles* might be an eye-witness the war was undertaken upon his account. This favourable disposition of the *Porte* was the more necessary, as the czar was carrying on a brisk war in *Livonia*, where he had for several months laid close siege to *Riga*, the *Swedes* being in no condition to attempt the relief of the place. He now was forced, upon the news of the *Turkish* preparations, to withdraw the greater part of his army, and turn the siege into a blockade. At the head of 24,000 men the czar entered *Moldavia*, where he was joined by *Cantemir*, prince of that country, and a vassal of the *Porte*. The vizir marched against him with a prodigious army. Only a river divided the *Turks* and *Russians*, and the czar neglected to dispute the enemy's passage. In a word, he was betrayed into the same errors committed by the king of *Sweden* at *Pultowa*, and the consequence was almost as fatal. His usual prudence forsook him. He was cooped up by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, distressed for provision, continually harrassed, and without the possibility of extricating himself, except by a miracle. "I am at last, says he, in as bad a plight as my brother *Charles* was at *Pultowa*." Imagining that all was lost without a desperate effort, *Peter* had given orders for breaking through the enemy, with fixed bayonets on the muzzles of their muskets; but the emaciated, spiritless, and desponding troops were little disposed to execute the czar's vigorous resolutions. All the baggage was ordered to be burnt, and every thing prepared for the intended attack, when *Catherine*, wife to the czar, set on foot a treaty with the vizir, without the czar's knowledge, soon obtained his consent, signed the peace in the space of six hours, and thereby probably saved the *Russian* army, and prolonged the  
exile

A. D.  
1711.  
*The czar saves his army by a peace.*

exile of his *Swedish* majesty\*. This was an exceeding masterly stroke, on which we shall have occasion to enlarge when we come to the history of the *Russian* empire.

It was obvious that the treaty in agitation would prove fatal to the affairs of *Sweden*; it was therefore violently opposed by *Poniatofski*, whose remonstrances were seconded by the cham of *Tartary*, sensible that by a peace he should be deprived of the expected plunder. *Poniatofski* had made the king of *Sweden* acquainted with the situation of both armies, and he was hurrying from *Bender* with the pleasing hopes of fighting the *Russians*, and taking ample vengeance. But he arrived too late; the treaty was signed, the vizir thinking it sufficient that he had concluded a peace very advantageous to the grand signior. All that was stipulated in behalf of *Charles* was, that the czar should not obstruct the king's return to *Sweden*. By the time *Charles* arrived, the czar was drawing off his half-famished troops. He had rode post above fifty leagues, and alighted at *Poniatofski's* tent, who received him with a countenance which boded no agreeable intelligence. Being informed of the treaty, his majesty went in a rage to the vizir's tent, and bitterly reproached him with treachery; but recollecting himself, proposed a method of repairing the fault, which being rejected, he returned, full of indignation, to *Bender*, after having, by the grossest affronts, shewn his contempt for the vizir†.

THIS gratified the violence of the king's spirit, but it contributed nothing to the interest of *Sweden*. The vizir laboured to execute the articles of the late treaty; and the czar, apprehending that the sultan would object to ratify what his minister had engaged, kept *Asoph* in his own hands until the ratifications were exchanged, and the king of *Sweden* had quitted the *Turkish* dominions. Without informing himself, whether *Charles* was disposed to return through *Germany*, *Mahomet Baltagi* sent an embassy to the court of *Vienna*, demanding a free, safe, and honourable passage for the king of *Sweden*; and having obtained it, he proposed to that prince, either to pass through *Poland*, escorted by 8000 *Turks*; or take the rout of *Germany*, where he should be received with all the honours due to so great a monarch. To this double proposition the king answered, that he would not accept of a smaller escort than the grand signior had first promised him: this, he said, was all he intended to reply; which so incensed the vizir, that he de-

*The king comes to the Turkish camp, and affronts the vizir.*

\* Id. ibid. FABRICI Lett. 8, 9.  
PUFFEND. lib. vii.

† VOLT. lib. v.

terminated to exert all his authority in prevailing on the sultan to remove the king out of his dominions. The serasquier of *Bender* was directed to wait upon the king in person, to repeat the proposal, and to intimate that violence would be offered should he continue obstinate. But menaces could never operate with *Charles*; the moment they were hinted he took fire, and gave orders to his attendants to oppose force by force. At the same time he gave notice to the serasquier, that if he ventured to propose any conditions injurious to his honour, he would have him immediately hanged up at the door of his tent. Sensible that the king's stay at *Bender* was only to ruin him, the vizir ordered all his dispatches to *Constantinople* to be intercepted, retrenched his allowance, in order to oblige him through necessity to remove his quarters, and took every other method to make *Charles* weary of his situation, and willing to accept the terms upon which he was to be restored to his own dominions; but this, instead of producing the effect, only made the king more expensive. He built a kind of castle for his residence, furnished it magnificently; and hearing that the *Porte* had shortened his allowance, told the steward of the household, "You have had but two tables hitherto; I now command you to keep four (A)".

MEANTIME *Poniatofski*, who still resided in the *Turkish* camp, wrote a journal of the transactions at *Pruth*, where

(A) This circumstance both *Motraye* and *Voltaire* mention, but it is omitted by the baron *Fabricius*, who then attended the king's court. He however says, that the *Swedes* were reduced to such difficulties, as obliged them to borrow at 40 per cent. from the officers, domesticks and janissaries, who had grown rich by *Charles's* liberality. Even these supplies were exhausted when *Motraye* the traveller arrived at the king's court, and offered, out of respect for the monarch, to go through all the *Turkish* guards, to borrow money, in the king's name, at *Constantinople*. The true design was, to convey letters, which he put into a pocket-book, carried in his

hand, and passed among the *Turks* for a Christian prayer-book. In this manner he made his way to *Constantinople*, delivered his dispatches to the *Swedish* minister, but was less successful in borrowing money than he expected. However, he prevailed on some persons to advance money, and received from *Cooke*, an *English* merchant, to the amount of 5000*l.* which that gentleman generously offered to entrust in the hands of an unfortunate prince, who would surely reward him as soon as it was in his power; with which supplies he returned to *Charles*, just as the little court was reduced to the utmost necessity. *Vid. Motraye Trav. Vol. Fabric. Lett.*

he

he accused the vizir of treachery and cowardice. This he found means to present, by the hands of an old janissary and the Swedish resident, to the grand signior. He then repaired to the *Porte*, to forward the intrigues which succeeded, but in a manner different from what was expected. The late vizir *Chourlouli* had formed a project to depose sultan *Achmet*. He wanted to engage *Mahomet Baltagi* in this scheme, knowing that his present situation was ticklish. The conspiracy was discovered, *Chourlouli* and his accomplices were beheaded, and the vizir *Mahomet Baltagi* deposed, notwithstanding he had never embraced the offers of the conspirators. Another revolution at the Porte.

A new scene was now opened at *Constantinople*. The grand vizir *Jussuff*, who succeeded, was by birth a *Muscovite*, and consequently prejudiced in favour of his countrymen. The czar's ambassadors were better treated than ever, the peace of *Pruth* was confirmed, but the usual remittances were renewed to the court at *Bender* (B). The French ambassador supported the interest of the court of *Sweden*, while the imperial minister favoured the views of the court of *Moscow*. The *English* and *Dutch* assumed the appearance of an exact neutrality; but in fact the new channel of trade which the czar opened at *Petersburgh*, biased them in his favour. Neither indeed had they any considerable influence, whatever *Voltaire*, and some other memoir-writers, may assert. It was the vizir's own inclinations, and the policy of the divan, that dictated every measure at the *Ottoman* court. Every new vizir readily perceived the difficulty of retaining his employment, or of keeping the advantageous peace with *Russia*, while the *Swedish* monarch continued in the *Turkish* dominions; the great object therefore of all their projects was, to remove him, and prevail upon him to return to *Sweden*, in a manner extremely honourable to himself, but less dangerous to the *Porte* than at the head of a numerous army, as he always proposed and demanded. To effect this the sultan was prevailed on by the vizir to send the king the following letter; which, on account of its peculiarity, we shall beg leave to transcribe from *M. de Voltaire*.

§ FABR. lett. 10. MOTR. Trav. passim.

(B) An inundation of the river *Neister* had obliged *Charles* to remove from *Bender* to *War-mika*; however, as his court and residence are best known by the former appellation, we have continued it, without paying regard to so trivial a circumstance.

“ MOST

*The History of Sweden.*

“ Most powerful among the monarchs who worship *Jesu*,  
 “ avenger of wrongs and injuries, protector of rights in  
 “ the kingdoms and republics of south and north; brilliant  
 “ in majesty, lover of honour and glory, and of our sublime  
 “ Porte, Charles king of Sweden, whose undertakings may  
 “ the Almighty crown with success.

“ As soon as the most illustrious *Achmet* shall have the  
 “ honour to deliver you this letter, adorned with our imper-  
 “ rial signet, be persuaded of the truth and sincerity of our  
 “ intentions therein contained; viz. that notwithstanding  
 “ our design was to send our ever-victorious army a second  
 “ time against the czar; yet that prince, to avoid our just  
 “ resentment at his delaying the execution of the treaty  
 “ concluded on the banks of the *Pruth*, and ratified at our  
 “ sublime Porte, having surrendered into our hands the city  
 “ and castle of *Asoph*, and having endeavoured, by the me-  
 “ diation of the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, our ancient  
 “ allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have grant-  
 “ ed his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who  
 “ remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification,  
 “ having first received his from their hands. We have given  
 “ our inviolable and salutary commands to the honourable  
 “ and valiant *Delvet Gherai*, kan of *Bondgiak*, in *Crim Tar-*  
 “ *tary*, *Noghai* and *Circassia*, and to *Ismael*, our sage coun-  
 “ sellor, and noble serasquier of *Bender* (whom God pre-  
 “ serve, and augment their magnificence and wisdom) for  
 “ your return through *Poland*, according to your first de-  
 “ sign, which has again been represented to us in your  
 “ name. You must, therefore, prepare to set forward by  
 “ the next winter, under the direction of Providence, and  
 “ with our honourable guard, in order to return to your  
 “ own dominions, taking care to pass through *Poland* in a  
 “ peaceable and friendly manner. You shall be provided  
 “ with every necessary for your journey, by my sublime  
 “ Porte, as well money as men, horses and waggons. But  
 “ we advise and expect you, above all things, to give the  
 “ fullest and most express orders to all the *Swedes*, and other  
 “ soldiers in your retinue, not to make spoil, or havock,  
 “ or commit any other action, that may tend, either direct-  
 “ ly or indirectly, to break this peace and alliance. Hereby  
 “ you will preserve our good will, of which we shall en-  
 “ deavour to give you as strong and frequent testimonies as  
 “ we shall have opportunity. The troops destined to at-  
 “ tend you, shall receive orders agreeable to our imperial  
 “ intentions in this particular. Given at our sublime Porte  
 “ of

of Constantinople, the 14th of the month *Rebgul-Eureb*,  
“ 1124.”

THOUGH this letter evinced the grand signior's intentions, it did not destroy the king's hopes. He answered, that he was ready to set out on his return to *Sweden*: he acknowledged the favours received from the sultan; but added, that he hoped his sublime highness would consider the consequences of his passing, with a slight guard, through a kingdom over-run with *Russians*<sup>k</sup>.

MEAN time the allies, alarmed at the regency of *Sweden*'s refusal to accept the proposed neutrality, determined to enter upon such measures as should force them to compliance. The *Russians* had already made themselves masters of *Riga*, the garrison of which had capitulated in the spring of the preceding year. They were allowed all the honours of war, and the *Russian* general consented that they should be transported to *Sweden*; but the czar refused to ratify this agreement, and ordered all the *Swedes* to be arrested, giving for a reason, that his envoy was confined a prisoner at *Stockholm*. Since the reduction of *Riga*, the czar's forces made themselves masters of fort *Dunnamonde*, of the town of *Wiburg*, of *Pernau*, *Revel*, and other places, and at last of all *Livonia* and *Finland*. *Sweden*, though her king was a prisoner, her provinces a prey, and her frontiers surrounded by false friends and declared enemies, did not lose courage. The late victory in *Sebenen* raised the drooping spirits of the people, and the generous proposal of the *Dalecarlians*, who hearing that their king was detained a prisoner in *Tartary*, offered to march in a body of 20,000 men to his relief, infused a noble emulation, which alone saved the kingdom at this critical juncture. *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Russia*, were uniting in stricter bonds of amity. They apprehended, that should *Charles* return to his dominions, he would soon effect a change in the face of affairs, and by his vigour and courage regain, with repeated victories, what he lost, by one defeat, at *Pultowa*. It was, perhaps, the most imprudent resolution which *Charles* ever pursued, to persist obstinately in residing in *Tartary*, because he could not return at the head of an army through *Poland*, again embroil that kingdom, and a second time dethrone *Augustus*. Before the new treaties formed between the three above northern powers, the affairs of *Sweden* were not so desperate as to baffle all remedies. Now, indeed, the czar had undertaken to defend the frontiers, and to cover *Caminiek*; while *Augustus*, in concert

Treaty between the kings of Denmark and Poland.

<sup>k</sup> VOLT. lib. v.



with the king of *Denmark*, should invade *Swedish Pomerania*. The army destined to wrest this province from *Sweden* amounted to 46,000 men, *Poles*, *Danes*, and *Russians*. Previous, however, to their irruption into the province, the two king's published each a manifesto, declaring their reasons for this measure, and disguising, in the best manner they could, a violence dictated purely by the spirit of ambition and resentment. *Frederic* alledged self-defence, and that he was urged to the invasion of *Pomerania*, to break a storm which he saw gathering in *Sweden*, and pointed against his dominions. He promised the inhabitants full security in their lives, liberties, and possessions, provided they remained in their houses, employed in their several occupations, and yielding perfect obedience to his government. On the contrary, if they offered to oppose his army, or any way aid or assist the *Swedes*, he threatened they should feel all the horrors of war, and the weight of his just resentment, their country should be turned into a desert, and their rivers should flow with blood<sup>1</sup>.

HOWEVER speciously the *Danish* monarch might have glossed over the true motives of his conduct, all the world saw the absurdity of pretending that he was threatened by a storm from *Sweden*, in its present unfortunate circumstances. The *Pomeranians* were not deceived; the king's manifesto made not the least impression; they loved, admired, and pitied their monarch, and were too steady in their allegiance to withdraw, upon account of the terrible menaces denounced. As to the manifesto published by *Augustus* king of *Poland*, from his camp at *Strelitz*, it was founded upon the same principles of conduct, but had much more the appearance of equity. He had been dethroned by *Charles*, his crown had been given away to another person, and all the wealth of his electorate of *Saxony* carried away by the *Swedish* army into *Russia*, and lost by *Charles* at the battle of *Pultowa*. His resentment was just, and the strictest probity must allow, that the worst effects of his vengeance could scarcely retaliate the injuries he had sustained. Had he openly avowed these motives, the world would have believed, and acquitted him; but he chose to declare, that he was actuated by other, which, indeed, had no foundation in truth. With him too it was self-defence, and the desire of preserving the peace, and preventing the flames of war from spreading over *Germany*, that occasioned his invasion of *Swedish Pomerania*. He asserted, in ambiguous terms, that *Sweden* was on the point

They invade Pomerania,

<sup>1</sup> PARTH. tom. ii. p. 7.

of declaring war against the princes, who had guaranteed the neutrality of the German provinces, though he did not think fit to specify the particular infractions of that neutrality. In a word, the cunning, the labour, and art so striking in this piece, made it extremely obvious, that *Augustus* wanted only to colour over an enterprize, which could not but be regarded as a violation of the peace of *Westphalia*, and the subsequent treaties, formed to secure the repose of the empire.

THESE manifestos being dispersed, the two allied kings immediately commenced hostilities; *Augustus* by seizing upon *Troptow*, a little town in *Swedish Pomerania*; and *Frederic*, by an unsuccessful attempt on *Damgarten*. It was necessary to attack the place in form; the *Swedish* garrison kept up an incessant fire; but finding that the *Danes* had drained the surrounding morasses, in which consisted their chief security, they retired to *Stralsund* with all their effects, leaving nothing besides the walls, half demolished, to the conquerors.

*STRALSUND* was well provided for a vigorous defence; besides a considerable garrison, there was a body of *Swedish* troops encamped under the walls, and another in the *island of Rugen*, to maintain the communication: yet did the confederate kings venture to lay siege to this city, detaching, at the same time, six thousand *Danes* to block up *Wismar*. At this very time *Copenhagen* was afflicted with a pestilence, which some of the clergy ventured to pronounce from the pulpit, to be a punishment on the kingdom for the unjust war carrying on against *Sweden*. *Frederic*, however, persevered, but made little progress in the siege of *Stralsund*, on account of the vigorous sallies of the garrison, and the scarcity of battering artillery. The besiegers relied upon having every necessary by sea from *Copenhagen*; however, their cannon had been so long coming, that they became the ridicule of the *Swedish* garrison. At last mortars, battering cannon, and every necessary arrived; but the season was so far advanced, that the besiegers were forced to satisfy themselves with levying contributions on the surrounding country, and surprising *Penamunda*, a fort in the neighbourhood of *Gripswald*. The czar had reinforced the allies with 10,000 *Russians*, under general *Bauer*; but this did not in the least accelerate their conquests, as the *Swedes* received a reinforcement nearly equal, and obliged them to abandon all hopes of reducing *Stralsund*.

ASHAMED of going into winter-quarters with so numerous an army, without having gained any considerable ad-

vantage, the kings turned their arms against *Wisnar*, the garrison of which place had almost been ruined by the imprudence of the governor. He had sallied out upon the enemy on their first arrival with great success: encouraged by which, he hazarded a second sally, at the head of almost the whole garrison, and had the mortification to be repulsed, with the loss of near half his soldiers. This error he repaired by his future conduct, which proved so circumspect, steady, and vigorous, that the two monarchs, seeing no prospect of success, retired with their forces, the one going to *Copenhagen*, the other to *Dresden*, while the *Russians* kept *Stetin* blocked up<sup>m</sup>.

A. D.  
1712.  
*King of  
Denmark  
invades  
the duchy  
of Bre-  
men.*

THE disappointment which the *Danish* monarch had met with in this irruption into *Pomerania*, and the terrible havoc which disease and famine had made in his army, obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of returning. He had lost above 4000 horses for want of forage, and the infantry had suffered nearly in the same proportion. He therefore determined to have his revenge on *Bremen*, a duchy possessed by *Sweden* since the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and which had hitherto, in the whole course of the war, enjoyed a strict neutrality. He alledged, in apology for this infraction, that a *Swedish* squadron had, in the month of *August* the preceding year, seized, in the river *Elbe*, upon four *Norwegian* vessels, which they ransomed at 24,400 livres. This was a violation of the neutrality, which he declared he had a right to imitate. Accordingly he seized about thirty small *Swedish* vessels, which lay in the *Elbe*, and sent a small squadron to cruise at the mouth of the river. The *Swedes* submitted the capture of the *Norwegians* to examination. Upon trial it was found, they had been taken beyond the limits of the river, in the open sea; accordingly the affair was accommodated between the generals *Krassau* and *Scholten*.

*FREDERIC* had now lost his handle for proceeding against the duchy of *Bremen*; but he resolved to find another, and not drop his design, which was no longer doubted, after a manifesto, which he published, in the month of *July*. Here he set forth, that the king of *Sweden*'s refusal to submit to the neutrality projected at the *Hague*, plainly indicated his intentions of carrying the war into his *Danish* majesty's dominions situated in *Germany*. That the inhabitants of *Bremen* had disturbed the *Danish* commerce on the *Elbe*; and that, to redress his grievances, the king of *Denmark* had resolved to march his army into that duchy. He exhorted

<sup>m</sup> Idem. ibid. PUFFEND. lib. vii. tom. vii.

the inhabitants to submit, and secure themselves and effects, by taking an oath of allegiance to his crown. He forbid them to quit their habitations, or to remove out of the way forage, provision, and the sustenance for his army, under the same penalties denounced against the *Pomeranians*. In vain did the neighbouring princes remind him of the treaties of *Westphalia*, and the subsequent treaties of neutrality; *Frederic* passed the *Elbe*, and laid siege to *Stade*, the strongest town possessed by the *Swedes* in *Bremen*. By the middle of *August* the trenches were opened, and the batteries played vigorously; while the besieged maintained a furious fire from the mouths of two hundred pieces of cannon. The *Danes* perceiving that their battering cannon produced no effect, erected two batteries of six large mortars each, with which they bombarded, and soon laid the town in ashes. But what obliged the garrison to surrender, was, the loss of their powder magazine, which blew up with such a terrible explosion, <sup>Stade</sup> as shook the houses off their foundations. <sup>taken by</sup> *Frederic* being in the *Danes*, possession of this important place, found no difficulty in reducing all the rest of the duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The *Swedish* forces were considerable, and few of the towns capable of making any resistance, so that the *Danish* conquests gave them very little more trouble than traversing the country.

It was otherwise with *Wisnar*, the blockade of which town was formed by general *Rantzau*, who was perpetually harassed by a flying party of *Swedes*, under colonel *Bassowitz*. At the same time *Steenboek* drew together all the forces he could collect in the neighbourhood of *Stralsund* and *Rugen*, and marched, with the utmost secrecy, towards *Damgarten*, King *Stanislaus* served as a volunteer in this expedition. The army, amounting to 17,000 horse, foot, and dragoons, surprised *Rostock*; in which leaving a garrison of two regiments, he pursued his march, with intention to attack the *Saxon* army before *Gustraw*; but finding they were superior in numbers, he remained for ten days inactive, in expectation of reinforcements from *Sweden*. For the same reasons, the enemy did not think proper to attack him, until they could be joined by the *Danish* army assembling in *Holstein*. The circumstances determined both parties to agree upon an armistice for five days; but this compact was broke by the *Danes* on the third day, who, entering *Mecklenburgh*, attacked a body of *Swedes* that escorted a convoy of provisions from *Lubec*. They were, however, repulsed with loss, and suffered the just punishment of their perfidy. Nor were the *Saxons* and *Russians* more tenacious of their word. They

Steen-  
boeck  
gains a  
memorable  
victory o-  
ver the  
Danes  
and Sax-  
ons.

seized upon several posts, and made dispositions to surround the *Swedish* army; but nothing could induce *Steenboeck* to renounce the treaty of armistice. He waited patiently to the last day, then broke down the bridges over the *Warran*, and advanced towards the *Danish* army, by a forced march, over broken roads, morasses, and through defiles covered with wood. In passing the great defile called *Ullenkrog*, which he imagined would be disputed by the enemy, he drew up his army in four columns, and made so masterly a disposition, that the *Danes* retreated with precipitation, though they might easily have maintained their ground against greatly superior forces. *Steenboeck* having overcome this difficulty, without exchanging a shot, halted for the night to refresh the army, and kept strict watch, to prevent being surprised. In the morning he found that the enemy were posted on an eminence, with a deep morass in front, the river *Gaudehus* on the left, and a thick wood on the right. This situation appeared inaccessible; but *Steenboeck* determined to overcome every difficulty; and the troops were so earnest to come to blows, that he thought it advisable to profit by their ardor. His intention was to attack the enemy in front, for which purpose he ordered forty-two pieces of cannon to advance, while he drew up his army in a manner that has been admired by the greatest generals in *Europe*. To support the artillery, which began to play furiously by break of day, seven battalions advanced under the conduct of the major-generals *Patkul* and *Ekeblad*. They were followed by a column composed of six battalions, under their several colonels. Two regiments of the battalion of *Ostrogoths* were posted on the right; and in the left, were two battalions of the regiment of *Dahl*, and a battalion of *Dalecarlians*. To support each flank, and cover it from the enemy's cavalry, a small column of infantry, flanked by a considerable body of horse, was posted; and the cavalry, in general, had directions to attend the infantry, in crossing the morass, in two columns, and to gain firm ground on each wing, with all possible expedition. The word of battle was given, "With God's assistance;" and every part of the general's orders were punctually executed. Never did troops march up in the face of an enemy, and of a vast train of artillery pouring out destruction, with more gallantry and success; and our authors relate, that *Steenboeck* had now made the first trial of an invention, for loading with more than common expedition. The infantry marched up, with their muskets shouldered, within fifteen paces of the enemy, and there gave so well levelled and general a fire, that the *Danes* fell back;

back in disorder. At the same time, the cavalry on the right having subdued all the difficulties of the morass, fell upon the enemies left, and defeated their cavalry; nor was the left wing more backward; it cut a way through a thick wood, sustained all the rage of the enemies fire at a distance, and came to a close engagement with bayonets fixed. Several battalions sunk under the enemies superiority, retreated, rallied, and returned with redoubled vigour to the charge. All the efforts of the *Danish* cavalry to break the columns of the horse and foot in each flank, proved fruitless; they were beaten off as often as they attacked. At last the *Swedes* got to the height of the eminence; here the fight became obstinate for the space of an hour, when the enemy yielded to the obstinacy of the *Swedes*. The village of *Wankenstein* was forced, and three battalions of the enemy were cut in pieces. After this the rout became general, the *Danes* every where fled, and the *Swedes* put them without mercy to the sword. They rallied, indeed, and behaved with great intrepidity, but were at length forced to throw down their arms and beg quarter. Near 7000 were killed and taken, almost all the artillery fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, and *Steenboek*, besides the advantages consequent on the victory, gained immortal glory<sup>a</sup>.

WHILE the *Swedes* were gathering laurels in the northern *The king's* frontiers of *Germany*, their king was reduced to great diffi-<sup>situation</sup>culties at *Bender*, having tired the patience and liberality of <sup>at Bender,</sup> the *Ottoman* court, by his stubborn and very peculiar humour. *Charles* would return in his own way, or determined to remain an exile with a people heartily wearied of their royal guest. The revolutions in the *Turkish* ministry brought him no kind of advantage; the new vizir *Counourgi* having planned other more advantageous schemes than that of quarrelling with the czar, and conquering desert countries. *Voltaire* affirms upon good authority, that he had projected an attack upon the *Morea*, and other dominions of the *Venetian* republic. The musti, who was the vizir's creature, entered into his views. While the young favourite had resolved upon a war with *Russia*, the musti consecrated his determination, and declared it agreeable to the will of the prophet; as soon as *Counourgi* changed his mind, the musti more accurately examined the book of all knowledge, and declared he had been mistaken in his former sanction. Thus the army was scarce raised against the czar, when the peace was renewed. In every confirmation of the

treaties between the *Porte* and the court of *Moscow*, the removal of the king of *Sweden* became an article; *Poland* and *Russia* both consenting not to molest him in his passage through the republic. The remonstrances which *Charles* sent to the sultan's letter, availed nothing; the serasquier of *Bender* had orders again to acquaint him with the unmoveable resolution of the *Porte*; to which the king made no other answer than that *Achmet* had promised him an army, and not a guard\*.

SUCH was the ticklish situation of this monarch when he made discovery of a correspondence carried on between king *Augustus* and the cham of *Tartary*, the object of which, there was reason to believe, was to betray him to the *Saxons*. Count *Sapieha*'s desertion at this juncture, to the king of *Poland*, strengthened the suspicion. This confirmed *Charles* in his resolution to gain time, and procrastinate his journey. When the serasquier again waited upon him, pressing him in the most obsequious manner to fix the day of his departure, *Charles* replied, that he could not think of stirring before his debts were paid. The serasquier asked what sum would be necessary for that purpose, and the king replied, a thousand purses: upon which the bashaw wrote to court, and twelve hundred purses were sent for the use of the *Swedish* monarch, with a letter from the sultan, directed to the serasquier, to the same effect as that we have quoted to the king, only that he was strictly charged not to deliver the purses before *Charles* had actually began his journey. Previous to the arrival of this letter and remittance, the king of *Sweden* had sent complaints to the *Porte*, of the treachery of the cham of *Tartary*; however, his letter never came into the sultan's hands; it was intercepted by the vizir; and the *French* minister, who acted as agent for the king of *Sweden*, was forbid coming to *Aphrianople*†.

As soon as the king had notice that the treasure was arrived, he sent his favourite and treasurer *Grotbusen*, to demand it of the serasquier, who refused it, alledging, that the sultan's orders were, it should not be delivered before the king's departure, and, according to the continuator of *Puffendorf*, upon the following conditions; that the king and all his retinue should be actually upon their journey; that he should pass through *Poland* quietly, without exciting the people to revolts and tumults, and that he should solemnly promise not to assist *Stanislaus* in regaining the crown, and leave the republic of *Poland* the liberty of a free election, in

\* VOLT. lib. vi. † PUFFEND. et VOLT. in locis citat.

case the people should happen to dislike the reigning monarch. All this *Grothusen* promised in the king's name, and prevailed on the *serasquier* to part with the twelve hundred purses against the express orders of his sovereign. *Charles* was not long in possession of the treasure, before he squandered it away in presents, rewards, and gratifications, which reduced him to the necessity of demanding a thousand more purses. The demand astonished and confounded the *serasquier*; he shed tears, and then turning to the king, told him his head would be the forfeit of having obliged him with the money, contrary to the orders of the sultan. He then acquainted the cham of *Tartary*, with the king's resolution not to depart, before he was gratified with another thousand purses, and both wrote to the *Porte* to clear their own conduct, protesting they parted with the money upon the king's most solemn promise to be gone immediately. The king too offered to make an excuse for them; but the *bashaw's* answer was, that his master knew how to punish, but not to pardon disobedience.

A. D.  
1713.

THERE is something so mean, so little, and unaccountable, in the whole conduct of the king of *Sweden* upon this occasion, that barely to recite facts is to expose him, and shew that he was not really the hero he appeared. The *serasquier* had conducted himself with the utmost politeness and most respectful regard, which *Charles* returned by putting him in danger of an ignominious death. The *Porte* had afforded him the most generous protection and support for above the space of three years; he now forgot all, grew exorbitant in his demands, and obliged the sultan to use violence in removing so troublesome a guest from his dominions. When the *bashaw's* apology, and *Charles's* demand for a thousand more purses, were communicated to the grand signior, he flew into a rage, called an extraordinary divan, and spoke himself upon the occasion, in such terms as would reflect honour upon the greatest christian monarch, "I scarce, said he, ever knew the king of *Sweden*, but by his defeat at *Pultowa*, and the request he made that I should grant him a sanctuary in my empire. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him; yet without consulting any considerations, but the hospitality of a muselman and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the great as well as the humble, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have protected, maintained, and supported agreeable to the dignity of a king, himself, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, and for three years have never with-  
" held

*The king positively refused to quit the Turkish dominions.*



“ held my hand from loading him with favours. I have  
 “ granted him a very considerable guard to conduct him to  
 “ his own country. He has asked for a thousand purses to  
 “ pay debts, though I defray all his expences; I have  
 “ granted him 1200, and having obtained these, he de-  
 “ mands a thousand more, refusing to quit my dominions  
 “ until these are paid, and a stronger guard allowed. I  
 “ ask you then, whether it be a breach of the laws of hos-  
 “ pitality, to send this prince away, and whether foreign  
 “ princes can justly tax me with cruelty or injustice, in case  
 “ I should be forced to use violence?”

THIS speech breathes a generosity, which *Charles's* conduct did not merit; it met with the approbation of the divan, the musti, and all the members, declaring, that the sultan might, without injury to his honour, or the laws of hospitality, use violence, should other methods fail. The fetta, revered in *Turkey* as an oracle, was granted by the musti, and this with the sultan's order was carried to *Bender*, by the grand master of the horse and the first usher. The *Seraskier* went immediately to the king, to acquaint him with the order, and to request that he would render the execution unnecessary; but *Charles*, who was not accustomed to hear menaces, replied, “ Obey your master, if you dare, and instantly quit my presence.” This enraged the *Seraskier*, he returned to his camp, and immediately stopped the king's provisions, and removed the guard of janissaries, which was the first step towards the execution of his order. He then gave notice to the *Poles* and *Cossacks*, in the king's quarters, that if they wanted to escape the pressure of famine, they must leave the *Swedish* monarch, and put themselves under protection of the bashaw and cham of *Tartary*. All obeyed, leaving the king with his domestics to oppose an army of 20,000 men, without provisions for a single day. However, the janissaries who revered *Charles*, supplied him privately in the night. At last the royal quarters were invested on all sides, and the king having taken the necessary measures of defence, sat down quietly to sleep, with his favourite *Grothusen*. In consequence of a conference which *M. Fabricius* had with the bashaw and cham, it was determined to send a courier to *Adrianople*, for further orders, and to defer storming the king's quarters, until the return of the messenger. In the mean time, provisions were admitted as usual; but the order arriving for putting to the sword all the *Swedes*, who should resist, and even the king himself, the bashaw had the civility to shew the order to the *Holstein* envoy, with intention he should use his utmost influence with  
 the

*His  
 strange re-  
 solution to  
 repel force  
 by force.*

the obstinate monarch. *Fabricius* went immediately to acquaint the king, assured him he had seen it, and received for answer, that it was an impudent forgery. He fell at the king's feet, besought him to regard a life so valuable to his subjects, soothed, intreated, and reproached, but all to no purpose. "Go, says the king, to your *Turks*; if they attack me, I know how to defend myself;" upon which he shewed him the fortifications he had erected. His chaplains exhorted him not to expose to certain death his sacred person, and the wretched remains of *Pultowa*; and *Charles* told them, it was their business to pray for him, and not to advise. The generals *Hord* and *Dardorff* shewed him the scars of wounds received by his side. "I know, says the king, that we have fought bravely together; let us do so again." He then prepared for the assault, and seemed to feel a secret pleasure in the thoughts of sustaining the efforts of 20,000 *Turks*, with no more than 300 *Swedes*. The different posts were assigned to each of the officers, and the king rode from his fortifications to his house, promising rewards to those who should distinguish themselves.

MEAN time the bashaw and cham having used their utmost influence with the king, were preparing to obey the order of the sultan. The *Turks* and *Tartars* were seen marching up with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars, with which they proposed battering the house. As they approached, baron *Grothusen* advanced alone, and unarmed, up to the line of the janissaries, all of whom had experienced the king's liberality. "Ah! what my friends, says he, in the Turkish, are you come to massacre 300 defenceless *Swedes*, you brave janissaries, who granted their lives to 100,000 *Muscovites*, on their crying for quarter? Have you forgot the king's generosity, and his great qualities; that king whom you loved, and who has in a particular manner distinguished you? He asks but three days, and the sultan's orders are not so severe as you are made to believe." This short remonstrance produced the effect, and operated like a charm on the minds of the janissaries, who swore by their beards they would not attack the king, and that he should have the time he demanded. They refused to obey the signal, and threatened to fall upon their leader, if three days were not granted to the king of *Sweden*. They surrounded the bashaw's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were forged. They offered their mediation,

and promised every thing in the name of a monarch they admired, and whose safety they highly prized.

*The affection of the janissaries for his person.*

THE bashaw, unable to enforce obedience, had recourse to artifice. He held a conference with the cham, and prevailing upon him to defer the attack till next day, both assembled the officers of the janissaries and the oldest soldiers, read and shewed them the sultan's positive orders, and the musti's fetfa. The janissaries were now convinced of the sultan's pleasure, but they could not give up the king of *Sweden*. Sixty of the oldest, who had a thousand times tasted the king's bounty, offered to wait on him in person, intreat him to put himself into their hands, and suffer them to serve him as his body-guard. They had the consent of the bashaw, who preferred any expedient to violent measures, and accordingly marched to the king's quarters unarmed, with white staffs in their hands. Here they addressed themselves to *Grothusen* and the chancellor *Mullern*, offering to serve as faithful guards to his majesty, and to conduct him safe to *Adrianople*, where he might confer with the sultan in person; but *Charles*, instead of thanking or rewarding the affection of the janissaries, refused to see them, and sent word, that if they returned any more to trouble him, he would shave their beards; a message, which some of his attendants were imprudent enough to deliver. Fired with resentment at the slight and indignity offered, these old soldiers returned, exclaiming as they went against the stubborn ingratitude of the king, and crying out, "Down with this *demi-basch* iron head!" Since he is resolved to die let him die. They swore to obey the bashaw's orders, and communicated their rage to the whole *Turkish* camp.

*He affronts the janissaries.*

BUT it was no wonder that *Charles* refused yielding to the remonstrances of the janissaries; he even paid no regard to the intelligence sent by *Poniatosky* and *Funk*, his ministers, and both imprisoned at *Constantinople*. They had found means to convey letters to baron *Fabricius*, which he transmitted by a janissary to the king. *Charles* read the intelligence, the assurances that the sultan had actually given orders to put all the *Suedes* to the sword who resisted, and the exhortations of those loyal ministers to submit to necessity, and not hazard his sacred person, by persisting in measures which must terminate in his own ruin and the destruction of all his faithful followers. He disregarded menaces, intreaties, and solicitations, persevering in his resolution not to be compelled. Accordingly the word was given to the janissaries and *Tartars*, and they marched up to the king in the same order as on the preceding day. The camp was forced in an instant, after

after a few discharges of the artillery, and one fire of musketry, 300 *Swedes* surrendering prisoners, perhaps as the only expedient to save the king's life. The effect, however, was contrary to expectation; *Charles* was not discouraged by the misconduct of his troops; he determined to defend himself to the last extremity, with the assistance only of forty menials, whom he had left as a guard in the house, and of the generals *Hord* and *Dardoff*. Seeing his soldiers lay down their arms, he told the generals round him, we must now defend the house; come, adds he with a smile, let us fight *pro aris et focis*. In vain did he fly from post to post, encouraging his people; they were surrounded and forced to yield to superior numbers. He then galloped to the house which he found had been forced by the *Tartars*, all except a hall, which fortunately stood near the door, and where his domesticks had now assembled themselves. *Charles* drew his sword, and forced his way through the janissaries, attended by the generals *Hord* and *Dardoff*, joined his people, and then barricaded the door. This exploit was not performed without imminent danger. A janissary, whom the king had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, grazed the bullet against the king's nose, took off a bit of his ear, and broke general *Hord's* arm. *Charles* had his revenge, by piercing the janissary's breast with his sword. Candour, however, must acknowledge, that he owed his life rather to the tenderness of those generous *Turks*, than to his own vigour or valour. The janissaries even sacrificed their own safety to their reverence for the royal person, nor was it any proof of the king's noble sentiments, that he so wantonly shed the blood of men whom he must perceive scrupulous about lifting their hand. It is sufficient evidence of their reverence, that the moment *Charles* entered the house, the *Turks*, who had taken possession, threw down their arms and booty, and escaped at the windows; while the king taking advantage of their confusion, pursued them from one room to another, and after much bloodshed cleared the house in a few minutes. He then fired furiously from the windows, killed 200 of the enemy in the space of a quarter of an hour, and obliged the basshaw at length to set fire to the building, which was done by arrows, with lighted matches shot into the roof. Immediately the whole upper part of the house was on fire, and *Charles*, instead of quitting it, gave orders for extinguishing the fire, in which office he assisted with great diligence. All endeavours were fruitless, the roof fell in, and the king with his faithful little band were in danger of being buried in the ruins; but nothing could move his constancy.

*Is stormed  
in his in-  
trench-  
ments and  
house,*

*And taken  
prisoner.*

stancy. One of his people crying out, that there was a necessity for surrendering, "what a strange fellow is that," says the king, who had rather become a prisoner with "Turks, than mix his ashes with those of his sovereign." Another had the presence of mind to cry out, that the chancery was but at the distance of fifty paces, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire. Pleased with the thought of coming again to blows, the king exclaimed in rapture, "A true *Swede*! Let us take all the powder and ball we can carry." He put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out upon the *Turks*, fired two rounds, obliged them to retreat fifty paces; but falling down in the hurry, he was surrounded, taken prisoner, and carried by the arms and legs to the bashaw's tent. Such was the issue of the king's exploits, and of this extraordinary adventure, which favours strongly of insanity, and contributes nothing to establish that reputation of heroism which *Charles* eagerly affected<sup>1</sup>.

12th Feb.

### S E C T. XIII.

*Containing an account of the king's conduct while a prisoner in Turkey; of his escape; of the war in the Swedish provinces in Germany, &c.*

*C H A R L E S* was not the only christian monarch now a prisoner in the hands of the infidels. *Stanislaus*, driven out of *Poland* by king *Augustus*, without money, and without friends, retired to *Pomerania*, where he served in the *Swedish* army, and performed his utmost to return the obligations he owed the king of *Sweden*, by fighting strenuously in defence of his benefactor's dominions. He had done all he could to prevail on *Charles* to consent to his abdicating a crown which he could not maintain. He had even formed a kind of agreement with count *Fleming*, the minister and favourite of *Augustus*, to this purpose. He exhorted *Stanislaus* *Charles* to consent to this agreement, and not longer to sacrifice his own interest for the sake of an unhappy friend, who would willingly fall a victim to the public peace, the tranquillity of *Europe*, and the return of the king of *Sweden* to his own dominions. He wrote a letter to *Charles* at *Bender*, which put that monarch in a furious passion, and made him declare to the bystanders, "That if *Stanislaus* would not

*Stanislaus*  
*is arrested*  
*in the*  
*Turkish*  
*dominions.*

<sup>1</sup> Voss. Fabric. PUFFEND; ubi supra.

" accept

“accept of the crown of *Poland*, he must look out for a king elsewhere.” Finding the *Swede* inflexible, *Stanislaus* determined to repair in person to *Bender*, in hopes that he might gain by an interview what *Charles* refused granting to epistolary entreaties. He set out, accompanied by an officer and a valet, disguised in the habit of a *Swedish* colonel, and passing the frontiers of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, arrived at *Kassi* in *Moldavia*, where he was arrested as a *Swedish* officer, and sent to *Bender*. By this time *Charles* and his retinue were all prisoners, which proved the reason of *Stanislaus*’s being taken into custody. At *Bender* he was known, and notice was sent to the bashaw who was conducting the king of *Sweden* to *Adrianople*. The bashaw communicated the news to baron *Fabricius*, and the baron went immediately to the king, who, without any emotion, said, “Dear *Fabricius*, run and tell him, never to make peace with *Augustus*, for we shall soon have a change in our affairs.” This was the first consideration that occurred to the mind of a prince whom no accident or change of fortune could affect.

We shall for a while leave the two deserted monarchs prisoners in *Turkey*, to recite what passed in *Germany* subsequent to the famous battle of *Gadebusch*. General *Steenboek* was not unmindful of the bombardment of *Stade* by the *Danes*, a cruelty which he determined to revenge upon *Altena*, a town subject to *Denmark*, and situated upon the *Elbe*, higher up the river than *Hamburg*. The trade of *Altena* had flourished of late years to such a degree as excited the jealousy of the *Hamburgers*; and this it was, as some writers insinuate, that made them prevail upon *Steenboek*, by a sum of money, to destroy so dangerous a rival. There seems to be little truth in this allegation; the general himself has given the true motive of his conduct, in the answer which he published to the remonstrances of *Poland* and *Denmark*. When he arrived with his army before *Altena*, he sent a trumpet to the inhabitants, desiring them to retire, with their effects, for his intention was to lay the town in ashes. The magistrates threw themselves at his feet, and offered him a large ransom; but the general insisted, that they should double the sum, which not being complied with, the soldiers applied their lighted torches to the houses. In the middle of the night the whole town was instantly in a blaze; the season was exceedingly severe; men, women, and children, loaded with their goods, flew into the open fields, where they lay exposed to the keenest frost, and all the inclemency of the weather. Hundreds lost their lives with cold and hunger under

*Steenboek*  
burns *Al-*  
*tena*.

9th Jan.

under the walls of that city, which by the next morning was consumed to ashes. All *Europe* was scandalised at *Steenbock's* wanton barbarity. The *Poles* and *Danes* filled every court in *Christendom* with their complaints; and *Steenbock* replied, "That he was urged by the inhumanity of his enemies to carry matters to extremities. He reminded them of the cruelties committed in *Pomerania*, of their selling to many thousand *Swedish* soldiers to be enslaved by the *Turks*, and of the red-hot bullets with which they laid *Stade* in ashes." In a word, he excused himself by pleading the necessity of retaliation. However, all he could allege in his own vindication has not been able to wash out the deep stain from his memory. The cruelties at *Altena* wholly effaced the glory resulting from the victories at *Elfsburg* and *Gadebusch*, which would otherwise have eternized his name; and he soon suffered the just, but inadequate, punishment of his inhumanity.

AFTER the destruction of *Altena*, *Steenbock* entered *Holslein* to raise contributions, and pave the way for the invasion of *Jutland*, a project which he had long meditated. But this proceeding was attended with consequences very different from what he expected. The allies pursued him, and the czar attacked and defeated one of his wings. *Steenbock* endeavoured to regain *Pomerania*, but he was anticipated by the *Danes* and *Polanders*, who had already entered that province; upon which he entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of *Fredericstadt*. Nor was he able long to maintain himself in his new quarters. He endeavoured to cross the *Eider*, and lost two thousand men in the river. Fortune seemed to persecute him, since even the best-concerted projects and the most rational designs proved unsuccessful. At length, being driven to extreme necessity, he demanded admittance of the bishop of *Lubeck* into the neutral town of *Tonningen*, and had his request granted; the prelate being forced either to venture the loss of all the *Swedish* forces, or the consequences of the king of *Denmark's* resentment. He chose the latter. Some of the *Swedish* forces were received into the citadel, while the remainder quartered in the town, or encamped under the ramparts. The allies pursued, blocked up the town, and soon reduced *Steenbock* to great distress, the army being deprived of provision by that fatality which now attended all his affairs. To rid himself of this embarrassment he set a negotiation on foot, but could obtain no other terms than surrendering at discretion. Ac-

*Steenbock*  
*surrendered.*

17th May.

dingly he signed articles to this purpose; the town was canted, and the prisoners cantoned, under a strong rd, in the baillies of *Flensburgh*, *Ecklenwarde*, and *Kiel*. *Steenboek* immediately dispatched a messenger to *Turkey*, with stification of his conduct; and another to *Stockholm*, for ing the ransom of the prisoners, and requesting that s might be provided to transport them to *Sweden*. In manner was that army reduced to a state of bondage, ch had a little before gained two celebrated victories, been the terror of *Denmark*, *Russia*, and *Poland* \* (A).

HE misfortunes of *Sweden* did not terminate with the *The czar* of *Steenboek's* army, the czar landed with a numerous *reduces* y in *Finland*, and though twice repulsed at *Bergo*, at last *Finland*. lished a footing, ravaged the country, reduced *Wikked*, forced the inhabitants of *Abo*, the capital of the pro- s, to take an oath of fidelity to his czarish majesty. long after he obtained a complete victory over the es, which put him in entire possession of *Finland*. An- body of *Russians* and *Saxons* took post in the isle of n, and had near reduced *Stetin* to the necessity of sur- zing; but the king of *Prussia*, under pretence of pre- ng this city, declared that he would charge himself the sequestration of *Pomerania*. This prince was too ic and too selfish to lose so favourable an opportunity of iding his influence, at the expence of a power now be- a prey to all the northern nations. He negotiated the privately with prince *Menzikoff*, and thus obtained the s consent to hold the province sequestered, until a ge- pacification was established in the *North*, at which *Stetin* and its dependencies were to be restored to *Swe-*

\* PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. lib. vii.

) His *Danish* majesty, by whom he deemed his bitterest enemy to go freely on his pa- role through every part of *Co- penbagen*, and he loaded him with civilities, until *Steenboek*, attempting to make his escape, incurred the king's displeasure, and occasioned his own con- finement, which terminated with his asking *Frederic* pardon, and acknowledging his error. *Volt-* lib. vii.

He suffered the man



den, on that kingdom's repaying his *Prussian* majesty the sum of 400,000 crowns for his expences.

IN these calamitous circumstances, the *Swedish* regency saw no other method of stemming the torrent of disgrace and accumulated misfortune, than by setting on foot a negotiation; and yet they had but a very remote prospect of this, while the king openly declared, that he would consent to no peace which did not stipulate the full restitution of all his losses, the reimbursement of his expences, and the establishment of *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*; for in this manner *Charles* dictated from his prison in *Turkey*. *Sweden* had lost all her foreign provinces; some held them as pledges, others as conquests, and both equally became her enemies. She had neither trade, money, nor credit, her veteran soldiers were either dead, prisoners, or incapacitated by wounds or old age. Above 150,000 *Swedes* were slaves in *Muscovy*, *Turkey*, and *Tartary*, or locked up in prisons in *Poland* and *Denmark*. The king was confined in a remote country, his return and even his life were uncertain; but, above all, the regency and senate were assured of his obstinacy in persisting in such resolutions as would be incompatible with the state of the kingdom. All these reasons determined the senate to entreat the princess *Ulrica Eleonora*, the king's sister, to charge herself with the chief administration of affairs, during his majesty's absence, in quality of heiress to the crown, should the king die without issue. The resolution was no sooner formed, than the senate, perhaps out of hatred to the regency, waited on the princess, who consented to their request. She was accordingly conducted, for the first time, to that august assembly, where it was determined to convoke the states, in order to concert measures for putting an end to the national calamities. As the letters issued for this purpose contain a detail of the circumstances of the state, the reader may be curious to peruse the substance, which we have therefore annexed in a marginal note (B).

Princess  
Eleonora  
called to  
the admin-  
istration.

\* PUFFEND. *ibid.*

(B) " We cannot conceal from you the disappointment of our hopes, that the king would soon return to his dominions, and that the measures taken for the defence of the kingdom would have terminated more happily. You are al-

ready too well acquainted with the wretched situation of *Sweden* and the provinces. Famine, pestilence, and a variety of other unavoidable misfortunes, facilitated the irruption of the enemy into *Finland*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and the German provinces.

THE points to be deliberated by the assembly chiefly regarded the necessity of re-establishing the finances, and putting the fleet and army in a situation to disappoint all the schemes formed by the enemy. The diet therefore began with publishing an ordonance, whereby all the inhabitants were charged to send their plate to the mint to be coined, the states promising to reimburse them the subsequent year. It was also proposed raising ten thousand foot and two thousand horse and dragoons, to be joined to the other national forces, so that the whole should amount to thirty thousand men, to be encamped at different stations on the coast. It was then deliberated whether the states had power to conclude a peace in the king's absence, and contrary to his inclination; the result of the debates was, that as the king had

A. D.  
1714.

Debated  
in the  
diet.

vinces. The same causes prevented the Swedish forces from dislodging the enemy, penetrating into Poland, and escorting the king home, as was intended. It is true, that general Steenbock obtained a glorious victory, by the divine grace, near Gadebusch; but soon after that army, by a strange fatality, was forced to surrender at discretion to the enemy. In vain was the sum raised necessary for ransoming the troops; in vain were the sums stipulated by the capitulation, sent; hitherto the Danes have not performed their engagements, and they retain the Swedish prisoners under a variety of frivolous pretences. They have even incorporated great numbers in their own regiments. Besides, the czar, in conjunction with Denmark, is preparing, after the conquest of Finland, to attack Sweden on the side of that province, and towards the frontiers of Norway and Schonen. Since the king's absence the councils have done all in their power to maintain the old troops, to levy new, to keep the navy in a respectable posture, and to defend every

part of the Swedish frontier; yet have they seen their unfortunate country long tossed in a terrible storm, which must soon produce the dissolution of government, and loss of liberty, in consequence of the enemy's penetrating to the very bowels of the kingdom. The treasury is quite exhausted, and all the inhabitants of Sweden impoverished; so that no resource remains for keeping up the fleet, recruiting the army, forming magazines, and supporting the absolutely necessary expences. In this situation it is the duty of every Swede to exert himself, and contribute the last penny and the last drop of his blood, to rescue his country from the jaws of destruction. Unable alone to support the whole weight, we have therefore resolved to convoke a diet, in order to concert measures, not doubting but we shall meet with the hearty assistance of all the king's loyal and affectionate subjects, and well-wishers to the state and true interest of Sweden." Vid. Lit. public, ann. 1713, Nov. 9.

been long absent, and there was no certainty about his return, the states had a legal power to practise whatever should be found necessary for the well-being and safety of the kingdom. In consequence, ambassadors were named to confer with the enemies plenipotentiaries, while at the same time the most vigorous steps were taken for prosecuting the war. To this resolution the princess-royal opposed a declaration, that she would enter upon no treaty with the enemy, until she was authorised by the king her brother. She likewise desired to resign the regency, from an apprehension of displeasing *Charles*; which obliged the states to continue sitting for the dispatch of business<sup>1</sup>.

WHILE the diet was providing for the security of the kingdom, the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Tonningen*, and other parts of the duke of *Holstein's* dominions. At the same time the *Russian* fleet came to an engagement with the *Swedish* Squadron under admiral *Ehrenschild*. The fleets met off *Riloxiel*; the enemy were commanded by the czar in person, and the engagement continued extremely hot for the space of two hours, when fortune declared against the *Swedes*, who were defeated, with the loss of six men of war, one frigate, and three sail of transports. The vice-admiral, three captains, five lieutenants, and forty inferior officers, were taken prisoners. Six thousand *Russians* landed in *Oeland*, and made themselves entirely masters of the island; however, they were soon forced to abandon their conquest, and retire with the czar's fleet to places of security<sup>2</sup>.

MEANTIME the king of *Sweden* began to entertain serious thoughts of returning to his own dominions. Since his departure from *Bender* the *Porte* had fixed his residence at *Demotica*, a small town six leagues from *Adrianople* (C). Here he was allowed provisions sufficient for his own table and his retinue, but only twenty-five crowns a-day in money, instead of the five hundred which he had at *Bender*. It was during the king's stay here that general *Ranck* was sent from *Hesse Cassel*, to solicit his consent to the marriage of the landgrave and the princess *Eleonora*; a request to which he readily assented. General *Lieven* was likewise dispatched by the states of *Sweden*, to implore his majesty to prepare for returning to his dominions, which languished, and were now

<sup>1</sup> Idem. ibid. Etiam VOLT. lib. vii.    <sup>2</sup> PUFFEND. ibid.

(C) *Puffendorf* calls this *Demirtasb*, where the king resided before he was permitted to live at *Demotica*. Lib. vii. ready

ready to sink under the weight of a ruinous war, during his absence. On the other hand, the peace concluded at *Utrecht* left the court of *Versailles* more at liberty openly to espouse *Charles*, and support his credit at the *Othoman* court; where fresh revolutions appeared daily, and rendered his situation exceeding ticklish. The grand vizir *Soliman* was deposed to make room for *Ibrahim Molla*, who had been a common seaman, rough, blunt, and boisterous in his manners, as is usual with persons bred on the watery element. This minister, for private reasons, entered into the project of coming to a rupture with *Russia*; and believing this design might prove acceptable to the king of *Sweden*, he intimated it to him, inviting him to a conference, in the stile, and with the familiarity of an equal. Misfortune had not subdued the king of *Sweden's* pride, he felt the indignity, declined the invitation, sent his chancellor *Mullern* to meet the vizir, and to avoid giving offence to a minister, who had it greatly in his power to serve him, kept his bed during his stay at *Demotica*, under pretence of illness.

For ten months the king continued in this irksome situation, in perfect health, but treated and confined like a sick person; which at last proved the strongest reason for determining him to accept of the small escort proposed by the grand signior. His resolution was communicated to the grand vizir, who ordered a conference to be set on foot with the republic of *Poland*, to grant the king a safe passage through that kingdom. Circumstances were now entirely altered at the *Othoman* court, which occasioned the negotiation's being spun out to great length of time: upon this, *Charles* dropped the demand of an escorte, and contented himself with asking a passport through the *Turkish* dominions, relying upon the imperial court for leave to pass through *Germany* unmolested. The new vizir *Molla* had been strangled between two doors, which gave the finishing blow to the king's misfortunes, and obliged him to abandon all thoughts of forcing his way through *Poland* at the head of a *Turkish* army. The affair of his departure was to be negotiated by *Grothusen*, whom he vested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, sending him to *Adrianople*, with a train of fourteen persons, richly dressed. To equip this retinue, the king was reduced to the most mortifying shifts, and the necessity of borrowing money from usurers at fifty per cent. The great object was to get money from the grand vizir and a passport; but the former did not succeed. *Grothusen* was received with all the honour due to his character, he returned the king's thanks for the

protection afforded him by the grand signior, intimated his inclination to return to his own dominions, requested a passport through the *Othoman* territories, and hinted the king's want of money to pay his debts, and defray his expences of his journey; but the vizir started difficulties. With respect to the passport, it could be of no use, he said, until the consent of the court of *Vienna* was first obtained; and as to the money, his answer was, "that his master knew how to give when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should have every necessary provided for his journey, and in a manner worthy of his sublime highness and his majesty, and possibly the *Porte* might make some pecuniary present; but he would not have it expected." With respect to the passport, the imperial minister removed every difficulty, by granting it in the amplest manner, in the name of the emperor, and the princes and states of *Germany*. The present sent by the vizir to the king, consisted of a tent of scarlet, embroidered with gold, a sabre, the handle of which was studded with jewels, and eight fine horses, richly caparisoned. Money, the article most wanted, was entirely forgot; and indeed the *Porte* was with good reason tired of supplying the wants of a prince, who had, for above three years, been supported with the state and magnificence of royalty. The day was fixed for *Charles's* departure, and the vizir appointed three-score carriages, loaded with all kinds of provision, and several companies of janissaries and zebedgis, to attend his majesty to the frontiers of *Transylvania*.

*He sets out  
for Swe-  
den.*

AT last, on the 14th of *October*, *Charles* quitted his bed and his residence at *Demotica*, and set out on his journey for *Sweden*. On his arrival at *Targowitz*, he sent a message to the governor of *Transylvania*, desiring a passage through the country, and that the inhabitants would supply him with provisions for payment; to which the governor returned answer, that he had directions not only to give his majesty a free passage, but to supply himself and retinue with the best of every thing that the country afforded, and receive him with all the honours due to so great a monarch. All the other princes, through whose territories he passed, had given similar instructions; but the king, perceiving that these compliments only retarded his return to *Sweden*, and rendered more conspicuous the prisoner of *Bender*, suddenly dismissed his *Turkish* attendants, assembled his own people, bid them take no concern about him, but make the best of their way to *Stralsund*, set out post, in the habit of a *German* officer, attended only by colonel *During*. Keeping the bye-roads  
through

through Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburgh, he made almost the tour of Germany, and arrived at midnight, on the 21st of November, before the gates of Stralsund (B). The centinel refusing to admit him, because the keys were carried up to the governor, who was a-bed, the king said he was upon an affair of consequence, and declared, if he did not immediately wake the governor, he should be hanged in the morning. At last the governor was called, and he thinking it might be some general-officer, ordered the gates to be opened, and the courier admitted to his apartment. On seeing the king, he asked, rubbing his eyes, what news of his majesty? Hey, Dusker, says the king, have my best subjects forgot me. The general could scarce believe his eyes; but soon recognizing the king's voice and features, leaped out of bed, and embraced his sovereign's knees with tears of joy\*. The news spread in an instant, the whole town was in motion, the soldiers crowded round the governor's to behold that warrior, who had so often led them to glory and victory, the streets were filled with people, the windows were illuminated, every street blazed with bonfires, churches rung with bells, the conduits flowed with wine, and the artillery fired from the ramparts. Never was joy more sincere; yet amidst the tumult, Charles was put to bed. He had been booted for sixteen days, and now his legs were swelled to such a degree, that his boots were cut off. The

And arrives at Stralsund.

\* VOLT. lib. vii.

(B) *Voltaire* relates, that the king having rode the whole first day without halting. *During*, who was not accustomed to such fatigue, fainted away upon a fighting. *Charles* would not stay a moment, but asked the colonel what money he had got. "About a thousand crowns," said *During*: "Give me half," replied the king. "I see you cannot go on; I will go with you." The colonel begged hard that his majesty would stay but three hours, and he was sure he could then attend; but *Charles* was not to be persuaded; he made him give him the mo-

ney, and called for horses. To bring matters right, *During* bethought him of a stratagem; he bribed the post-boy to give the king a lame horse, suffered him to set out, took his sleep, then followed in a post-chaise, and overtook his majesty at the next stage. There he was forced to get in with *During*, and sleep upon the straw. Afterwards they never stopped, but pursued their journey, on horseback in the day, and in a chaise at night, for the space of sixteen days, in the utmost peril of falling into the hands of his enemies.

E c 4

king

king slept for some hours, then arose, reviewed his troops, and dispatched orders to all the different parts of the kingdom, for renewing the war with redoubled vigour. It was astonishing to observe the alteration made in *Sweden* by the return of the sovereign to his dominions. Multitudes of young people flocked to enter themselves, and revenge their king's long exile. Though the human species was visibly diminished, there appeared no symptoms of decline in vigour; the levies were complete in a few weeks, but the hands left to cultivate the earth consisted of the infirm, aged, and decrepid; so that a famine threatened the land, in consequence of the military rage which had seized all the youth of the kingdom.

A. D.

1715.

Marriage  
of the  
princess  
royal with  
the prince  
of Hesse.  
April 4.

WHILE the king staid at *Stralsund*, the fortifications were repaired and augmented, and the army very considerably reinforced. He could not be prevailed on to return to *Stockholm*, until he had, in some measure, recovered his losses, wiped off his disgraces, and replaced matters upon such a footing, as might answer the vast expectations entertained by his people. It was during his residence at *Stralsund*, that great preparations were making at *Stockholm* for celebrating the nuptials of the princess royal and the hereditary prince of *Hesse*. Though the ceremony was not honoured with the king's presence, it was, however, very brilliant; and next day arrived the king's commission, vesting him with the dignity of generalissimo of the *Swedish* forces. He had distinguished himself in the confederate army against *Charles*, and the proofs exhibited of his courage, were the motives which operated most powerfully with *Charles*, to prefer him to this union with his family, and high character in his army.

The  
Swedes  
defeated  
by sea.

THE rejoicings consequent on this alliance were disturbed by the ravages committed by the *Russians* on the coasts of *Ahland* and *Finland*, where they destroyed a great number of towns and villages. These misfortunes were followed by an entire defeat, sustained by the *Swedish* fleet, between the islands of *Femeren* and *Laland*, in which a thousand men were killed, and seven ships taken or destroyed. Such a train of disgraces could not fail of dissipating those fears which had seized the minds of the northern allies on the king's return. They imagined the royal presence would inspire the same spirit and alacrity in the *Swedish* troops, which had formerly rendered them invincible; but it soon appeared, that the sinews of the kingdom were enervated, that the finances were destroyed, and all the old forces dwind-

led into nothing. However, the king's conduct and courage were not in the least altered; he determined, at any event, to preserve the *German* provinces; but the measures he took to affect this purpose, brought on their entire loss. He demanded restitution of *Stetin*, offering to pay the 400,000 crowns to indemnify the king of *Prussia*. *France* would have advanced the money; but all remonstrances were vain. His *Prussian* majesty insisted, that the town was to remain sequestered in his hands, until peace was concluded, in security, that the war should not be kindled in *Germany*. *Charles*, without reflecting on his own circumstances, resented this tergiversation in such high terms, as increased the number of his enemies, and made *Prussia* declare in favour of the northern league. The emperor joined in exhorting his *Swedish* majesty to revoke his protestation against the neutrality, and to consent to the sequestration of *Pomerania*; instead of which, he attacked the isle of *Usedom*, occupied by the *Prussians*, in virtue of the sequestration, and drove them out of the island. Finding that *Prussia* was resolved to have recourse to force, *Charles* solicited the *French* king to assist him with sixty thousand men, to reduce his enemies to reason; but *Lewis XIV.* then in the decline of life, and broke with age, infirmity, and disappointment, sought to die in peace, and contented himself with offering his mediation to accommodate all differences. With this view he sent the count *de Croissy* to *Stralsund*, where he was graciously received by *Charles*. Several attempts were made to establish a negotiation, all of which proved fruitless from the obstinacy of the parties. The confederates regarding only the circumstances of *Sweden*, imagined that the king ought to accept of any conditions; and *Charles*, through his own undaunted spirit, and the equity of his cause, would consent to yield nothing, insisting upon entire restitution. The king of *Prussia* demanded, as a preliminary, that the isle of *Usedom* might be restored; and *Charles* refusing, the *Prussians* entered, and soon reduced the island: at the same time, the *Danish* squadron took near fifty sail of *Swedish* small craft, which lay on the coasts. It was indeed astonishing, that the *Swedes* made any resistance; their whole force being composed of 250 men, under the command of the brave colonel *Düsterp*, who had possession of the forts *Swen* and *Parnamendre*. The former fort was abandoned as untenable, but the colonel resolved to defend the other to the last extremity. The *Prussians*, amounting to 7000 men, with a fine train of artillery, laid siege in form. On the 18th of *August* they opened the trenches in two different places, and



and played vigorously with two batteries of cannon and mortars. *Duslerp* had found means to send a messenger to the king; he now returned to the fort, through the midst of the enemy's camp, with the following letter from *Charles*.—  
 “Do not fire until the enemy approach the brink of the fosse; hold out to the last drop of your blood. I commend you to your good fortune.” The governor obeyed punctually; he sustained the assault, made his fire as directed, and with prodigious effect; great numbers of the enemy fell: but now the ditch was full, the breach practicable, and the disparity of strength so great, that the *Prussians* entered the fort in two different places, and thought they had reduced *Duslerp* to the necessity of surrendering. But they had not yet sufficient proofs of the governor's spirit, and the implicit obedience which that officer paid to his sovereign's commands. Abandoning the breaches, he intrenched his little company in the middle of the fort, and determined to sell his life dear. The soldiers obeyed to a man. The enemy advanced, imagining he would ask for quarter, but they were received with a brisk fire. An action followed, which was sustained valiantly for the space of an hour by the *Swedes*, when their commander was killed, together with his major and lieutenant. The single remaining officer, and his few soldiers, begged their lives, and were taken prisoners. Such was the issue of that ill-timed gallantry upon which *Charles* insisted, when he ought, by every means, to have preserved the lives of his soldiers.

*The elector of Hanover joins the confederates.*

*Wisnar and Stralsund besieged.*

To complete the embarrassment of *Sweden*, the king of *England*, in quality of elector of *Hanover*, acceded to the league, and, with other princes, resolved to share in the spoils of the unfortunate *Swedish* monarch. The duchy of *Bremen* had been pledged to him by the *Danes*, for the sum of 700,000 crowns; and he now, for the same reasons as the king of *Prussia*, came to a rupture with *Sweden*, and joined his forces to those of *Denmark*, *Prussia*, and *Saxony*, to invest *Wisnar*. At the same time, a body of 36,000 men formed the siege of *Stralsund*, while the czar, with a fleet of twenty large men of war, and one hundred and fifty transports, with 30,000 men on board, swept the *Baltic*, and threw all the coasts of *Sweden* into consternation, threatening a descent sometimes at *Helsingburgh*, and sometimes at *Stockholm*. *Stralsund*, however, was the principal object of the enemies' designs; that city was strongly situated, well fortified, and defended by a garrison of 9000 men, command-

ed by the king in person. The kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia* directed the siege, the trenches were opened on the 20th of *October*, and two days after the *Swedish* intrenchments, on the opposite side the marsh, which was thought impassable, were forced, after dreadful slaughter on both sides. After this, the enemy made a descent, with 12,000 men, on *Rügen*, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours they drew from this island. There were only 2000 *Swedes* for its defence; but *Charles* resolved to put himself at their head, and this made them equal to an army. Such was the terror this prince inspired, that the prince of *Anhalt*, with numbers so superior, intrenched himself behind a fosse, defended by chevaux-de frise. The precaution was necessary, for *Charles* marched silently in the midst of the night, clambered up the ditch, and attacked the allies with incredible fury; but his strength being too unequal, he was forced to retreat, after he had seen his favourite *Grothusen*, general *Dardest*, and *Dering*, the companions of his exile, killed before his face, and received a wound in his left-breast\*.

THE attempt to save *Rügen* proving fruitless, *Charles* returned to *Stralsund*, having only weakened his strength in extraordinary exertions of rash valour. The town was now miserably shattered by the enemy's cannon, and the houses laid in ruins with the bombs; but the garrison and townsmen were animated by the example of their royal master, whose patience, activity, courage, and presence of mind, threw a veil over his other failings, and persuaded his subjects, that all the misfortunes of the monarch arose from an excess of virtue. By the 17th of *December* the breaches were so large, that the enemy were preparing to give the assault, upon which the count *de Croissy* renewed the conferences for an accommodation; but the allies demanded too much, and *Charles* was averse to making any concessions. The continuator of *Puffendorf* indeed alledges, that the count, tired out with the obstinacy of the *Swedish* monarch, acted but coldly in the negotiation; though *Voltaire* expressly asserts the contrary, and alledges, that the court of *France* was not only well-disposed with respect to *Sweden*, but that *Croissy* was greatly enamoured of the king's singular character, and strongly attached to his person. Certain it is, that the conference with the *Prussian* minister, baron *Ilgen*, terminated in nothing. The enemy stormed the horn-work, carried it twice, and were as often repulsed; but at last they effected a lodgment by dint of superior numbers. The

\* Idem ibid. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

day succeeding the loss of the horn-work, *Charles* headed a sally, and dealt terrible destruction among the besiegers, but was in the end overpowered, and forced to retreat to the town, whither he was pursued. For two days more he continued to dispute every inch of ground; but his officers apprehending, that he must either be buried in the ruins, or fall into the hands of the enemy, exhorted him to quit a place where his presence could be of no service; but to retreat was now almost as dangerous as to remain in *Stralsund*. The sea was covered with the confederate fleets; and it was, perhaps, this very circumstance, and the appearance it had of an extraordinary adventure, which induced *Charles* to commit his person to a small boat with sails and oars, in which he passed all the enemy's ships and batteries, and arrived safe at *Ystedt* in *Schonen*.

*Stralsund*  
taken.

IMMEDIATELY after the king's departure, general *Ducker*, sensible that the town was not longer tenable, and that to persist would only tend to the entire destruction of the garrison under his command, demanded a capitulation. A conference was set on foot to regulate the articles, and the result was, that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war; that the native-born *Swedes* should, notwithstanding, have the honour of marching out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying; that all the officers should be transported to *Sweden*, at the king's expence, and in *Swedish* vessels; that the king's retinue should meet with the same indulgence, the allies leaving it to general *Ducker's* honour to give a faithful list of the domestics, and not include persons who were not actually of the household; and that all the artillery, magazines, records, papers, and documents, belonging to the chancery and council, should be delivered into the hands of commissaries, appointed for that purpose by the kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*. On the 27th of *December* the *Swedes* marched out, agreeable to the terms of the capitulation, and next day the two kings made their triumphant entry<sup>b</sup>.

A. D.  
1716.

*CHARLES* was now at *Carlskroon*, which place he had quitted some years before in a ship of 120 guns, attended by a powerful fleet and army, that was, for a time, to give law to the empire, and all the kingdoms of the north. It was expected, that being so near, he would visit his capital. Deputies were sent from *Stockholm* to invite him; but *Charles* disappointed the expectations of his people. What his motives were for passing the winter at *Carlskroon* are un-

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii.

certain. Some alledge, that his pride would not suffer him to enter his capital in his present wretched condition; others attribute his conduct to the resentment he harboured against the senate, for diminishing the weight of the regency he had appointed, disputing their authority, calling a diet, placing the princess royal in the administration, setting on foot negotiations of peace with the northern powers, and assuming to themselves certain privileges which he thought inconsistent with the royal prerogative. These were transactions which happened during his residence in *Turky*; he had then expressed his contempt for the senate and states, by sending them word by his chancellor *Mullern*, that he would dispatch one of his old boots to govern and keep them in awe. *Charles* now carried his displeasure farther, by depriving the senate of the few privileges left by *Charles XI*. The whole direction of public affairs he committed to the hands of baron *Gaertz*, formerly a minister of *Holstein*, now the chief favourite of the *Swedish* monarch; a man bold, active, insinuating, inventive, enterprising, and full of expedients, which perfectly qualified him for the minister of a prince, who delighted in the most romantic acts of chivalry.

HAVING thus satiated his revenge, he concerted measures with his brother-in-law, the prince of *Hesse*, for augmenting his forces, making numerous levies, and putting the fleet in a condition to execute the first enterprise that should be proposed (A.) By the month of *March*, he had an army of 25,000 men in motion, the destination of which was kept a profound secret between the king and baron *Gaertz*. At last

c VOLT. lib. viii. PUFFEND. ibid.

(A) To equip a fleet, *Charles* was reduced to the necessity of granting commissions to privateers, who enjoyed great privileges at the expence of their country. In consideration, the owners furnished the government with a considerable number of ships, to support the expence of which, *Charles* was forced upon another ruinous measure, and to break in upon the people's property, committing the most cruel extortion, under the name of taxes. Private houses were searched, and

half the provision found was carried to the king's magazines. All the iron of the country was bought up for his use, and paid for in paper. Every man who wore a peruke, a gilt sword, or a bit of silk, was taxed; and hearth-money was raised in every quarter of the kingdom. Nothing, indeed, prevented the people from breaking out into open rebellion, but that they admired their sovereign, and knew that he shared their afflictions. *Volt. lib. viii.*

a sudden

a sudden irruption into *Norway*, declared that *Charles* was determined to revenge his losses by the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly crossed that almost impervious ridge of mountains, which separates *Sweden* from *Norway*, and attacked the enemy with such vigour, as threatened the destruction of the country, and the completion of his great design. No project could be better concerted or more punctually executed; the *Danes* were defeated in every quarter. The hereditary prince of *Hesse* attacked and defeated a body of 3000 men, in the neighbourhood of *Bafma*, and took the *Danish* commander prisoner. Another more considerable corps was defeated by the king in person, and these advantages were succeeded by gaining possession of several important posts. To check the king's further progress, the *Danes* assembling all their forces, which amounted to 11,000 men, ventured upon a general action, and were entirely defeated; but the hereditary prince was forced to quit the field, by a wound he received in the right thigh. All this, however, was but a flash of success, that served to dazzle the imagination, without producing any solid advantage. Strong reinforcements arriving from *Denmark*, turned the scale of fortune; the *Danes* beat the *Swedes* from divers posts, and among others from the intrenchments at *Mosch*, which the latter abandoned after having twice repulsed the enemy. But what destroyed the whole project, was the scarcity of provision, of which *Charles* had been disappointed by various accidents. This, together with the continual skirmishing, the excessive severity of the cold, the perpetual watching, long marches, rough roads, and a thousand other hardships, greatly diminished the *Swedish* army, and obliged the king to consider in what manner he should evacuate an inhospitable country, into which true policy dictated he should never have entered. These were the real causes of the retreat of the *Swedes*, though it was given out, that they returned for the defence of *Schonen*<sup>a</sup>.

WHILE the king remained at *Carlskrona*, and during the *Norwegian* expedition, the strong town of *Wismar* had been blocked up by the *Russians*, and the electoral troops of *Saxony* and *Hanover*. It was now at last surrendered on the same terms granted to the garrison of *Stralsund*, and had the occasion been judiciously improved, might have turned out more to the advantage of *Sweden*, than the most glorious victory. We shall endeavour to sketch out the stronger lines of this extraordinary affair, which laid the foundation of

<sup>a</sup> Auct. cit. ibid.

### *The History of Sweden.*

all the celebrated *Goertz's* intrigues, that had nearly changed the face of *Europe*, laid the basis of a new war, and which at last brought this extravagant projector to an ignominious death on the scaffold.

*GOERTZ* was too penetrating, not to discover that his master's keenest resentment was pointed at the king of *Eng- Baron land*, who as elector of *Hanover* had seized upon *Bremen* and *Goert Verden*, under pretence of preserving the peace of the em- *project* pire, and acting as mediator. *Charles* had never given this prince cause of offence, and he was incensed at the injustice of his purchasing territories at a low price from *Denmark*, which *Sweden* had conquered with her blood, and confirmed by treaties. He observed too, that the czar of *Moscow* was not satisfied with the capitulation of *Wismar*, upon which he had long formed designs, as a convenient retreat for his shipping. For this purpose he had advanced a body of troops with great rapidity; but they arrived too late, the capitulation was signed, and the proper measures taken for excluding the *Russians*. *Peter*, indeed, was too sagacious to be ignorant of the jealousy of the other allies, and their assiduity to prevent his gaining any footing in the empire or neighbouring countries; he now had his revenge by refusing to assist in the proposed invasion of *Schonen*. This was a fine foundation for the busy genius of *Goertz* to build upon, and he had the courage to embrace the opportunity. He advised *Charles* to make peace at any rate with the czar, who might then be easily induced to quarrel with his old friend *Augustus* of *Poland*, and with the king of *England*, against whom, as elector of *Hanover*, he had already cause of complaint. By yielding certain provinces to the czar, which, however, he was in no condition to defend, *Goertz* persuaded the king, he could bring that prince, with the whole strength of *Russia*, to assist in restoring *James* to the crown of *England*, and *Stanislaus* to that of *Poland*, notwithstanding *Peter* had for the space of seven years opposed this last monarch. Nothing could be more agreeable to the romantic turn of the king of *Sweden*, than such gigantic projects; accordingly he permitted his minister to set out with full power to the court of *Moscow*. Here, by means of the czar's chief physician, a *Scotchman*, devoted to the pretender's interest, he founded the inclinations of prince *Menzi-caff*, laid before him the project, and obtained his approbation, which was sufficient to insure the czar's consent. In a word, the *Swedish* minister so far succeeded at the court of *Moscow*, that *Peter*, instead of the descent on *Schonen*, sent his troops to winter in *Mecklenburgh*, and soon followed in person,

person, under pretence of adjusting some disputes between the duke and his nobles; but in fact, with a view to his favourite purpose of establishing a footing in the *German* empire.

HAVING brought his negotiation to a happy issue at *Moscow*, *Goertz* turned his thoughts towards the court of *Madrid*, imagining it would be matter of no great difficulty to prevail on the new minister *Alberoni*, to second his design against *England*. For this purpose he came to *Holland*, where he engaged in his interest great numbers of disaffected *British* subjects, who even advanced considerable sums of money towards the prosecution of the scheme of deposing *George* the First; if we may rely on the authority of *Voltaire*, and indeed of other foreign writers. During his residence at the *Hague*, *Peter*, czar of *Muscovy*, visited *Holland*, and the *Suede* had two long conferences with him, by which he greatly advanced the negotiation. His designs were carried on with the utmost secrecy; they appeared almost impenetrable, and were in a fine train for success, when slight notice of the intrigue was intimated by the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*, to the court of *London*, which was confirmed by the *Hollanders*, who had taken umbrage at some part of *Goertz's* conduct. This put an immediate stop to his proceedings; he was seized at the *Hague*, contrary to the laws of nations, while *Gullenburgh*, the *Swedish* ambassador at *London*, and engaged in the same projects, was likewise taken into custody. *Charles* retaliated, by ordering *Jackson*, the *English* resident at *Stockholm*, and all his family, to be arrested; and this was all the revenge he took, whether from an apprehension of the consequences of pursuing his resentment, or of entering upon a justification of his minister, we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he observed a disdainful silence with respect to his *Britannic* majesty and the states-general; notwithstanding which *Goertz* and *Gullenburgh* obtained their liberty, at the intercession of the czar and regent of *France* (A.)

*Goertz*  
is seized.

GOERTZ

3 PUFFEND. tom. vii. lib. vii. p. 281.

(A) The continuator of *Puffendorf* attributes the release of the *Swedish* ministers entirely to the duke of *Orleans*, then regent of *France*, which must appear a little extraordinary, as

it was from him that the first discovery of the intrigues came. But it is not at all improbable, when we consider that the czar about this time visited *France*, and proposed a scheme to the regent

GOERTZ shewed himself a most implacable enemy, the moment he was set at liberty. He posted to *Moscow*, and undertook, in a few weeks, to adjust all the differences between the czar and his *Swedish* majesty, for which purpose he gave in a sketch of the congress of *Abland*. He promised to obtain his sovereign's consent to part with all that lay eastward of a line drawn from *Wiberg*, by the lake *Ladoga*, quite to the frozen sea, besides the provinces of *Ingrida*, *Carelia*, and *Livonia*. He proposed the marriage of the czar's daughter with the duke of *Holstein*, whence he demonstrated considerable advantages must result, by gaining *Peter* a sure footing in the empire. Such were the preliminaries of the conferences appointed at *Abland*, to ratify which *Goertz* returned to *Sweden*, full of hope that all his projects would soon be happily accomplished.

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THE schemes he carried on during his stay in *Sweden*, were no less extraordinary than those in which he had been engaged at foreign courts. To enable the king to execute projects so extensive as those proposed, a numerous army was necessary, which could not be maintained when the treasury was entirely exhausted, and the people squeezed out of the last farthing. Money and credit were equally low in *Sweden*; but the genius of *Goertz* removed every difficulty, and rendered easy to him, what to any other minister would appear unsurmountable. He renewed a project which he had formed some time before in his own mind; and this was to raise copper to the same value with silver, when it bore the prince's signature. Nothing could be more injurious to public credit than such a measure; but *Goertz* regarded only the present moment. His business was at any rate to execute the great designs he had planned, the happy accomplishment of which would put every thing else upon an easy footing. Accordingly he issued out his new coin without dread or discretion. The grievance was quickly felt; it entirely destroyed foreign credit, put a stop to commerce, and ruined traders of all degrees and denominations. The government issued it currently, but refused it in payment of taxes from the peasant. This excited clamours; all with one voice exclaimed against baron *Goertz*, and he soon compleated his own fall by an imposition laid on the clergy, the most

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regent, for bringing into their own hands the ballance of power by destroying the *Danish* powers in the *Baltic*; weakening the *English* by a cruel war, and engrossing the whole trade of the north between *France* and *Muscovy*. *Puffend. lib. vii. p. 279.*



dangerous enemies of any minister. With them the princess royal and her husband joined secretly, apprehending that to aspiring a person, who had such an influence over the king, and was himself a native of *Holstein*, might turn his thoughts to raising the duke of *Holstein* to the crown of *Sweden*, at the death of the present sovereign. Without regarding the clamours of the people, or the powerful combination forming against him, *Goertz* having established the affairs of the treasury in the manner proposed, hastened away to attend the congress at *Abland*, and finish with *Osterman*, the *Russian* plenipotentiary, the peace sketched out between the king of *Sweden* and the czar, together with all its important consequences.

*PETER* was fully bent in retaining *Ingria*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and part of *Carelia*; nor had he thoughts of restoring more to *Charles* than *Finland*, and a small portion of *Carelia*. It was the design of *Goertz* to bring his master to consent readily to the cession of these provinces, in order to secure the friendship of the czar. *Charles*, indeed, knew the value of the provinces required; he could not bear the thoughts of lessening his dominions; but he even preferred this to abandoning his favourite project of reinstating *Stamislus*, and being revenged of the elector of *Hanover*. *Goertz* accordingly had full power to sign the treaty, whereby *Peter* agreed to march 80,000 men into *Poland*, to depose that very prince whom he had been supporting for many years at the expence of his blood and treasure; to furnish ships for transporting 30,000 *Swedes* to *Germany*, and 10,000 into *Denmark*, to assist his *Swedish* majesty in recovering the duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden*, in restoring the duke of *Holstein*, and forcing the king of *Prussia* to a reasonable accommodation, by parting with *Pomerania* and several of his new acquired territories. Such was the basis of the treaty of *Abland*, to which it is highly probable *Charles* gave his consent, as he entirely withdrew his forces from the provinces which formed the barrier against *Russia*, in order to strengthen the army intended for the invasion of *Norway*<sup>r</sup>.

THE conquest of *Norway* was another favourite project of *Charles*; and now being secure of the friendship of *Russia*, he determined to put it in execution, before he entered upon the accomplishment of his other vast designs. In the month of *October*, while the country was covered with snow and frost, he marched ten thousand men into that kingdom, under the conduct of general *Arenfeldt*, who penetrated into

Sets on foot  
the conferences at  
*Abland*.

*Charles*  
invades  
*Norway*.

<sup>r</sup> Id. ibid. etiam *VOLT.* lib. viii.

the heart of *Norway*, after defeating two considerable corps of the enemy. The king followed with another division of eighteen thousand men, and formed the siege of *Fredericshal*, while the hereditary prince watched the motions of the enemy with a separate command. The severity of the frost rendered it almost impossible to break ground; *Charles*, however, resolved to form trenches, and his soldiers cheerfully obeyed, and set to work with the same labour as if they had been digging into a rock. On the 11th of *December*, the king visited the trenches in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, imagining his presence might animate the workmen. He took his post in the most dangerous situation he could chuse, standing upon a gabion, and leaning upon his arm over the parapet, while the enemy were firing chain-shot at the very spot where he stood. There seemed to be a fatality in this unseasonable exertion of courage. *Charles* had never indeed avoided danger on any occasion; but he exposed his person unnecessarily, and incurred the imputation of rashness from the meanest soldier in the army. The engineer *Megret*, and his aid-de-camp *M. Siker*, intreated him to change his situation; but *Charles* was obstinate, and kept his station where he could be of no service, merely to shew that he was proof against cannon-bullets. They saw the king fall upon the parapet, uttering a deep groan; they run to him, and found him dead; a small cannon ball had struck him on the right temple, beat in the left eye, and forced the right quite out of the socket. The misfortune was concealed from the soldiers, the body was covered with a cloak, and carried through the troops by the name of captain *Carlborn*, until advice could be sent to the prince of *Hesse* (A).

F f 2

THUS

(A) The above is *M. Voltaire's* account, who differs in a variety of circumstances from *M. Mottraye*, and the continuator of *Puffendorf*. These alledge, that *Megret*, *Siker*, and count *Swerin*, had left the king upon the parapet, and soon returned to execute a stratagem they had concerted to remove him out of so dangerous a situation. It was then near ten o'clock at night, and *Megret* not seeing by star-light that

*Charles* was dead, spoke to him two or three times, and imagining he might be asleep, pulled his cloaths to wake him. The blood with which he was covered, gave the first intimation of the accident. *Megret* called out to the nearest officers, that he dreaded the worst; a light immediately was brought, by which they found the king's head terribly shattered by a bullet of half a pound weight, his face turned quite behind with

THUS died *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, in the 36th year of his age, the most dreaded and admired prince of his age, and who might justly be deemed the greatest hero, the most glorious and fortunate monarch in the universe, had his valour been tempered with prudence, and had he not pushed to excess those virtues which would have rendered any other prince immortal. His justice became cruelty, his courage might be termed insensibility, his constancy was carried to a degree of obstinacy, his liberality to profusion, and all his gallantry favoured strongly of insanity. *Motraye* attributes his rashness to his belief of predestination; we would rather impute it to constitution. *Charles* had a body and a soul of iron; neither cold, fatigue, nor hunger, could affect the one; neither prosperity nor adversity could move the other. He was the same in all situations; and though his portrait be blazoned out with all the beauties which the delicate pencil and glowing imagination of *Voltaire* could communicate, we must nevertheless acknowledge, that *Charles* was little better than a gallant barbarian<sup>a</sup>.

THE news of the king's death coming to the prince of *Hesse*, he assembled a council of the general officers, at which it was resolved to raise the siege of *Fredericksburg*, to dispatch a party to arrest baron *Goertz*, who was on the road to *Norway*, and to acquaint the princess royal of the death of the king, her brother. Colonel *Baumgarten* was charged with the business of arresting the baron; he met him between *Stromstadt* and *Swinmundt*, demanded his sword and papers, and conducted him prisoner to *Udewatta*, where he was left under a strong guard. *Siker*, the king's aid-de-camp, was sent with the news to the princess at *Stockholm*, and it was confirmed a few days after by general *Born*. At the same time a report was published, that the army had

<sup>a</sup> VOLT. lib. viii. MOTRAYE, tom. ii, p. 396. PUFFENB. tom. vi. lib. vii.

with the violence of the stroke, a wound two inches wide in the right temple, both eyes miserably disfigured; and his right hand grasping the hilt of his sword, (1) as if he wanted to revenge the blow, which deprived *Sweden* of her sovereign, and the army of a general, whose courage and liberality had en-

tirely gained the affections of his soldiers. We shall not pretend to reconcile the different accounts of *Voltaire* and *Motraye*; though we cannot help observing, that the former rejects as false, every syllable of a conversation which the latter relates between the king and *Mergret*, immediately before his death.

(1) *Puffend.* lib. vii. tom. vi. p. 283. *Motraye Trav.* p. 397, tom. ii.

proclaimed

proclaimed her royal highness queen ; she was prayed for as such in the churches, before the senate or diet had taken any steps towards the election. The senate, however, thought that now was the season for recovering the ancient privileges of the nation, and resolved to profit by the opportunity. They accordingly advised the princess to publish a declaration, promising entirely to abolish despotic power, and to renounce in her own name, and in that of her posterity, every prerogative inconsistent with the freedom of the people, and the ancient privileges of the senate, diet, and nation ; and the princess, that she might act in a manner the most agreeable to her new subjects, convoked a diet of the states to sit at *Stockholm*, on the 31st day of *January*. Baron *Geertz* was conducted to the castle under a strong escort, and remitted to close prison. Count *Vander Nat*, the baron's chief secretary, all those who had the management of the finances, together with the creatures and domestics of the minister, were seized. A declaration likewise was published on the subject of the paper-currency, and the copper-money, which *Geertz* had lately passed for payment of the crown-debts and other purposes ; whereby the first was wholly abolished, and the latter reduced to its intrinsic value. All this was done by the princess royal and her council. She had assumed all the prerogatives of royalty ; yet when the diet met, they first declared that they had voluntarily assembled themselves to elect a successor to the vacant throne ; they treated the princess only as the king's sister, and not as their sovereign ; however, they intimated that they could never think of any other sovereign than her royal highness, provided she would subscribe to the form of government they were about to propose. Soon after they prayed that her highness would give them a written assurance, that she was willing to hold her crown by free election, without claiming to herself any hereditary right as the sister of their monarch<sup>t</sup>.

THE form of government proposed by the states, which was intended to serve as a rule to the queen and her successors, was couched in forty articles, containing in substance, That her majesty should never profess any other mode of faith, than that prescribed in the doctrines of *Luther* ; that if her majesty should have issue, they should, *cæteris paribus*, have the preference in the election of a successor ; that no prince raised to the throne should be declared of age, and qualified to govern, before he arrived at the age of one and twenty years ; that no subject should be declared major before the same age ; that

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<sup>t</sup> Id. *ibid*.

all the considerable employments of the kingdom should be given to the native nobility, who have shewn themselves deserving by their services; that no laws made without their consent, should be binding to the states; that the sovereign should not encrease the burthen of taxes without the approbation of the assembly; that she should not conclude peace, or declare war, without the advice and approbation of the senate, and indeed of the states; that her majesty should be enabled to support the whole weight of government by an assisting council, composed of officers, senators, and the intendants of provinces; that all public acts of government should receive the sanction of the senate; that the senators should be nominated by the nobility, with the queen's approbation; that when her majesty should either be absent or indisposed, the affairs of state should be regulated in the senate, by a plurality of voices; that on the throne's becoming vacant, without hereditary issue, the government should fall into the hands of the senate, until the meeting of the states, for the election of a successor; that no gentleman should receive sentence in any other tribunal than the royal court, testified *Hoffratan*, in points regarding his life or honour; that the presidents of the respective colleges, as well as the governor of *Stockholm*, should be senators; that henceforward there should be no governors, general or particular; but the provinces should be governed by intendants; that the officers of the army and fleet should take an oath of allegiance to her majesty, the kingdom, and the states; that no colonel or other officer should presume to march without orders from her majesty, given in full senate, or soldier quit his post or quarters, under the penalty of his life and honour; that the states should be regularly assembled every three years, and oftner when the affairs of state required their meeting; that the *Swedish* nobility should have the power to elect a marshal; that the nobles of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Oesel*, should be reinstated in all their privileges, whenever a happy peace should restore those provinces to the crown of *Sweden*; that the same regard should be shewn to the nobility of the *German* provinces, upon a similar event; and that her majesty should confirm to all the cities, towns, and corporations, their several rights and privileges. This new form of government was signed by the grand marshal, the archbishop of *Upsal*, the first burgo-master of *Stockholm*, and the secretary of the peasants, and it was afterwards ratified by the queen, and stamped with the great seal of *Sweden*. Nothing indeed could be more equitable than these conditions, upon which the crown was offered to the princess royal, and she

by her acceptance gave a strong proof of her good sense and moderation. The states had suffered numberless mortifications from the arbitrary disposition of their late monarch, and they had been in a manner cozened out of their privileges by his royal father *Charles XI*; the opportunity now offered of redeeming their rights, and they were very excusable to embrace it: while the queen was no less prudent in renouncing a prerogative, which could be of no use to a good sovereign, and afforded a wicked prince the means of rendering a whole nation wretched.

THE people being in this manner restored to their ancient *Baron* privileges, demanded a victim to expiate the crimes and *Goertz* disorders committed under the late administration. *Baron* *Goertz* was regarded by the nobility and clergy as the author *condemned* of all the oppressive measures of the late reign; for such was *and executed* the universal veneration for *Charles*, that they even declined directly aspersing his memory. A charge was formally drawn up, and the minister was accused of speculation, of ruining public credit by imaginary money, of a design to destroy the king and army, by advising him to a ruinous campaign in the inhospitable kingdom of *Norway*, amidst the rigours of a severe winter; and of drawing the enemy into the very heart of the kingdom, with intention to regulate the succession according to his own pleasure. *Goertz* defended himself with great ability, and clearly invalidated almost every article of the impeachment. His circumstances were a proof that he had applied none of the public money to his own use; the necessity of the times apologised for his substituting imaginary money to supply the wants of the treasury; and possibly such a measure might have proved of national advantage, had it been pursued with more discretion. The design was certainly vast, and what has been successfully adopted in all great commercial states, where paper-credit answers every purpose of specie. *Lewis XIV.* and the regent duke of *Orleans* made frequent alterations in the coin, without the least damage to public credit. With respect to the campaign in *Norway*, it was wholly a measure of the king's own, and quite foreign to the plan drawn up by *Goertz*, though the minister acceded to it, merely to draw *Charles* more easily into his own great project of being reconciled to the czar of *Muscovy*; and as to the baron's design of setting aside the princess royal, and placing his natural prince, the duke of *Holstein*, on the throne, that charge was merely conjectural, and never supported by any proofs. Indeed his intrigues were not yet sufficiently ripe to enter upon this measure, though it is highly probable he would have

preferred the duke to the princess. However, notwithstanding *Goertz's* defence was clear and irrefragable, the process went on, without regard to regularity, and perhaps to equity. He was denied the advice of a lawyer, and the assistance of an advocate; and the court and people seemed equally determined to take his life, the one from prejudice, and the other from reasons which they did not care to publish. In a word, the unhappy minister was abandoned in his distress by all mankind; even the duke of *Holstein* was mean enough to pay his court to the queen, by dismissing *Goertz* from his service, and removing his protection; and he was condemned to lose his head under a gibbet, at a place appointed for the execution of thieves and felons, after having been first degraded from all his titles, and losing the order of *Orange*, with which he had been honoured by the king of *Prussia*. *Goertz* heard his sentence pronounced without emotion; and he desired no other remission of the judgment passed than that he should not be buried under the gallows. This he petitioned, but could not obtain the least mitigation. He drew up his justification in prison, wrote his own epitaph, and declared with his last breath, that he died a martyr to his fidelity to the king and duke of *Holstein*. He was conducted to the place of execution, desired leave to address himself to the people; but being refused, took off his wig and cravat, which he gave to his valet, unbuttoned his collar, and laid his neck with the utmost intrepidity on the block, saying, in *German*, "Glut yourself, *Sweden*, with that blood, for which you have so craving an appetite." Scarce had he pronounced these words when his head was severed by one blow from his body; and thus perished the celebrated baron *Goertz*, for crimes which he never committed; at the same time that he merited death for divers others of which he was not accused" (A).

\* PUFFEND. lib. vii. VOLT. apud fin.

(A) In his justification the baron complains, that he was denied the privilege of writing in his own defence, or employing counsel; that he had only six hours given him to examine all the acts and documents of a three years administration, and then to rely wholly on his memory; that the commissaries

were not bound down by the customary oaths; that notwithstanding baron *Mullern* had borne testimony, that he (*Goertz*) was authorised in every particular by the king, and was at the same time the minister of *Holstein*, no regard was paid either to civil rights, or the laws established among nations. To these several other particulars were added.

HAVING

HAVING performed this act of justice, as it was called, to the state, preparations were made for celebrating with great pomp the funeral obsequies of the late monarch ; and no sooner was this last duty and mark of respect paid, than the court turned their thoughts to the coronation of the new sovereign. The ceremony was performed with the utmost magnificence at *Upsal*; and what rendered it the more agreeable to the nation was, that it was preceded by a general act of amnesty ; her majesty having resolved to begin her reign with proofs of her clemency.

NOR was it in the form of the constitution alone that the death of *Charles XII.* wrought a happy change ; the affairs of *Europe* in general assumed a new appearance, and all the courts breathed nothing but mild and pacific sentiments. *Goertz's* vast projects for exciting a fresh war were all at an end ; the whole plan concerted at *Abland* vanished ; and *Sweden* was now in such a situation as admitted of no alternative ; peace was to be embraced at all events ; and it might be regarded as fortunate, that the basis of an accommodation with *Russia*, the most powerful enemy, was laid during the late administration, though at the expence of several valuable provinces. The queen made no scruple of accepting the proposed mediation of *England*, notwithstanding *Charles XII.* regarded the elector of *Hanover* as one of the most insidious of all his enemies. *Great Britain* became mediatrix of the differences between her king, as elector of *Hanover*, and the court of *Sweden* ; and a double treaty was signed much about the same time ; the first between the two crowns, and the next between her *Swedish* majesty and the king of *England*, in quality of elector of *Hanover*. The one contained a renewal of the ancient amity between the two kingdoms, and the other an accommodation between the queen and the elector ; by which the latter agreed to pay her majesty a million of crowns, on condition that *Bremen* and *Verden* should be ceded to him in perpetuity\*.

Treaty with Great Britain, and peace with the elector of Hanover.

*S W E D E N* having got rid of one enemy by this peace with the elector, and secured an ally, in consequence of the treaty with the crown of *Great Britain*, began to resume more courage. The czar expected the same terms stipulated at the congress of *Abland*, and these a few weeks before would have been cheerfully granted ; but the queen now ventured to refuse them, as oppressive and iniquitous. To enforce his demands the czar recommenced hostilities, and put to sea with thirty men of war and near three hun-

\* *Idem. ibid.*



dred galleys. Making a descent on the coast of *Sweden*, he burnt *Norköping*, *Nyköping*, *Noor-Telgie*, *Suder-Telgie*, a great number of villages, farms, and villas, destroying likewise abundance of iron-works, smelting-mills, and founderies. The czar's design was, by this severity, to force *Sweden* to accept whatever terms he thought proper to impose. After burning, pillaging, and laying waste the coasts of the kingdom, he sent *Osterman* to *Stockholm*, with the most rigid proposals, and, among others, demanded the absolute cession of *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, together with the sequestration of *Livonia* in his hands, for the space of forty years. The queen, however, continued steady in her refusal, being supported by the countenance of *Great Britain*, and the arrival of admiral *Norris* with a *British* Squadron of twenty-eight men of war; a force more than equivalent to the whole naval power of *Russia*. This declaration from *Great Britain* proved decisive, and first paved the way to an accommodation with his *Prussian* majesty; that prince having agreed, in consideration of having *Stetin* ceded to him, to oblige all the other enemies of *Sweden* to accept reasonable conditions. For some time indeed the czar persisted in his hostilities, refusing to accept the mediation of *Great Britain*; but finding that *Prussia* was already brought over, that the king of *Denmark* yielded to the influence of the *British* fleet, and that the republic of *Poland* had consented to a preliminary treaty with *Sweden*, he began to entertain more moderate sentiments.

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*The queen proposes to have her husband raised to the sovereign authority.*

AMIDST this labyrinth of negotiation and intrigue the queen assembled the states at *Stockholm*, and laid before them the situation of affairs, the alliances which she had contracted, the treaties she had formed, and the reconciliations she had effected with some of the neighbouring powers, desisting their advice and assistance in the pursuit of a solid, honourable, and general pacification. This was the subject of the first meeting; on the second day her majesty sent a proposition which greatly astonished all her subjects, as they had not the least intimation of her design. She declared that she believed it for the good of her kingdom, that her royal consort should be elected king, and associated with her in the government. She renewed her assurances of her own and her consort's detestation of despotic principles; she bestowed the highest encomiums on the form of government established by the states, protested that the prince her husband had first suggested to her the idea of renouncing every prerogative that was inconsistent with the perfect freedom and happiness of her people; called God to witness that

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that he was a true *Lutheran*, and would defend the evangelic faith with his blood; represented the dangers to which he had already exposed his person in the cause of *Sweden*, enumerated his good qualities, and the advantages which would necessarily result from having a prince on the throne who was capable of heading the national armies, and commanding respect as well as esteem; she gave, on her own part, the most ample assurances, that she would never attempt extending the prerogative of the crown; and declared, that, should her royal consort ever be seduced to that measure by evil counsellors, she would be foremost to stand up in defence of liberty, to join the states against all opposition, and to resign the crown which she no longer merited; she desired they might adjust the succession in whatever manner they should think reasonable; and concluded with acquainting them, it should be the study of her life to merit this instance of the regard of her subjects. When the queen's proposition was read to the states, count *Horn* proposed, that it should be duly examined by twenty-four commissaries chosen by the states. The count was marechal of the nobles, and he thought it advisable, that the proposal should be likewise communicated to the two lower estates, as well as to the senate, that whatever was done might have the entire approbation of the nation. His advice was followed, and warm debates arose, which took up several days without coming to any determination. The nobility themselves were divided into three factions; the first were for granting the queen's request without alteration; the second did not oppose raising the prince to the dignity of sovereign, but they required that the queen should renounce her authority, and delegate it entirely upon her husband; and the third was for keeping matters upon the present footing.

THERE was more harmony among the commons, or the order of peasants. Their deputies declared, in the name of the whole body, that, perfectly satisfied of the good intentions of her majesty and his royal highness, they gave their unlimited approbation to her royal request, and heartily requested the concurrence of the other orders of the kingdom, without which they could not expect that their consent would produce any effect. As soon as the prince was informed that a majority of the states approved of his election, he sent a second declaration of his intentions, wherein he promised not only to practise the *Lutheran* religion, but to defend it with his life, and prohibit the exercise of any

other mode of faith within the kingdom ; to maintain the people in all their rights and privileges, and the states in the full exertion of their prerogatives ; to govern by advice of the senate, and agreeable to the new-established form of government, or any other which the states should think fit to propose : he promised to surrender to the mercy of the states whoever should advise him to attempt extending the crown-prerogative, and to absolve the subjects from their allegiance in case he should be seduced into measures contrary to their freedom, and tending to despotism ; and lastly, he gave the most solemn assurances, that he would never cede by treaty, mortgage, or alienate from the crown, any of the *Swedish German* dominions, unless by advice of the senate and general assembly of the states. Notwithstanding the prince had promised all that could be required, the nobility, joined to a part of the clergy, represented to the queen the inconveniencies of dividing the sovereign authority ; upon which she told them that it was never her design to reserve to herself any share of the supreme authority, during the life-time of his highness, but to provide for the future, and delegate, at the death of either, the whole power upon the survivor. In a word, she desired nothing more than to secure the crown to the longest liver. The debates were now again resumed by the nobility ; for as to the other order they were entirely satisfied with this new declaration ; and thought it highly necessary that the crown should be given to the prince upon the same footing as the parliament had bestowed the crown of *Great Britain* upon *William III.* prince of *Orange*. At length, after tedious altercation, it was unanimously resolved, that his highness should be raised to the sovereign authority : accordingly an act of election was drawn out in the same terms as that used at the queen's election ; and upon the prince's subscribing it, he was proclaimed king, with the usual formalities, by the heralds.

4th April.

*The prince is proclaimed king, and some alterations are made in the form of government.*

For the whole month of *April* violent debates were maintained, concerning the form of government, the changes to be made, and the necessary additions to that constitution which was established the preceding year. The king and queen had consented to all the alterations which should be thought necessary ; and the states thought they ought to profit by so fair an opportunity of securing liberty to the latest posterity : they little imagined that one politic subtle reign would be sufficient to overthrow all the works they had been erecting with so much pains, for the defence of freedom. By the 21st of *May* all the orders came to an agreement ; and the form of government, with all the intended alterations,

alterations, was presented to the king, to which he subscribed without hesitation. Agreeable to this form the number of senators was limited to sixteen, after the death of those who now possessed that honour should reduce it to that standard. Public business was divided among the senators, and their particular duties assigned to each. The senators were no longer to direct the colleges; but these bodies were henceforward to be composed of the gentlemen of landed interest, acquainted with the business of the colleges, without respect to any particular order. Next day the king was crowned with the same magnificence observed at the queen's coronation; the same day peace with *England, Poland, Prussia, and Denmark*, was proclaimed, as an auspicious beginning to the new reign. The treaty with *Denmark* imported, that his *Danish* majesty should, under no pretence, aid, assist, or any way afford countenance to the czar of *Muscovy*, until he had concluded peace with *Sweden*; that until then no *Russian* ships should be admitted into the *Danish* ports or harbours; that his *Danish* majesty should evacuate all the towns, cities, and territories, occupied during the present war, and seized violently from *Sweden*, at a time when she was oppressed by other enemies; by this was understood the province of *Pomerania* quite to the river *Pena*, the city and fortress of *Stralsund*, the isle of *Rügen*, the fortress of *Marstrand*, the city of *Wismar*, &c. In his turn, the king of *Sweden* agreed to pay a certain equivalent in money, to claim no exemption from the duties of the *Sound*, but to be upon the same footing, in that respect, with *England and Holland*<sup>2</sup>; that his *Swedish* majesty should, besides other considerations, pay to the crown of *Denmark* the sum of 600,000 crowns; that the prisoners of both nations should be mutually released without ransom; and that *Wismar* should be dismantled, and not again fortified.

Treaties  
with Den-  
mark and  
Poland.

As to *Poland*, the treaty with that crown contained in substance, that his majesty should acknowledge *Augustus* as sole and legitimate sovereign, renounce *Stanislaus*, and assist his *Polish* majesty in preserving peace and tranquillity in *Great Poland*, the grand duchy of *Lithuania*, &c. while *Augustus*, on his part, consented that *Stanislaus* should for his life retain the name and honours of majesty, but not the arms or title of *Poland*; granted a general amnesty to all who had declared for *Stanislaus*, and restored them to their estates, honours, and employments.

<sup>2</sup> Present State of Europe, cap. iv.

*Proposal for a peace with Russia.* PETER the Great, czar of Muscovy, was now the only remaining enemy of Sweden; but his extraordinary talents, power, and resources, rendered him the most formidable potentate of the north. Peter had, from a nation of savages, unacquainted with every art that contributes to adorn the mind, or enrich a kingdom, brought the Russians to make a considerable figure in the art of war, ship-building, and divers trades and manufactures. He had opened a mart at Petersburg, to which port he drew all the commerce of the Baltic; and had, by large presents and vast encouragement, filled Russia with the best artists, in every kind, that could be found in England, France, and Holland. He knew his own importance, the strength of his forces, and demanded terms proportioned to the hazard Sweden must run by continuing the war. The combined fleets of England and Sweden did not intimidate him from sending a powerful squadron to cruize along the enemy's coasts; and he was rendered more bold, by an advantage which a part of the Russian squadron obtained over the Swedish, in which four ships of the latter were taken. Five Swedish gallies, with several small vessels, had been stationed off *Flyseburgh*, and attacked by fifteen Russian gallies. They made a running fight, in order to join the vice-admiral, who lay at some distance with a man of war and two frigates. In despite of all the enemy's endeavours they made good the junction, but were soon surrounded by thirty Russian vessels of different sizes. A sharp engagement began, and in all appearance victory would have declared for the Swedish vice-admiral, who made terrible destruction with his heavy cannon, had not unfortunately two frigates and two gallies run a-ground, and fallen a prey to the enemy. This obliged the Swedes to croud sail, break through the enemy, and retire to *Carlsroon*, after having sold, at a high price, the honour of an advantage to the Russians\*. Such was the victory, for which the czar entered *Petersburgh* in triumph.

*Interruptions to the peace.*

A. D. 1721. WHILE hostilities were committing on the ocean, the czar carried his politeness so high, as to send his adjutant-general *Romanisdorff* to *Stockholm*, to congratulate the king on his accession, and make fresh proposals of peace; but they were so extravagant, as scarce to merit a hearing. The court of Sweden, in her turn, desired to settle a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and an armistice for the season. The Russian general declared, that both points exceeded his

\* PUFFEND. ubi supra.

instructions;

instructions; upon which the king sent general *Dalman* to solicit the cartel at *Petersburg*. Almost all the winter was consumed in fruitless negotiations, and preparations for recommencing hostilities; for which purpose the states were assembled, the king desiring their advice, on the means of pursuing the war with vigour, or of immediately terminating it by a solid peace. Before the diet met, the sieur *Hopkins*, resident from *Sweden* at the court of *Vienna*, brought to *Stockholm* a scheme of preliminaries, concerted between the czar and the duke of *Holstein*: however, as it was merely verbal, it might be disavowed, and the court chose therefore to place little confidence in it. Besides, it contained certain articles to which *Sweden* could not well accede, without injury to the king's honour and the nation; but it was not doubted, but the czar would relax in these, as it was obvious from the concessions made in this plan, that he was not averse to peace. The propositions made here imported, that the czar should guarantee to the duke of *Holstein* the restitution of *Steswick*, with the title of royal highness, and right of succession to the crown of *Sweden*. That his czarish majesty should give his eldest daughter in marriage to the said duke, with the provinces of *Finland*, *Eythoxia*, and *Livonia*, for a portion; which might, on the duke's accession, revert to the crown of *Sweden*. That the duke of *Holstein* should consent to the states preserving their right of election: and that should those propositions be rejected, his highness hoped the court of *Sweden* would not be offended at his joining with the czar, in order to maintain his right by force of arms.

FROM the reserved manner of the court of *Sweden*, where Congress these propositions were presented, it was manifest, they at *Niew* were far from approving the duke of *Holstein's* conduct. *Stadt*, as The public was more incensed at *Hopkins*, who had returned a peace without leave from *Germany*, with a plan of pacification, no way to the credit or advantage of his country. After having been closely examined before the king and senate, he was confined to his house, and severely reprimanded, for his irregular and unprecedented conduct. Notwithstanding the severity with which the resident was treated, it was generally believed, that he paved the way to negotiations; and this opinion was confirmed by advice, that the czar had appointed plenipotentiaries to attend a congress fixed to sit at *Niewstadt*, to adjust a suspension of arms, and preliminaries of peace. Yet, although matters were in this forwardness, *Peter* resolved to treat sword-in-hand, and with that view ordered general *Lesly* to sail with a squadron, to annoy the

*Swedish*

*Swedish* commerce, and spread terror along the sea-coast. *Lefly* landed his troops at a place called *Escrum*, advanced into the country, burnt some magazines without resistance, and pillaged and laid waste the towns of *Sunderham*, *Gude-wink-Iwald*, *Sunweld*, and *Erslund*, five hundred hamlets, and twenty-eight parishes. On his return, he took two galleys, burnt four, and made prize of two large merchantmen, and twenty-five small vessels. These successes enabled the czar to treat with a high hand; though not very considerable, they sufficiently evinced his power, and the more readily disposed his *Swedish* majesty to accept of his proposals. In consequence, the plenipotentiaries at *Nieuwstadt* found little difficulty in establishing preliminaries for a peace, which should restore the antient amity betwixt the two nations. By this treaty, *Livonia*, *Ingermania*, part of *Carelia*, the territory of *Wiburgh*, the islands *Oesel*, *Dragac*, and *Maen*, were ceded to the czar; who, on his side, restored the great duchy of *Finland* to *Sweden*, except that part of it reserved to *Russia* in marking out the frontiers of both nations. Besides, the czar consented to pay his *Swedish* majesty the sum of two millions of crowns, and permit his subjects to purchase to the amount of 50,000 rubles yearly in corn, at *Revel*, *Riga*, *Wiburgh*, and other places, now annexed to the *Russian* empire. All this corn might be imported duty free into *Sweden*, or sent wherever the purchasers thought proper; the czar agreed not to interpose in the domestic concerns of *Sweden*, and particularly in the form of government lately established. *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and the isle of *Oesel*, were to be preserved in all their privileges. The inhabitants were to be suffered to exercise the same religion they had before professed. The prisoners, on either side, were to be set at liberty without ransom; and all deserters and malefactors, who had taken shelter in the dominions of either, to be surrendered without hesitation or demur. Upon the whole, the treaty was disliked in *Sweden*; some blamed the vast cessions made to *Russia*, alledging, that the same conditions might have been obtained long since, and before great part of the kingdom had been laid waste during the sitting of the congress and negotiations, which in the end turned out to the disgrace of the kingdom. It is nevertheless certain, that *Sweden* could not, at this juncture, avoid receiving the law from *Russia*, after maintaining, for a great number of years, a ruinous war against all the potentates of the north; during which whole armies were destroyed and enslaved, the king obliged to live in a state of exile among infidels, the people brought to the extreme verge of misery by oppressive necessary taxes, and the whole nation

tion in a state of discord, confusion and wretchedness ; drained of men and money, trade at the last gasp, industry expiring, the fleet ruined, and neither ships nor forces to protect the coast against the repeated alarms of the *Russians*, who swept the *Baltic* with an air of triumph, and flourished the greatest maritime power in the north.

There were other circumstances besides, which rendered it necessary to come to an accommodation with the czar. While *Sweden* was wrapped up in the congress at *Nieuwstadt*, there arose a cloud from another quarter, which threatened an abrupt issue to the harmony subsisting between *Sweden* and certain neighbouring powers. The first appearance was excited by count *Freitag*, minister from the emperor at *Stockholm*. In a memorial presented by this ambassador to the king, he complained of a violation of his privileges, by a guard set over his house and baron *Schwerin's*, to prevent their deciding a difference between them by the sword. The king referred the contents of the memorial to the senate, who submitted it to the colleges, as belonging to their province. The decision was, that baron *Schwerin*, though a major-general in the king's service, should make his acknowledgments to the ambassador. *Freitag* was not satisfied with this : he renewed his complaints, and received for answer from the king's own mouth, that he had all the regard possible for the count's person and character, and respect for his imperial majesty ; and that if the reparation made appeared insufficient, he would take care his excellency should have justice done to him in a more ample and explicit manner. Notwithstanding this favourable answer, the minister continued to throw out the most disrespectful menaces against *Schwerin*, saying, among other things, that should he ever presume to enter his door, he would throw him over the window. This was a downright insult on the king in the person of his major-general ; yet his majesty contented himself with reminding the ambassador of what he said, and before whom he spoke, which so provoked the petulant minister, that he carried his complaints to the emperor and before the court of *Vienna*. Upon this he was forbid coming to court ; but to qualify this prohibition, *Schwerin* was at the same time told, that his majesty desired he would likewise absent himself. Besides this, the king lodged a formal complaint against the disrespectful conduct of the ambassador, at the court of *Vienna*, with a full justification of his own behaviour, and his strong desire of shewing all the regard to the imperial minister that was consistent with his

The imperial ambassador raises disturbances at court.

A. D. 1623.

c Idem. ibid.



own honour; but before any answer returned, count *Freytag* repaired to the court of *Denmark*, quitting *Stockholm* without giving the least intimation of his departure. He resided at *Copenhagen* all the ensuing year, when he received an order from the emperor to return to *Stockholm*, and make all possible reparation to his *Swedish* majesty for the indignity offered to his authority by his presumption. Nothing could be more mortifying to the count's haughty spirit, than such a concession; but he was forced to comply: the court of *Vinna* saw so clearly that his heat, passion, and pride, had led him into error, that she wisely determined not to vindicate the misconduct of her minister. The king received his apologies with great dignity, but at the same time requested of the emperor, that he would not carry his punishment of the count so far as to withdraw his employment. In consequence, *Freytag* was permitted to continue at *Stockholm*, the king reconciled him to *Schuerin*, and in this manner an affair was made up, which had almost involved *Sweden* in fresh troubles, before she had time to respire after her long struggles, which she had but just terminated.

ANOTHER affair of almost a similar nature occurred about the same time. The sieur *Rumpf*, the *Dutch* resident, presented a memorial to the king, desiring reparation of an insult offered to one of his domesticks, by an insolent soldier upon guard, who had snatched away the domestick's hat, because it happened to be laced with silver. He affirmed that his servants were not subject to the sumptuary laws established in *Sweden*, and demanded that the soldier might be punished. The affair, though seemingly trivial, engaged the attention of the senate, by whom it was taken into consideration, and the soldier sentenced to eight days imprisonment, during which time he should be restricted to bread and water. These frivolous quarrels we have mentioned merely to shew how *Sweden* was humbled since the death of *Charles XII.* who would have declared war against the emperor and the republic, rather than have made concessions that would in the least derogate from the dignity of his crown. But what was thought of more consequence, was another memorial presented by the *Dutch* resident, touching the payment of the remainder of the 750,000 florins lent to the late king in the year 1704 upon the customs and entries of the port of *Riga*. This was not the first time the same demand had been made, and repeated answers had been given, that the *Swedish* court could not possibly adjust the affair while *Riga* was in the hands of the *Russians*, without the consent of the court of *Moscow*. The king now returned the same answer; promising withal, to exert his utmost influence with that court

A. D.  
1724.

to procure satisfaction to their high mightinesses the states general; and indeed he had made provision for this in the late treaty executed at *Nieuwstadt*.

His *Swedish* majesty having disengaged his hands from all these foreign transactions, now applied his whole attention to enable his subjects to reap the fruits of that tranquillity and repose which they had but just tasted. His endeavours met with success; commerce revived, industry flourished, the mines and manufactures were diligently cultivated, all abuses in the public government and police were carefully regulated, order was restored to the finances, the treasury was replenished, forts and garrisons were put in a posture of defence, and the troops on a better footing than they had been for a series of years. In this manner was he employed when the treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover* once more involved him in foreign negotiations. The ministers of *France* and *England* having communicated these treaties to the *Swedish* commissaries, they found themselves considerably embarrassed. The *French* and *English* residents required that *Sweden* would accede to the treaty, about which the court had difficulties, out of respect to the emperor and the court of *Moscow*. A variety of conferences were held upon this subject, and matters were in a fair train of proving satisfactory to all parties, when the court of *Denmark* introduced a fresh subject of litigation. The king of *Denmark* represented, by his minister, that being informed of certain schemes carrying on by the duke of *Holstein*, to the prejudice of *Denmark*, which that prince proposed executing with the assistance of *Russia*, his majesty found himself under the necessity of having recourse to the proper means to frustrate those designs; he therefore declared, that the preparations and armaments he was about to set on foot, had no other object than self-defence, and opposing the views of the duke of *Holstein*; that the intention of the court of *Denmark* was to live upon the most amicable terms with *Sweden*, and rigidly to observe the late treaties concluded between the two crowns; his majesty therefore hoped, that the king of *Sweden* harboured the same sentiments, and would give proofs of his good disposition, by countenancing the schemes formed by the duke of *Holstein*, which might terminate in kindling a fresh war in the north. His *Swedish* majesty answered, that his determination was, punctually to execute all the treaties subsisting between the two kingdoms, and to cultivate the friendship of *Denmark*; but at the same time he equipped a fleet with the most expedition, upon advice that an *English* squadron had entered the *Baltic*. A body of troops was besides ordered to

A. D.  
1725.

A. D.  
1726.

the sea-coast, and the militia was armed and encamped in certain stations, thought the most convenient for opposing an invasion. Notwithstanding the king of *Great Britain* gave the strongest assurances, that the destination of his fleet was to oppose the *Russians*, and prevent any attacks from that quarter on *Sweden* or *Denmark*; yet the court continued the preparations, but was at last forced to yield to the solicitations of *France* and *England*, by acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*. The *Swedish* ministers at foreign courts spoke of this as a matter already concluded, and that was only deferred until the states were assembled, that it might pass through the constitutional channel, and be sanctified with the entire approbation of the people.

MEANTIME the imperial, *Russian*, and *Holstein* ministers were labouring to persuade the court to reject the proposals of *France* and *England*. The emperor presented, by the hands of his minister at *Stockholm*, an act of the court of *Vienno*'s accession to the treaty concluded between *Sweden* and *Russia*; a treaty in which was stipulated, by a secret article, that measures should be taken for the restitution of *Sleswick* to the duke of *Holstein*, in order that the tranquillity of the *North* might be established on a more solid basis; but his *Swedish* majesty declared, that he would not interpose in the disputes of the imperial court, with respect to the interests of *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Ostend* company.

As to the court of *Muscovy* it was every day presenting fresh memorials. Sometimes the *Russian* minister demanded the assistance stipulated in the last treaty, to oppose the enterprises of the *English* squadron; at other times he said, that the *Russian* fleet was in a condition to withstand the combined squadrons of *England* and *Denmark*; upon which he desired the advice of the king of *Sweden*, and the stipulated assistance, should it be found necessary, to repel insults. All these memorials made no alteration in the conduct of his majesty, as it was obvious they were calculated only to prevent his acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, by putting on the appearance of an approaching rupture between *Great Britain* and *Russia*. At last the duke of *Holstein* sent two letters to the king and the states, representing, that although a variety of circumstances had hitherto concurred to prevent the performance of that article of the late treaty, regarding the restitution of *Sleswick*, yet that his highness now expected this justice from the courts of *Stockholm* and *Moscow*. He intimated the readiness with which the emperor entered into his interests, from pure motives of equity; and hoped, that his *Swedish* majesty, who was bound down by engagements, would

would not shew himself more backward. “ We are assured, “ says he, that the states of the kingdom will have so much “ pity, compassion, and love for justice, as not to obstruct a “ measure tending to restore me, after so long and direful an “ oppression, to my legitimate right; especially as it is known “ to the whole world, that our hereditary dominions have “ fallen a sacrifice to the service of *Sweden*. We need not en- “ ter into a detail how far it is the interest of *Sweden* to provide “ that *Denmark* be not enabled by the revenues of the duchy “ of *Sleswick*, again to disturb the tranquillity of the *North* : “ that we shall submit to the judgment of the king and the “ states; requesting of them only to reflect upon the hard- “ ship it will be on us, after so much patience and resigna- “ tion, after so many promises and expectations, to be at “ last disappointed of succeeding to our right, at a time “ when the interest of *Sweden* is equally concerned with “ our own, in seeing this justice executed.”

To this letter the king returned no answer, any more than to a memorial presented by count *Freytag*, relative to the accession of *Sweden* to the treaty of *Hanover*. He feared the consequences of engaging in a labyrinth of intrigues, and resolved to pursue the plainest method, without regarding the imperialists protestations, that the treaty of *Hanover* tended to subvert the *Germanic* constitution, and destroy the subordination of the members to the head of the empire. He intimated that the king of *Great Britain*'s intention was, to secure the *Swedish* succession to the younger princes his grand-children, on the vacancy of the crown by the demise of his sacred majesty. Little regard, however, was paid to insinuations which looked like the last efforts of despair, of succeeding in a measure on which the emperor had set his heart. At last the accession of the states to the treaty of *Hanover* was published, accompanied with a paper, declaring the motives upon which the resolutions of the diet were formed. Here it was represented, that after a strict examination of precedents, documents, proofs, and papers relative to foreign affairs, in the senate, chancery, and colleges; after perusing all the secret correspondences of ministers, the conferences with foreign ambassadors, the memorials and pieces upon this subject, the diet saw no reason to regard the treaty of *Hanover* in any other light than a compact merely defensive, with a view to the preservation of the public repose, and which could only prove displeasing to those powers who meditated disturbing the public quiet. Hence it followed, that acceding to this treaty could not be regarded as an infraction of any preceding alliances; for as all the powers

were at peace with each other, a stricter amity between *England* and *Sweden* could not justly give umbrage to the empire or *Russia*. On the contrary, it was expressly specified in the sixteenth article of the treaty of peace with *Russia*, that the two treaties were perfectly consistent. With respect to the affair of *Sleswick*, his *Swedish* majesty and the states apprehended, that acceding to the treaty of *Hanover* would be regarded as the most effectual measure for clearing up the intricacies, and removing all doubts which his royal highness might entertain of the court of *Sweden*, as it served to fulfil the treaty with *Russia*, without violence to the engagements contracted with *Denmark*, and guarantied by so many different powers. For these reasons, and many others, which policy did not admit of being made public, the states recommended it to his majesty to close in with the proposals of *France* and *England*, and heartily accede to the treaty concluded at *Hanover*, under certain restrictions.

A. D. 1727. IMMEDIATELY on publication of the king's resolution, the ministers of the courts of *Vienna* and *Moscow* absented themselves, and now published menaces, instead of the usual exhortations and promises; some time after, however, they returned to court, being either satisfied of the equity of his *Swedish* majesty's proceedings, or of the futility of impotent threatenings.

SCARCE had *Sweden*, by these means, been fortified by foreign alliances, and placed in a situation to redeem all the losses of the late war, when some domestic occurrences arose, to poison the felicity expected from such a series of wise and moderate measures. At the first sitting of the states the secret committee had put the count *Welling* in arrest, and seized all his papers: He was now cited to appear before the royal tribunal, and accused of a design to subvert the government, of secretly advising the king to recover the former prerogatives of his crown; of being in the interest of the court of *Holstein*, and in league with *Stametz* to fix the duke in the *Swedish* succession; of embezzling the public money while he had the government of the bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Frisland*; of being a party in the pernicious projects of the late baron *Goertz*; and of having contributed to the ruin of general *Steenboek*'s victorious army in *Holstein*, by his false and deceitful counsels. This was a charge the greater part of which was founded in malice; *Welling* refuted it with the utmost address and ability: but as some papers had been found in his cabinet, which sufficiently proved, that he carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of *Holstein*, all the other articles of the charge were taken for granted; and the

the secret committee were of opinion, that he deserved to be stripped of all his honours, dignities, employments, and estates, and that he ought to lose his head by the ignominious hands of the common executioner. On the day appointed for pronouncing sentence, his daughter, the countess of *Bannier*, presented a petition, praying, that, in consideration of his great age, her father might not be deprived of his life or estate; but that he might be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in his castle; a request that was granted, as far as it regarded his life, out of respect to her excellent qualities, and filial duty; but before he could be conveyed to the place of his exile, he died of a fever, and his estate was confiscated.

For several years *Sweden* lived in terms of friendship with all her neighbours, maintained a close correspondence with *Russia*, and seemed little disposed to yield to the claims of the duke of *Holstein* to the succession, from an apprehension of introducing changes in the constitution, which might prove fatal to liberty. This prince notwithstanding, who imagined his claim was undeniable, as only son to the queen's eldest sister, never dropped his intrigues to accomplish the great design of elevating himself to a throne. These were the remote causes of certain disturbances in the state, to which, on a superficial view, they seem to have no relation.

Ever since the *British* fleet had made its appearance in the *Baltic*, to determine *Sweden* in favour of the treaty of *Hanover*, the king studied to connect himself intimately with *Great Britain*, at the same time that he shewed the utmost respect for the house of *Austria*. It was universally imagined, that the policy of the court would continue to flow in this channel; but circumstances arose which disappointed the general opinion, had almost destroyed the fruits of the king's moderation, brought affairs back to the old system, and nearly ruined the constitution lately formed on the basis of national liberty and equity. A diet assembled in 1738 opened the first prospect of the approaching storm (A). The celebrated count *Tessin* was chosen marshal, and it soon appeared, that all his influence and sagacity would be

A. D.  
1738.

(A) We have designedly passed over a period of ten years in silence, because nothing memorable occurred; but we thought it necessary to continue the history as low as we are enabled by authentic materials; because the affairs of *Sweden* are but very inaccurately treated in any of the publications which have fallen into our hands.

Sweden is  
divided  
into fac-  
tions.

A. D.  
1739.

War with  
Russia.

required to govern the headstrong multitude. On their first entrance on business it appeared that the diet was composed of persons whose sentiments were entirely contradictory; and when matters came to greater maturity and fuller explanation, it was found that three different factions almost included all the members of the diet, who ranged themselves under the standards of one or the other, as interest, prejudice, or inclination directed. The most powerful and active party was called the *Hats*, whose principles tended to the old system, exclaimed against the late treaty with *Russia*, and led them openly to declare in favour of an attempt to recover all the provinces which had been ceded through necessity. These were composed of the remains of the late king's military officers and servants, who retained part of his ambition, and the remembrance of the figure which *Sweden* made during his reign, together with that prince's martial spirit. The faction called by the cant-appellation of *Night-caps* was directly opposite in political principles to the *Hats*. They declared absolutely for peace, were satisfied with the cessions made to *Russia*, thought the present system ought to be preferred at all adventures, and endeavoured by every possible means to establish the tranquillity, revive the commerce, and cherish the spirit of industry, which had of late appeared in the nation. As to the *Hunting-caps*, a third faction, the adherents of this party steered a middle course, and fell in with one or other of the former, just as their sentiments happened to coincide with what they deemed the true interest of *Sweden*. Violent debates arose in the assembly, but it was not long before the *Hats* gained a considerable majority; though their opponents maintained their ground with such obstinacy, as occasioned the diet, contrary to custom, to sit almost a whole year. Before the assembly broke up several senators were expelled, for having approved and assisted at the late treaty with *Russia*. The animosity of the public was heightened by the misfortune of major *Sinclair*, a *Scotch* gentleman in the *Swedish* service, who was reported to have been murdered by a *Russian* officer at *Nuremburgh* in *Silesia*, and stripped of all his papers. In vain did the czarina disavow so base an action; in vain did she make restitution of the papers; she was exclaimed against as a perfidious violator of the laws of nations, and protectress of a vile assassin, because she had not put the officer to death who had committed the murder; and indeed this tenderness afforded strong presumptions that the officer acted agreeable to orders.

To these were added several other circumstances that tended to widen the breach between the two nations; among  
the

the principal of which may be reckoned the death of the duke of *Holstein*, who regarded himself, and was indeed generally considered as the presumptive heir to the crown of *Sweden*. The death of the empress of *Russia*, which happened soon after, contributed likewise to assist the designs of the *Hats* in promoting a rupture. At last matters were carried to such a length, that hostilities commenced in the month of *July* 1741, which were succeeded by a variety of bloody engagements. Fortune every where declared against *Sweden*; the same superiority which her troops claimed over the enemy for the three last reigns, was now due to the *Russians*, who to numbers joined valour and conduct. The repeated defeats sustained from *Charles XII.* and the indefatigable endeavours of the czar *Peter the Great* to engage foreign officers in his service, and introduce discipline among his troops, made admirable foldiers of the *Russians*. Brave *Swedes* by nature, rough, strong, and hardy, they only wanted knowledge of the art of war to become equal to the *Swedes*; and this they acquired, both from experience, and the instructions of some of the best officers in *Europe*, collected from several nations. *Finland* was the theatre of war, and the subject of contention; the enemy were victorious almost in every encounter; the province was the reward of success; and the *Swedes* added to the loss of so fine a tract of country, the mortification of finding that their national spirit was sunk, and their enemies become their masters in that very art, for their excellency in which they were but a few years before the admiration of all *Christendom*. They now scarce ever turned the fortune of war; and to their other chagrins and disappointments was superadded the irreparable loss of their most gracious sovereign the queen; a princess who, to every quality that could adorn her elevated station, annexed the virtues that render private life amiable. Almost the whole *Swedish* army fell into the hands of the enemy, which, with the queen's death, threw such a damp on the national spirit, as reduced the king to the grievous necessity of soliciting peace upon the terms proposed by the conquerors. The affair was laid before the assembly of the states; and while it was under deliberation, another subject occurred to perplex the *Swedish* councils.

A. D.  
1740.

A. D.  
1741.

The  
Swedes  
unfortunate in the  
war.

It was hoped that establishing the succession would contribute to give a favourable turn to the melancholy situation of affairs. The diet, therefore, proceeded with great alacrity in this business; but the variety of candidates who offered themselves, destroyed the fruits of their endeavours, and had almost overturned the constitution, by dividing into factions

Disputes  
about the  
succession.



*Disputes  
about the  
succession.*

O&A.1742.

factions the different orders of the states. The young duke of *Holstein* was strongly supported by the body of the nobility, the whole order of the peasants, and a considerable party among the burgeses; the clergy espoused the interest of the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, nephew to the king. The prince of *Denmark* was likewise a candidate, and had formed a strong interest, not only about court, but among divers persons of the different orders of the states, who imagined that an union of the crowns would prove mutually advantageous to *Sweden* and *Denmark*. There was besides a private competitor, who was also of the royal blood; this was the duke of *Deux-Ponts*; but his interest was the weakest. The chief debates lay among the partisans of the three former: they were long and violent, and like every other point that becomes a party-affair, filled with acrimony and rancour, though they terminated in favour of the duke of *Holstein*, who was declared successor, by a majority of no more than two voices. As this prince resided at *Petersburgh*, had a powerful influence in *Russia*, and claimed the succession of the imperial crown of *Muscovy*, it was hoped that his interest might be able to procure restitution of *Finland*. The use made of this argument by his adherents, was the chief motive with the *Suedes* for consenting to his election, as they perceived that great inconveniences must arise from his claims on the crown of *Russia*. Accordingly deputies were nominated to wait on his highness, with the offer of the reversion of the *Swedish* crown, provided he would exert his utmost endeavours to induce the czarina to restore the grand duchy of *Finland*; but before their arrival at the court of *Petersburgh*, the duke had embraced the *Greek* religion, to qualify himself to be put next in the succession of the imperial diadem of *Russia*.

It was now expected that the duke of *Holstein's* disappointed party would join interest with the adherents of the king's nephew, the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, and thereby turn the scale in his favour; but it happened otherwise. The peasants who had expressed so unanimous an attachment to the house of *Holstein*, became no less warm and zealous in the interest of the prince of *Denmark*, to whom likewise great part of the clergy went over from the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*. The contention now became more violent than ever; and it is difficult to conjecture what the issue might have been, had not other circumstances interposed to divert the public attention from that single object. The peasants loudly insisted upon an enquiry into the conduct of the generals, who commanded the *Swedish* armies in the two last campaigns, attributing

tributing the losses and disgraces of the kingdom to their negligence, cowardice, or perfidy. They were supported by the whole faction of the *Hats*, who had so strenuously promoted the war with *Russia*, and now thought to vindicate their mistaken councils, by throwing the blame on the misconduct of the commanding officers. They cried out for vengeance, and appeared so eager, that nothing would satisfy them but the blood of the managers of the war, to whom they imputed its want of success. Peace too appeared as remote as ever; though now essentially necessary to the good and security of the kingdom; but the diet could neither determine to cede *Finland* altogether, nor suggest the means of recovering a province which had already cost more blood and treasure than it was intrinsically worth to *Sweden*. The only probable method was the receiving it as an equivalent from the hands of her czarish majesty; to procure which his *Britannic* majesty again interposed, at a critical juncture, in behalf of *Sweden*, offered his mediation, and by the weight of his influence prevailed on the parties to settle conferences at *Abo*, which terminated in a treaty, whereby *Russia* consented to make entire restitution of the province, except a small district, and to renew the peace between the two nations upon one condition. This was no other than that the states should elect duke *Adolphus Frederic*, bishop of *Lubeck*, and administrator of *Holstein*, successor to the crown of *Sweden*; in which case the young duke of *Holstein*, now presumptive heir of the imperial diadem of *Russia*, whom they had already elected, was ready to make a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown of *Sweden*. The consideration of the advantages that would necessarily flow from such a measure, bore down all opposition, and brought in course of time all the orders of the estates to espouse the interest of the administrator of *Holstein*, who was accordingly declared hereditary prince of *Sweden*. Several of the provinces, however, did not approve of this election; and *Dalecarlia* in particular so strenuously supported the claim of the prince of *Denmark*, that the inhabitants took arms, and marched in a body to *Stockholm*, to disannul the proceedings of the states. The king tried every method to appease these tumultuous peasants, and was even willing to make unreasonable concessions, rather than come to extremities, and hazard a civil war; but nothing less would satisfy the *Dalecarlians*, than that the king and states would revoke the decrees of the diet, set the bishop of *Lubeck* aside, and raise the prince of *Denmark* to the dignity of hereditary prince of *Sweden*. In this they persisted; and the king with regret beheld

The bishop  
of Lubeck  
elected.

June 23.  
A. D.  
1743.

*Sketch of  
the Swe-  
dish af-  
fairs to the  
present  
times.*

beheld himself under the necessity of employing force. The army was drawn out, and a battle fought with the *Dalecarlians*, in the midst of the capital, in which, after an obstinate conflict, they were defeated with great slaughter, forced to lay down their arms, sign their consent to the decrees of the diet, and throw themselves upon the royal clemency, which was extended to them in the most ample manner, though the heinous nature of their offence might have justified the utmost severity.

ONE would have imagined that the public repose was now established upon a solid basis. An advantageous peace was concluded with *Russia*, the succession was settled upon a footing agreeable to a majority of the people, and the king had given the strongest proof of his affection for his subjects, by the late general amnesty, which he granted; but all this proved insufficient to quiet the restless minds of the peasants. Disappointment in their favourite project of placing the prince of *Denmark* in the succession, had soured their temper, and they resolved to make the unfortunate noblemen, count *Lewenhaupt*, and baron *Buddenbroke*, the victims of their resentment. These two noble personages had been solemnly tried for misbehaviour in the two last campaigns; they were condemned rather to satisfy the minds of the people, than from proofs of their misconduct; yet the execution of the sentence had hitherto been deferred by the court, from a conviction of their innocence. But the current of popular indignation flowed at this time with such irresistible rapidity against the unhappy prisoners, that the court was forced to withdraw its protection, and a prince of the greatest clemency obliged to devote to destruction two faithful subjects, whose services he received with gratitude. Lieutenant-general baron *Buddenbroke* was brought to the scaffold on the 16th of *July*, where he lost his head, to the eternal disgrace of the *Swedish* nation; while the field-marshal *Lewenhaupt* respited his fate by an escape, at which the court was supposed to connive. Prepossessed with this notion, the people became more outrageous than before, the strictest search was made for the count, he was taken, and executed agreeable to his sentence, notwithstanding the king, the court, the nobility, and the clergy interceded for his life. Nor did the peasants yield their entire consent to the election of the bishop of *Lubeck*, until they were brought into good humour by these bloody sacrifices; now they appeared fully gratified, signified their assent to the election, requested that duke *Adolphus* might be invited over to *Stockholm*, and expressed the warmest demonstrations of joy on his

his arrival. From this time to the origin of the present war, in which *Sweden*, contrary to the whole system of her politics, has taken part with the confederates against his *Prussian* majesty, nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The king of *Denmark*, indeed, resented the elevation of the house of *Holstein*, and disappointment of his own son: he made vast preparations, and seemed inclinable to invade *Sweden*, but the unanimity of that kingdom, supported by the powerful empire of *Russia*, obliged him to lay aside his designs. It is perhaps the influence, possibly the fear of the court of *Petersburgh*, that has forced *Sweden* into the present measures, so contrary to her real interest, and espoused only by a faction. The mean figure she has made in *Pomerania*, the frequent repulses which her troops have met with from a handful of *Prussians*, proves either that the nation is by no means hearty in the war, or that the martial spirit, the strength, discipline, and valour of the *Swedes*, are on the decline.

THUS have we exhibited a faithful picture of the revolutions in the *Swedish* government, the series of the *Swedish* kings, the wars carried on with their neighbours, and every other circumstance requisite to the understanding the history of a people, who always made a principal figure in the affairs of the northern hemisphere. We have continued the sketch down to the present times, to supply this deficiency in the history of *Denmark*, and form a key to the present state of the northern kingdoms. *Sweden* was intimately connected of late years with the policy of *Russia*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*; and reciting the history of either is equally satisfactory, without being so prolix, as relating the history of each separate kingdom.

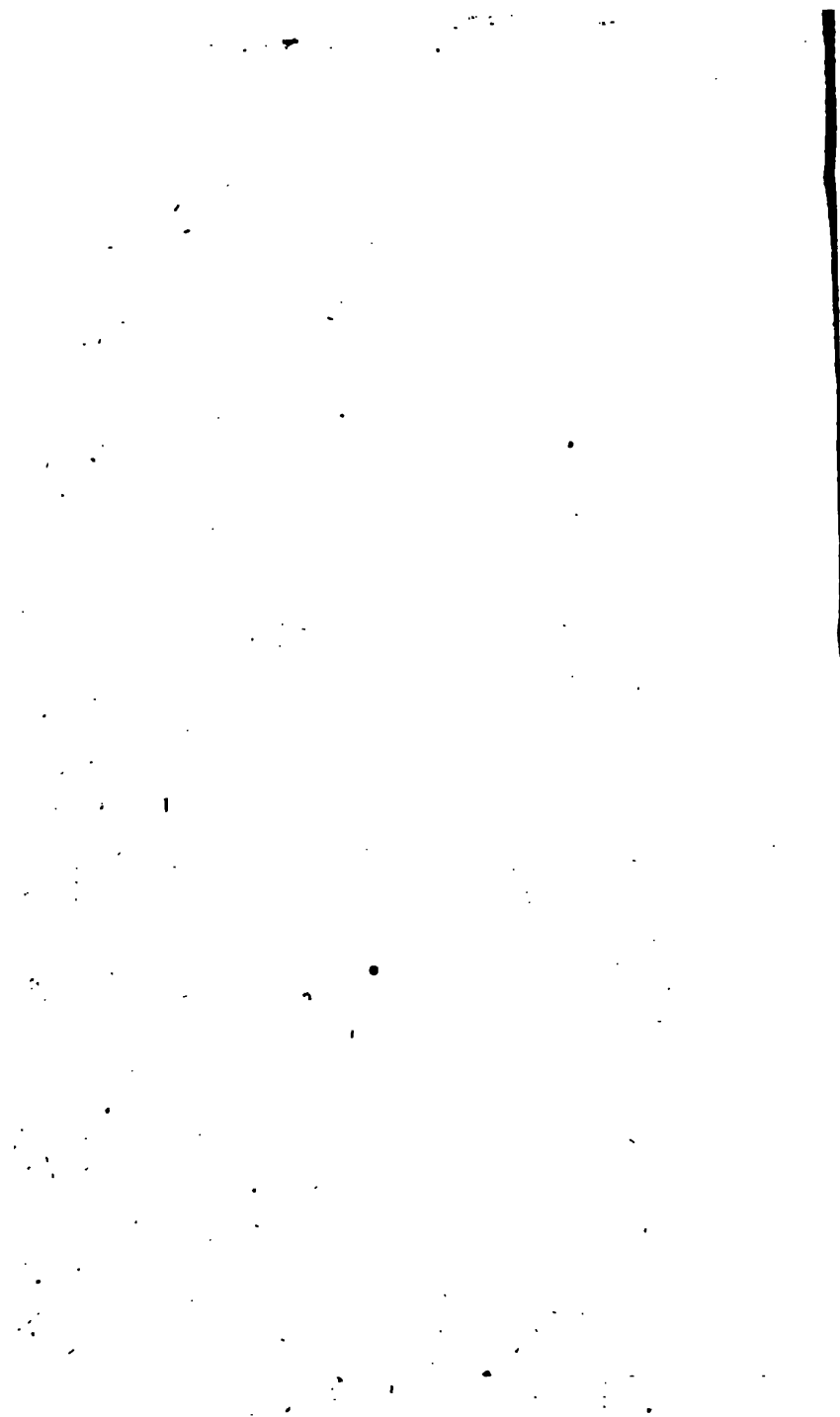
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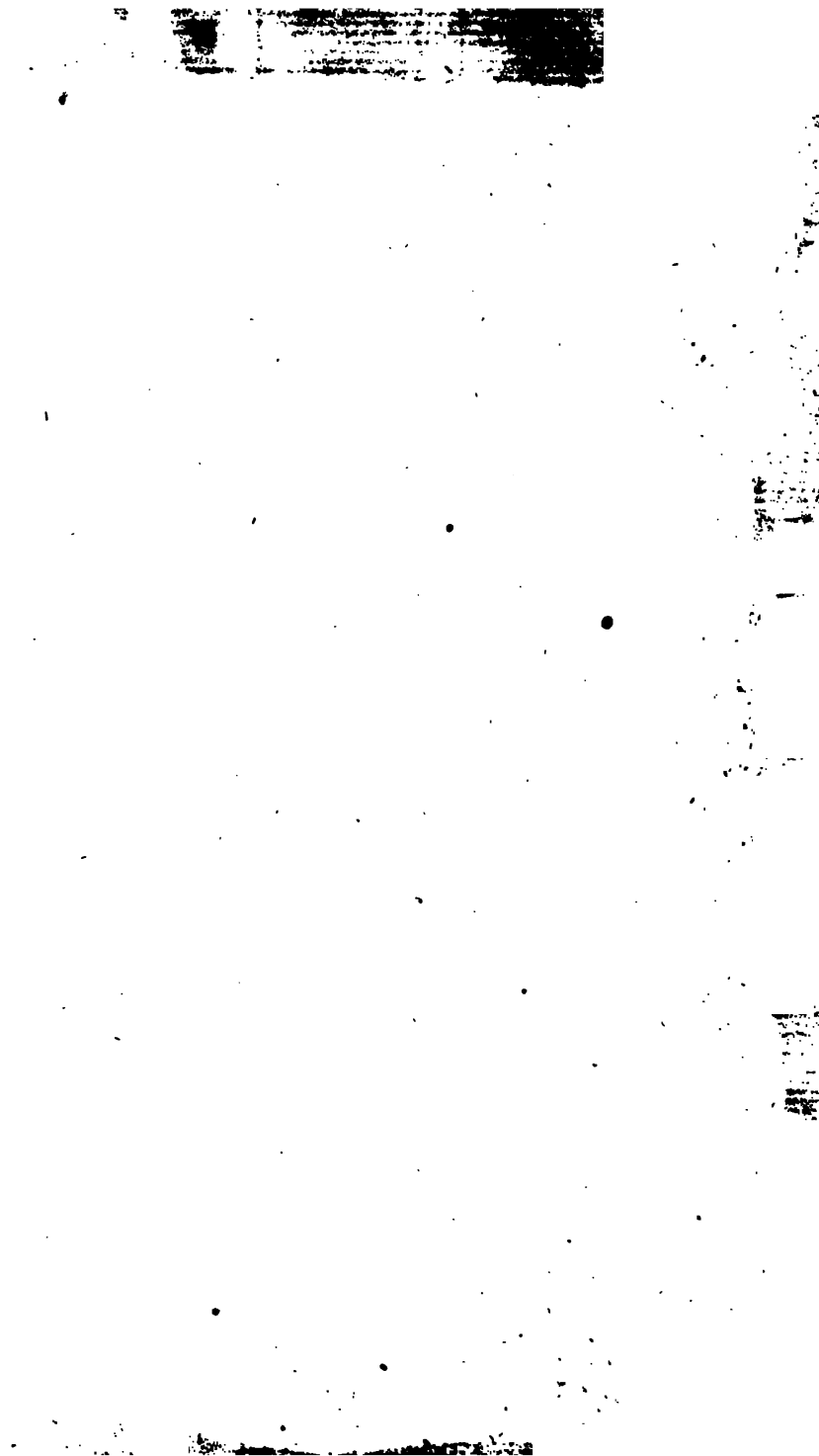
1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1037.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has declined from 1.1 billion to 800 million. The number of people who are malnourished has declined from 1.5 billion to 1 billion. The number of people who are obese has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million.

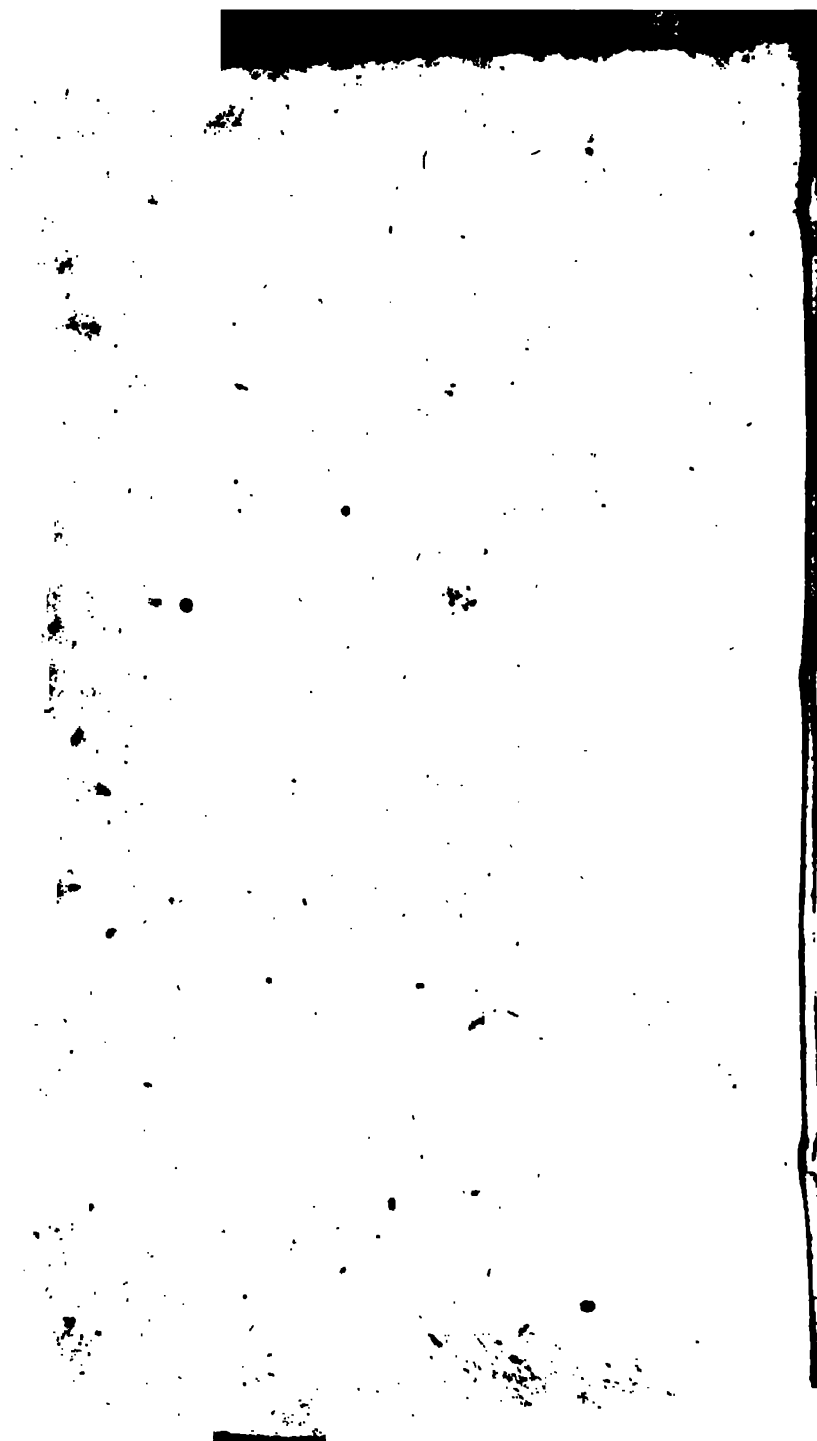
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